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National Municipal Review

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1949

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Supplement to the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW
January 1950, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE
299 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 7

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PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXVIII, No. 1 **Total Number 384**

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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The League's Business

Annual Meeting of League Members

The 1948 annual meeting of the members of the National Municipal League was held at 5:15 P.M. November 22 at the Hotel Statler, Boston, in connection with the National Conference on Government. President Charles Edison presided, relinquishing the chair to Herbert Emmerich when the nominating committee's report was presented by Frederick L. Bird, chairman.

The members elected the following:

President: Charles Edison, West Orange, New Jersey
Vice Presidents: George H. Gallup, Princeton, New Jersey
James W. Clise, Seattle

New members of the Council (terms to expire December 31, 1951):
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
Frederick L. Bird, New York
Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati
L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City
James A. Cunningham, Chicago
Arnold Frye, New York
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids, Michigan
John S. Linen, New York
Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis
Mrs. Thomas H. Mahony, Boston
D. K. Pfeffer, New York
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Walter M. Phillips, Philadelphia
Henry L. Shattuck, Boston

Honorary vice presidents:
Henry Bruere, New York
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
Stratford Lee Morton, St. Louis
William J. Pape, Waterbury, Connecticut
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

Frederick L. Bird, in the absence of Arnold Frye, chairman of the Committee on a Model Fiscal Program, reported that the committee had published the *Model Cash Basis Budget Law* in time for presentation at the conference and hoped soon to complete and publish the *Model Bond Law.*

W. Brooke Graves, chairman of the Committee on State Government, reported the recent publication of the fifth edition of the *Model State Constitution.* He added that, in view of the current activity in connection with the pending modernizing of at least fifteen state constitutions, the committee planned to remain actively at work on a sixth revision of the document.

Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Council, who has been a volunteer unpaid member of the staff since his retirement from business in October 1947, was requested by President Edison to report briefly on his activities. Mr. Childs said:

"I prepared a monthly mimeographed news letter based on each issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, revised *The Story of the Council-Manager Plan,* wrote articles for the REVIEW entitled "It's a Habit Now in Dayton" and "First Civil Service Sheriff" and four others not yet published, lectured before classes at Harvard, New York University, College of the City of New York and Mount Holyoke, played expert on comparative state government in an all-day "Know Your State" session of the Maine League of Women Voters, played patriarch at two national conventions of the International City Managers' Association, carried the national experience on optional charter laws to Rhode Island in a series of articles ordered by the Providence *Journal-Bulletin,* spoke in charter campaigns in Watertown, Connecticut, Plainfield, New Jersey, and Beacon, New York, reviewed

(Continued on page 64)

Contempt of the People

OF COURSE there are all sorts of reasons why elections and other public matters must be kept precise and legal, but the talent of the "comma and semi-colon boys" in using technicalities to defeat the will of the majority strikes serious blows against important fundamentals.

Defeated in the recent election, opponents of the council-manager form of government adopted in Montgomery County, Maryland, and Santa Clara County, California, immediately filed suits to upset the expressed wishes of the majority of the citizens.[1] The grounds on which the Santa Clara County action is brought seem especially silly to the layman but there is no way of divining what the courts, in their superior wisdom, will do about it.

Earlier in the year the Supreme Court of Georgia scuttled the hard won Augusta charter because of the purely ministerial error of a clerk in the legislature who failed to attach proof of advertising to the enabling act before it went to the governor for his signature. There was no claim that the advertising had not been done; indeed, all such requirements of informing the voters had been fully met.

It was about as bad as the decision of some years ago in Indiana in which the Supreme Court decided that Indianapolis could not have the form of government overwhelmingly adopted by its citizens because, forsooth, it was physically impossible for the city clerk personally to validate within the required five days 20,000 signatures on the petition calling for the election. The court held that the city clerk could not delegate any of the work to his subordinates, pretty much as it might be said that the chief of police has to go out and make all arrests himself.

There have been many other such strained decisions which, on grounds that seem tenuous and outrageous to those more learned in morals than in law, defeat and discourage the process of self-government.

It is difficult to avoid thinking, in this connection, of the care corrupt political machines always take to be the deciding factor in the choice of judges. Tom Pendergast was imprisoned for failing to pay income tax on his ill-gotten gains. But was he taken into the state courts and prosecuted for bribery? Many honorable judges and lawyers will disagree, but the disturbing fact remains that Boss Ed Flynn, in his recent book, baldly stated that "political leaders have always maintained, not only in New York but throughout the entire United States, that they have the right to speak in behalf of a client to a judge on the bench. Ethically it is wrong; but practically the custom has always existed and would be difficult to eradicate."

A legal system which is so very sensitive about contempt of court would do well to take more care about itself being so frequently in contempt of the people. It is not above being reformed. And it needs attention.

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[1] See page 46, this issue.

Ballots That Disfranchise

SUBJECT to the coming in of a still taller story than this, we award the big lemon to Ohio for having the longest ballot in the country.

Here it lies, covering half our desk-top, listing rival candidates for 56 offices at last November's election in Cleveland!

We are counting the presidential electors group as one since that calls for only a single choice by the voters, and it is the voter we are considering, and, there being no senatorial contest, the federal part of his duties was completed by selection of one district and one at-large representative in Congress—total *three*.

But the Ohio state ticket made the voters choose candidates for six posts—governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, auditor, treasurer and attorney-general, and the legislative ticket, chosen at large for the county, called for selecting six state senators and seventeen representatives.

Next came the county with nine, namely two commissioners, prosecuting attorney, clerk of common pleas, sheriff, recorder, county treasurer, county engineer and coroner. Enough? But wait! There are candidates for fourteen judgeships on a separate nonpartisan ballot. Grand total of offices 56! (Plus, for good measure, seventeen city bond issue questions, a special park tax levy and two charter amendments!)

Did the good people of Cleveland have 56 opinions to express on these candidates? Could the typical voter have identified from memory more than five of the 56 men he voted for if the names had been shuffled on cards and presented to him on emergence from the voting booth? Did he even read the whole list of candidates? Some voters undoubtedly took along guidance from the Citizens League Voters Directory, but most marked X in a party circle at the top of the 23-inch state-county ribbon of paper, disposing of 39, and cursed their way from memory through the fourteen unlabelled sets of judiciary candidates. If they recorded informed opinions of their own on five—president, governor and three others — they were taking program blindly from the party politicians on over 90 per cent of their ballot!

The short ballot doctrine has progressed further in New York State and New York County. Numerous judges are "elected" in both places[1] but three minor elective offices have been cut off the state ticket and seven off the county ticket; the New York legislators are elected from single-member districts instead of at large by counties. Net result—seven on each ballot in New York City instead of Cleveland's state-county list of 39!

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[1] See "A Make-Believe Election," editorial, the REVIEW, January 1948, page 2.

1948 National Conference

A Summary Report

By JOHN E. BEBOUT*

APPROXIMATELY 700 people attended the League's short course in practical citizenship, officially called the National Conference on Government, in Boston November 22-24. Numerous unsolicited letters and calls leave no doubt that the 1948 Conference was a satisfying experience for those who attended.

The excellent work of John T. Galvin, lent by the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers' Associations to direct publicity, and intelligent reporting by representatives of newspapers in and out of Boston, produced good national coverage of proceedings and speeches. One result was a request from the Columbia Broadcasting System that President Charles Edison give a fifteen-minute condensed version of his address, "Where Are the Leaders," originally delivered at the annual banquet. He spoke over a national hook-up the evening of December 16. A number of the more important speeches and papers have been reprinted in various periodicals.

The final record of the Conference will, of course, be in the use citizens make of the inspiration and information derived from it. Our correspondence reveals many immediate typical results: a meeting to plan a campaign for constitutional revision in a middle-western state, revival of a council-manager movement in a New England town, numerous orders for literature from people who attended, etc.

The program included six general sessions and eleven group sessions in addition to meetings of the Proportional Representation League, National Association of Civic Secretaries and an incipient organization of persons interested in municipal public relations. There were 186 listed speakers, discussion leaders and participants, besides many others who took part in discussion.

The whole Conference was a reflection of the League's concept of the goals of responsible citizenship and of the methods of attaining them. The program combined inspiration, information and creative group thinking and discussion—three requirements of effective civic education.

In keeping with the time, the place and immediate civic needs throughout the country, the program included three kinds of meetings:

1. Sessions designed to challenge citizens to the need for a new assault on such basic evils as the boss system and what President Edison called civic sins—apathy, selfishness, laziness, cynicism, etc.;

2. Sessions designed to convey information and develop ideas about ways to improve the organization and performance of state and local governments—revision of state con-

---

*Mr. Bebout is assistant secretary of the National Municipal League.

stitutions, reform of municipal charters and extension of the council-manager plan, better organization of public services where many governments operate in the same area, how to finance strong self-reliant local governments;

3. Sessions designed to help citizens find out how to educate themselves and their children about public affairs and to organize for strong communities, good government and effective citizenship.

More than half of those who registered came from outside of Massachusetts (many from Boston and vicinity did not register). Persons came from at least 26 states. More than a quarter were members of the National Municipal League.

As in previous years it brought together leaders and members of state and local civic organizations, public officials, educators, political scientists and governmental researchers. The civic leaders came from all walks of life.

About 150 registrants listed themselves as representatives of various state and local civic organizations, including leagues of women voters in at least eight states, taxpayers' associations, citizens' leagues, business and professional women's clubs, chambers of commerce, governmental research agencies and campaign organizations.

About 50 public officials registered, the largest categories being municipal managers, finance officers and members of city and town governing bodies.

There were more than 50 political scientists from colleges and universities in addition to a large number of social studies teachers. There were 40 or 50 advanced students from Harvard, MIT, Mount Holyoke, University of Connecticut and other colleges and universities.

It is this combination of persons with political, technical, educational and civic experience that gives League Conferences a distinctive character and enables them to generate practical ideas and enthusiasm that the same people meeting in separate groups would be unlikely to achieve.

Space will not permit a systematic summary of the speeches and discussions, session by session. Some of the addresses and papers and more detailed reports on some discussions have been or will be printed in the REVIEW. The League, through the cooperation of a number of members, has in its files an on-the-spot report by a competent recorder giving facts and critical comment on attendance, program and management of each session, including summaries of ex tempore remarks.

Bad Politics High-lighted

A reason for going to Boston was the fact that good citizens there are working for a basic change in what a speaker from Philadelphia called one of the two worst governed cities. Consequently, the Conference put more stress than usual on "political slum clearance" and the need to redeem cities like Boston, Philadelphia and Memphis and some states from the twin evils of political bossism and outmoded government.

The keynote was sounded in the opening address by Frank C. Moore, comptroller of the State of New

York. The address, printed in full in this issue, stressed as fundamental to self-government responsible citizens and responsible municipalities. This note, that democracy depends on the individual citizen and the home town, was sounded again and again.

"Political Slum Clearance" was the title of the general session which followed the opening luncheon. Edward J. Meeman, editor of the Memphis *Press-Scimitar,* speaking from long experience in the battle against Crumpism, showed how people can defeat the vote frauds and even the fear that are principal weapons of political bosses.

Richardson Dilworth who, as candidate for mayor of Philadelphia in the last municipal election, came nearer to upsetting city hall than any candidate in many a year, gave a dramatic account of the campaign still going on to put an end to 60 years of machine rule. The Democratic party, as is frequently the case with a minority, has been "a paid wing" of the Republican party with the result that unorganized citizens have had no real choice, he said. Mr. Dilworth believes that, with cooperation from organized labor which is financing a weekly radio program and with 1,400 young people actively at work in wards and districts, Philadelphia is on the road to a clean-up.

The Memphis and Philadelphia stories have been told by others in recent numbers of the REVIEW: "Defeat Comes to Boss Crump" by Richard Wallace in the September number and "Corrupt But Not Contented" (Philadelphia) by J. Cass Phillips in the October number.

The afternoon session concluded with an address by Albert D. Cash, mayor of Cincinnati, in which he pointed out how the efforts of local officials to meet local needs are stymied when unsympathetic state legislatures and courts, as in Ohio, deny or curtail healthy home rule.

Pinch-hitters Speak

The methods of political slum clearance were further explored and the fruits thereof displayed at the Tuesday luncheon session and a Tuesday afternoon session on "The Council-Manager Plan: Spearhead of Municipal Reform." The scheduled speaker for the luncheon, Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati city councilman, was held up in New Haven by an attack of flu. An eloquent brief digest that he had prepared was read and the Cincinnati experience was developed in detail by two pinch-hitters, Walter J. Millard and Mayor Cash. The Taft statement will be printed in a later number of the REVIEW.

Millard's speech related the story of the fight started a quarter of a century ago to rid Cincinnati of the reproach of being the "worst governed city." He showed how the courage, aggressiveness and organizing ability of Murray Seasongood, Henry Bentley and others destroyed a ruthless boss and won a government which was both more efficient and more humane.

Mayor Cash described the Cincinnati plan of citizen organization which has kept on the job as a nonpartisan local political party, electing councilmen pledged to the spirit and practice of the new system and acting as watchdog of the public interest between elections.

The afternoon session put on the record stories of three other council-manager cities—Kansas City, Missouri, Richmond, Virginia, and Yonkers, New York. The first speech at this session was by Jerome M. Joffee, special utilities and legislative counsel of Kansas City, another pinch-hitter for a man kept away by illness, City Manager L. P. Cookingham. Mr. Joffee gave the substance of Mr. Cookingham's paper with some observations of his own. Mr. Joffee said that "there is no iron curtain in city hall," that all council and other business is in the open and that a community service division "finds out what the people want." Mr. Cookingham's paper appeared in the December REVIEW.

Yonkers' City Manager Thomas V. Kennedy stressed particularly the financial achievements and problems of Yonkers' city government. The whole Yonkers record was reviewed in the October 1948 REVIEW in the article, "Good Charter, Better City," by Oxie Reichler, editor, Yonkers *Herald Statesman*.

L. E. Marlowe, former president of the Richmond Citizens Association, told about the "New Look for Richmond," describing the spectacular campaigns for adoption of the council-manager plan and election of the new one-house city council which at the same time eliminated the apathy heretofore characteristic of local elections and gave Richmond a thoroughly modern charter. The October REVIEW carried an article on Richmond, "Farewell to the Politicians."

This theme was continued in the speeches at the banquet Tuesday evening. There were brief thumbnail reports from Mr. Meeman, Mr. Joffee and Ed. P. Phillips, president of the Richmond Citizens' Association. Mr. Phillips told about Gold Feather Day in Richmond. Gold Feather Day is election day, by virtue of the fact that each person who votes is given a gold feather to wear entitling him to attend a civic mass meeting election night. This is one of the devices used in Richmond to multiply the vote in municipal elections many times over.

President Speaks

President Edison's speech, "Where Are the Leaders?," was printed in the December issue. The main point of the speech: "The obligation of civic leadership rests most heavily on those whose attainments have made them leaders in other walks of life. . . . No man is a responsible leader in business, or finance, or law, or industry, or labor, or education, or religion who does not assume heavy responsibility for politics and government in his home town."

The subject of political slum clearance was appropriately brought to a focus on Boston in a remarkable address at the concluding luncheon by Dr. Thomas H. Reed, a native of Boston. This address, entitled "A Famous Patriot Returns," is printed in this issue.

Boston is the center of one of the most difficult metropolitan areas. Consequently two well attended group sessions were devoted to this problem. The first was conducted by Professor Carl J. Friedrich of Harvard University, chairman of the committee which in 1944 won the prize for a plan for dealing with the Boston metropolitan area. The second session was conducted by Professor Frederick J. Adams of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The Tuesday session dealt broadly with the problem of relating governmental areas to natural communities and the need for local services. The session started with a paper by Professor Edward W. Weidner of the University of Minnesota, assistant director of a four-year project of research on intergovernmental relations. The paper discussed the methods employed in this pioneer study and outlined tentative conclusions.

The discussion following the prepared papers covered a wide range of subjects and emphasized the importance of reforming and strengthening county and local government.

The second area session dealt with the organization of government and services in distinctly metropolitan communities. Stress was laid on the importance of area-wide planning and the discussion revealed general agreement on the need for a unified government with powers, including land control and ability to balance financial resources throughout the region.

Charles R. Cherington, secretary of the Littauer School and a member of Professor Friedrich's committee that won the Boston plan contest, pointed out, however, that the subject involves "perhaps the most difficult problem of modern political science—the realization of civic consciousness and political responsibility in the gargantuan community." He said "that the unity of areas like Boston seems obvious to social scientists" but such unity clearly is not so obvious to the residents "of the 83 cities and towns that make up Greater Boston." Mr. Cherington believes that this calls for "the drudgery of careful field research" to prove the importance of the growing interdependence between all the people in a metropolitan area.

London Plan Described

The paper, "New Pattern for Greater London," by Miss Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, director of the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction in London, appeared in the December REVIEW.

One of the two sessions Tuesday afternoon dealt with the problem of shaping a council-manager law to the small community. This was a continuation of a conference on town management held last May by the Community Development Committee of the New England Council. There was general agreement on the desirability of a general town manager enabling act. Difficulties in drafting such an act to fit the needs of different communities were discussed.

Money for local governments was discussed in a Wednesday morning session attended by a large number of municipal finance officers and governmental researchers. The papers and discussion revolved mainly around possible methods of giving municipalities stable revenue sources which enable them to stand on their own feet. The working out of recent legislation extending municipal taxing powers in Pennsylvania and New York were described in some detail.

Two sessions were devoted to a state constitution for 1949. The 1948 edition of the *Model State Constitution* was introduced at the first of these sessions by W. Brooke Graves, chairman of the League's Committee on State Government. The great difficulty in attempts to shorten long constitutions like those of Louisiana and California was stressed and discussed. The new New Jersey court system was outlined by William Miller of Princeton Surveys. Other talks dealt with state administration, the perennial problem of legislative apportionment, home rule and methods for future amendment and revision.

Tell of Civic Project

Practical civic education has been one of the League's continuing interests. One reason for stressing it in Boston was the fact that Cambridge is the seat of the three-year project in civic education to develop materials and teaching procedures in the schools. The need for and objectives of this project, headed by John J. Mahoney, author of *For Us the Living,* and Dean Emeritus Henry W. Holmes of the Harvard School of Education, were described in a general meeting Monday night by Charles C. Buell, head of the department of public affairs of St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire. Mr. Buell's paper appeared in the December Review.

Dr. George H. Gallup, vice president of the National Municipal League, talked about education for voting and answered questions about public opinion polling in elections. Robert J. Blakely, managing editor of the St. Louis *Star Times* and former chairman of the Des Moines Council on Adult Education, made an eloquent speech on the urgent need, in the light of the rate of scientific and technical developments, for more effective education of adults on civic problems.

Dean Holmes and Dr. Mahoney conducted a panel discussion Tuesday morning on education in the schools to develop more responsible and effective citizens. The panel consisted of selected teachers, civic leaders, school administrators and students.

Methods of informing citizens about local affairs were described in another morning session conducted by Ed. P. Phillips, president of the Richmond Citizens' Association. Mrs. Siegel W. Judd described the League of Women Voters' *Know Your Town* studies and her own much more extensive book on Grand Rapids entitled *Our City Government* written for school use.

The role of the newspaper as civic educator and the need for improved methods of municipal reporting and public relations were discussed and examples of good practice in these fields were given.

"Successful Citizen Organization" was the subject of a session Wednesday morning presided over by George A. McLaughlin, president of the Massachusetts Plan "E" Association. Citizens' councils, citizen charter committees, citizens leagues and taxpayers associations were described, discussed and compared.

A Famous Patriot Returns

Spirit of Sam Adams sounds a battle cry to Bostonians to rise and throw off the yoke of the political boss.

By THOMAS H. REED*

MAY I make clear at the outset that I regard myself as having been specially favored in being born in Boston. However much I find in the Boston of today to deplore, I cannot forget that I grew up here under the influence of Boston's tradition of liberalism, culture and devotion to humanitarian and patriotic ends.

I spent six years at the Boston Latin School, with the portraits of the worthies of Boston's historic past looking down on me. I attended lectures at the Old South Meeting House and was active in the Old South Historical Society. This was good background for one who was to devote his life to municipal reform.

Incidentally, I thought Boston was the best of all possible cities and my gradual disillusionment on that point has been very painful to me. Not because I was a "Proper Bostonian." My ancestors were not merchant princes but simple New England farmers. Boston nevertheless was my city and still is, though it has caused me a lot of worry. Since I've been at this meeting, the first of the kind held here in 25 years, I've been increasingly uneasy. I've found myself dreaming. It is not too surprising that Boston as one finds it today should lie somewhat heavily on the stomach of a loyal though wandering Bostonian.

Last night I dreamed about Sam Adams. I suddenly found myself sitting up in bed staring at a rugged antique figure sitting in an easy chair pulled close to my bedside. I know it was just a dream because my wife who is a light sleeper says all this about being visited by Sam Adams is ridiculous.

I can account logically enough for its being Adams I dreamed about. After all, of all our Revolutionary heroes he is the one who could do most for Boston if he were alive today. He was at once a devoted patriot, an eloquent speaker, a trenchant writer and an accomplished political organizer. Not only did he control the Boston Town Meeting through the "Caulkers Club," which has given the name "caucus" to one of our valued political institutions, but through the "Committees of Correspondence" he bound first all the colony of Massachusetts Bay and later all the thirteen colonies together for re-

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*Dr. Reed, municipal consultant, is one of the foremost authorities in the country on local government affairs. He was for many years professor of government at the Universities of California and Michigan, was one of the first city managers (San Jose, California, 1916-1918) and is the author of numerous books, including *Municipal Management.* Dr. Reed has made many studies of local governments, including Cincinnati, Atlanta and Fulton County, Georgia, and Essex County, New Jersey. He drafted the council-manager charters recently adopted in Hartford, Richmond, and Augusta, Georgia, as well as the charter consolidating the city of Baton Rouge and East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana.

sistance to the British throne. He was the one Revolutionary statesman who saw from the beginning the inevitable breach with the mother country and worked consistently toward that goal. He is properly known as the organizer of revolt.

At any rate, it was indubitably Sam Adams, so I said, "How do you do, Mr. Adams. I see you are still wearing the suit you had your Faneuil Hall picture painted in?"

He Was a "Boss"

"Yes," he replied. "My friends took up a collection to get me something decent for the occasion. I was not one of the prosperous Adamses though we come of the same stock. I was a failure as tax collector because I was not good at bookkeeping. Everyone except a few die-hard Tories knew I was honest and the shortages were paid off. I never was interested in making money. My last years, after I retired as governor, were spent, you know, in respectable poverty."

Reed: "But you *were* a political boss, weren't you? Successful ones seldom die poor unless they get caught first.

Adams: "Oh, I suppose you'd call me a boss. I was the leader of the resistance movement. My Caulkers Club could dominate town meetings. I had a lot to do with raising the storm that made the country independent of Great Britain. In so doing I had to seek power but I never used it for my own gain. I was too busy with my job."

Reed: "By the way, how did you get here? Don't you find it difficult to find your way about a city so much bigger than the Boston of 1803 when, pardon my reference to it, you took up your permanent abode in the Granary Burying Ground?"

Adams: "I can get lost in the suburbs all right. Boston in my day had only a neck connecting it with the mainland of Roxbury. Like a fat old lady, she's lost her neck and spreads for miles around. In the old Boston which still remains the commercial and financial center there's no trouble at all in finding my way. The streets are just the same narrow, crooked lanes that were laid out by the settlers' cows and were already getting crowded by 1800. Of course, I don't get around much by day but I can read without light and I find the public library very fascinating. There are a hundred times as many people to use these streets and a thousand times as many vehicles as in my day. It just looks to me as if the present-day Boston was not so energetic in meeting its problems as we were. We sought self-government for our people—no mean end—and got it. Boston today can't save itself from strangling in its own traffic."

Reed: "You are not so proud of Boston now?"

Adams: "I love Boston, but I'm sorely worried about her. It's not that the traffic is too thick, the streets too dirty, the tenements too close together, the government wasteful and extravagant and dominated by what you call a political machine. All cities at one time or another experience such things. The thing that's bad is that now for some 25 years Boston seems unable to do anything much about its ills. She is like what that reporter fellow, Lincoln Steffens, said about Philadelphia, 'corrupt and contented.'

"Taxes. Talk about taxes. The taxes over which we split with the British Crown were a mere feather in the wind compared with the $53.40 per $1,000 which Bostonians pay today on their homes and other property."

Reed: "You're right about that, Mr. Adams. They are the highest taxes paid in any comparable city in the United States when the level of assessed valuation is considered. The prices paid for Boston properties sold in the first nine months of this year added up to only 96 per cent of their assessed value, according to the Boston *Herald*. Such taxes are not only a burden on the taxpayer but a threat to the commercial and industrial life of Boston. When considered in the light of what investments can earn today they are practically confiscatory. The Bill of Rights prohibits taking property without due process of law, but if you take all its earning power in taxes what is there left? Business and taxable wealth have been diverted from Boston to places where taxes are not so high.

"You, Mr. Adams, objected to light taxes on principle. Such taxes as those in Boston today are a matter of life and death. Add to that that the people of Boston get less for these high taxes than the people of most cities get for lower taxes and it is clear that every resident, taxpayer or not, is cheated of his rights."

During this outburst Sam Adams sat nodding his head, with a woebegone expression on his mobile features.

Friend of the People

Adams: "That's just what I've read and heard. Why don't the people do something about it? We would have done a lot had such ills fallen on us in our day. It's the supineness of the people that worries me. They should know about the wastefulness and extravagance of a government seamed through with spoils, favoritism and lack of skill on the part of those responsible for city policies. Can't someone tell them these things in terms the people will understand? I was always a friend of the people, like Tom Jefferson. I believed that they are to be trusted. Some people say that the people of Boston are not like they were in 1775. That's not so. People are people regardless of racial origin. They are most of them honest and want the best for their families. You just have to point out where their interests lie. You had to show the Yankees of my time which side their bread was buttered on. We did it in 1775, why can't it be done in 1948?" He paused, as for dramatic effect.

Reed: "If you are asking me sir, there are some explanations:

"(1) Most citizens of Boston are not taxpayers, at least directly, and it is harder to show them that they are affected by city wastefulness. They are, of course. Their prosperity is threatened by the impossible tax rate and the little they get in the way of city services is due to bad management at city hall, but it needs someone with a pen as sharp as yours to show them the truth which for other reasons they are reluctant to hear.

"(2) The natural leadership of Boston has deserted the narrow limits of the city and gone to the suburbs. This applies not merely to the 'Proper Bostonians' but to a vast number of ordinary mortals who have sought better living conditions outside the city. They sit outside unable—and glad of it—to take up the gage of battle with the Boston machine. The answer to this situation would be a Greater Boston, a city of more than 2,000,000, the fourth in the United States, embracing in one political unit all the natural elements of Boston life. I have always been for it. Back in 1930 when I was teaching for a term at Harvard I asked, 'Why not have a Greater Boston?' I got the same answer from several quarters. 'The Republicans who control the legislature will never permit it because it would enlarge the bailiwick of Jim Curley whom they have no candidate sufficiently colorful to successfully oppose in that area.' You can call this defeatism, to use a modern phrase, or 'puling pusilanimous cowardice,' to use the more unrestrained language of 1775. It is certainly not trusting the people.

"(3) Boston is not a self-governing municipality. The legislature constantly interferes in the most minute affairs of the city. It's only a step from city hall to statehouse and good men and bad constantly appeal from the one authority to the other. The financial plight of Boston is not altogether its own fault, which beclouds the issue for the ordinary citizen.

"(4) The Boston machine, dominated by Mayor Curley, is so strongly entrenched in power that it seems hopeless to attack it.

"All these are factors in the attitude of Boston toward reform."

It's No Excuse

During this lecture the erect and sturdy form of my guest was hitching uneasily in his chair and his great eyebrows were drawn together in a frown.

Adams: "It's all so, Mr. Reed, but it's no excuse. 'Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.' The petty tyranny which Boston endures at the hands of the machine, though sugar-coated by fine speeches, is more destructive of human integrity than the pretensions of George III. If I were not a ghost of my former self I'd not sit idly by."

Reed: "What would you do? That's what we call the $64 question."

Adams: "Why, for one thing, I'd not go live in Milton or Lexington and look down my nose at Boston. I'd live right in Boston among its people and I'd organize them. All you say establishes one thing—there is no adequate leadership for reform in Boston. The 'Proper Bostonians,' the social registerites, have with few exceptions abdicated politically. They are too exclusive socially to have much influence with the people. I'm afraid it may be true today, as Lincoln Steffens said of a generation ago, that some, at least, of Boston's financial leaders would rather deal with the machine than fight it. That's down in black and white in the report of the Finance Commission which recommended Boston's present charter. There's got to be leadership, and a down-to-earth campaign to unseat a machine.

"I'd give a lot to come back to earth for ten years. Curley is a great politician. He can talk a bird out of a tree, but he is not unbeatable. No man is. The majority in the legislature which has stood squarely across the road to a Greater Boston is not unbeatable. No political group is. I wouldn't care whether I stepped on the toes of Republicans or Democrats. I'd step on them both with equal pleasure for the good of my city."

In his excitement the old man rose to his feet and his eyes flashed as they do in the Faneuil Hall portrait.

Reed: "I believe you could do it Sam, and we'd be safe from usurpation of power once you'd done it. Wendell Phillips, who was another Bostonian who believed in human rights and worried the wealth and culture of Boston no end in his time, said that 'a demagogue rides the storm, he has no ability to create one. He uses it narrowly, ignorantly and for selfish ends.' You were no demagogue. Put you against a demagogue and he would go down like a man of straw."

I jumped up to clap him on the back and he was gone.

* * *

I'm sorry this National Municipal League conference can't announce the return of Sam Adams for ten years. We could use his kind in several places outside of Boston. But while his body cannot, his spirit may return. There must be in this great Boston metropolis some dozens—perhaps scores—of men with brains, courage, tenacity and the indispensible political savoir faire to lead my native city from the morass in which it is presently entrapped. Other cities are struggling with similar problems, with varying success, but no situation is hopeless. The taller the boss the harder he falls when some David beans him not with a pebble but a hard bundle of fact, emotion and organization.

People Can Do It

It's been done over and over again. When the Upson survey of Cincinnati was made in 1924 there was no more apparent prospect of overthrowing the Hynicka machine than there is of uprooting Mayor Curley from his official throne today. Yet inside of twelve months the city had a new charter, the machine had been driven from control in the new council, and Cincinnati began a quarter of a century of civic achievement. It was leadership and organization that did it. Murray Seasongood supplied the fire and Henry Bentley built an organization better than that of the dominant Republican party. Organization know-how is not a monopoly of partisan machines.

Kansas City, long as supine as Boston is today, with a little aid from the F.B.I. and the pressure of a crusading newspaper, threw out the Pendergast machine.

Only recently the voters of Hartford, against the combined efforts of machine politicians of both parties, broke the traditions of generations to give Hartford a city manager charter and a high grade nonpartisan council.

Only within a year Richmond, Virginia, center of Bourbon conservatism, gave up its two-chamber council and elective mayor in favor of a city manager charter. Still more striking, they wrote into that charter a provision for nonpartisan elections which cast the Democratic white primary into the discard, and followed it up by whipping the candidates of the Democratic organization in the council election.

The world moves. It is not too much to expect that Boston may, or your own home town for that matter.

For 31 years, from 1916 when Denver was consolidated with a considerable part of Arapahoe County, Colorado, there had not been a single city-county consolidation in this country. It had come to be thought practically impossible of accomplishment. Some business leaders in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, stole a march on the politicians, secured an enabling constitutional amendment, drafted a charter consolidating Baton Rouge with East Baton Rouge Parish, and carried it in a popular vote against the opposition of the local politicos—including some of the nastiest of the deadly Louisiana breed.

We have learned since we came to this conference of how Yale football tactics have rattled the dry bones of Philadelphia politics and how Ed Crump, the perfect boss, who at least gave the people something for their money, has taken a terrible pasting at the hands of a group of amateur politicians.

I can tell you confidently that there is not a political situation so black that it cannot be converted to white by an intelligent, aggressive, well led citizen movement. It takes courage to start one. But, like bathing on the north shore, it is the initial dip that is hard—very hard if you creep in inch by inch. Once in all over, it becomes apparent that the threats of the machine are mostly bluff. The big boss at a distance wears a terrific mien. When met face to face he is seen for what he really is, an ordinary mortal and not too smart a one at that. The scheme to put Plan A, which nobody wants, on the ballot to prevent the people of Boston from having a chance to vote on Plan E, which they want, is so barefaced a trick that it inevitably will react against the man who tries it.

Courage Is Needed

The great trouble is to get started. Once the issue is drawn the fighting is even pleasurable for all but the most timid.

On the 19th of April in 1775 John Hancock and Samuel Adams were asleep in the house of the Reverend Clarke in Concord. Out from Boston sped a messenger. "British troops are on the march." They expected a twin killing, the continental stores at Concord and the two patriots on whose heads King George had placed a price. Adams and Hancock sprang from their beds

(Continued on page 25)

Toward Firmer Foundation

Local governments need 'full measure of power essential to successful performance' of their jobs, says finance official.

By **FRANK C. MOORE***

THROUGHOUT the world this is a period of crisis and decision. These are critical days, too, for local government. If it is to survive the twentieth century as a vigorous, important member of our family of governments, it must soon find the right answers to some questions it has long avoided.

What shall be the relationship between local government and the federal and state governments? Shall it be a partnership of co-operating but independent equals, or shall local government, by increasing reliance upon the other two, become a dependent, escaping responsibility but surrendering authority?

Shall we attempt to meet the expanding needs of our people with the local government methods we have inherited from the past or shall we modernize them to keep pace with our scientific and social progress?

Shall we be content with the lessening interest of our citizens in, and respect for, their government, or shall we endeavor to awaken a civic patriotism as vigorous as our defense of the nation in time of war?

The decisions of local government upon these and related questions should be bold.

Local government should insist upon the allocation to it of an area of authority within which it shall exercise power and accept responsibility equal to that of the federal and state governments within their respective zones. What should be the boundaries of that area of authority?

Abraham Lincoln said:

> The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do at all or cannot do so well for themselves in their separate and individual capacities. In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere.

Our local governments are closest to the people. It would seem, therefore, that in all our local governments can individually do as well for themselves the federal and state governments ought not to interfere.

There are many governmental functions which can be better performed by local governments than by the central governments. Toulmin Smith recognized this when he said, almost a century ago:

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*Mr. Moore, comptroller of New York State since 1943, was formerly executive secretary of the New York Association of Towns. He has served on numerous New York State commissions including the Legislative Commission for the Revision of the Tax Laws, Governor Lehman's committee to prepare for the constitutional convention of 1937-8 and a member of that convention, and the State Legislative Commission on Extension of the Civil Service. He has been a member of the Legislative Commission on Municipal Finance since 1939 and chairman of the Legislative Commission on Municipal Revenues and Reduction of Real Estate Taxes since 1944.

> *Local Self-Government* is that system of government under which the greatest number of minds, knowing the most, and having the fullest opportunities of knowing it, about the special matter in hand, and having the greatest interest in its well working, have the management of it or control over it.
>
> *Centralization* is that system of government under which the smallest number of minds, and those knowing the least, and having the fewest opportunities of knowing it, about the special matter in hand, and having the smallest interest in its well working, have the management of it or control over it.

Home Rule for Local Units

Local government should be granted the full measure of power essential to the successful performance of its share of the total governmental job. The interference of unnecessary constitutional and statutory obstacles should be eliminated.

To insure local responsibility the state should refuse to legislate in areas where localities have the power, but sometimes not the courage, to make decisions. Local government becomes strong not by mere possession of the powers of self-government but by exercise of these powers.

There are other ways in which states can help local governments.

Every state should have a department or division of local government, charged with something more than the negative job of pointing out the mistakes of its local officials. This department or division should have the affirmative responsibility of helping the localities to the successful accomplishment of their governmental objectives.

Government must not lag behind industry in its search for a better product. Each state should provide an agency for research in local government. Adequate reservoirs of authentic up-to-date information on pertinent subjects should be built up and maintained and made available not only to local officials but to everyone interested in our local government.

Provision should be made for the exchange of such information not only within the state but among the states, so that each may benefit by the advances of others.

We must speed up our search for a system of weights and measures by which we can more accurately appraise the quantity and quality of government. Once found, it has dynamic possibilities for the improvement of local government as well as other government.

All government, but especially local government, would benefit from the vast expansion of our existing facilities for public service training. There is no shorter, surer route to grade A government. Public and private training resources should be pooled and utilized for a much broader program in which many more can participate.

This training must be geared into our system of civil service. We must make certain that those who have qualified themselves for governmental service find suitable employment, and that those who have equipped themselves for better jobs are rewarded accordingly.

There can no longer be a doubt that local government needs and is entitled to a system of financial support which will give it the dignity of fiscal independence and responsibility.

Federal and State Aid

Heretofore, substantial federal aid to the localities has been limited to periods of emergency, but there are indications that it may be extended upon a continuing basis in aid of certain local services. The pattern for this new assistance is yet to be determined. There is a danger that local government, in its eagerness for additional revenues to counteract the influence of inflation, may surrender more than it receives in exchange. A system of federal aid which diminishes the independence and responsibility of local government is not worth its cost.

State assistance to the localities should be designed to stabilize local finances by providing greater certainty of local revenues and by protecting the localities from sudden increases in expenditures. Such a system enables localities to plan their fiscal futures soundly and confidently. It is essential that every plan of state assistance preserves local initiative and responsibility. When state assistance is extended in such a manner or such an amount that either is impaired, we destroy the very thing we aim to help.

In good times the state should accumulate surplus moneys in reserve funds to help finance its aid to the localities in periods of declining revenues. The state should also extend to the localities the right to establish similar funds to meet their rainy day requirements.

The state should delegate to the localities broader powers of local taxation. In its annual report to the governor and legislature of 1947, the New York State Conference of Mayors said:

> We recommend the sound principle of home rule and local responsibility be enlarged to encompass the financial needs of the cities and villages by granting them adequate powers to levy other substantial taxes in addition to the real estate tax. . . . The alternative to this home rule power is additional state aid, additional state regulation, less local responsibility and less local self determination.

There has long been need for a division of the field of taxation between our federal, state and local governments. As a member of the family of governments, local government is entitled to a fair share in the family income from sources other than the real property tax.

But all the difficulties of local governments are not found in their relationships with the federal and state governments. The localities should take a good look at themselves, both collectively and individually.

No longer can we justify, by the difficulties of transportation and communication, any system of local government which provides for a hodgepodge of overlapping and duplicating services. In these days of inflated costs the American taxpayer cannot afford the luxury of governmental waste. Local government must put its own house in order.

There is need for much more cooperation between the agencies of local government, and constitutional and statutory obstacles to this cooperation should be removed.

Why should a city be prevented from sharing with its suburbs the services of its utilities if the taxpayers of both will benefit therefrom? Why should adjacent municipalities each be required to provide sewer, drainage and water systems, incinerators or electric plants, if jointly they can meet their needs more efficiently and at less expense to their citizens? These are but a few of the opportunities for worthwhile cooperation suggested by experience.

Municipalities have some of the characteristics of individuals. One may be in good physical shape but another run down. We have our alert, up-and-coming communities and also those that are drifting aimlessly.

Some are operating under obsolete charters with governmental machinery and methods unchanged since the turn of the century. Some are governed by officials who sweep every problem under the rug, determined that, come what may, no one will ever pin anything on them.

Luther Gulick said[1] that: "The shame of the American city today is found in three things: first, lazy citizenship with low standards; second, lack of city pride; and third, failure to look ahead and make great plans for the future."

Many of our communities do lack pride. Certainly all of them should look ahead and plan for their futures not only for their needs but also for the means of financing them.

Why do cities have "lazy citizens with low standards?"

Within recent weeks the head of a great university has criticized education for the failure of our people to accept their responsibilities as citizens. The editor of a fine newspaper in New York State has said the American press is at fault. Education and the press are not alone to blame.

Citizen Understanding

Government itself deserves some censure. The municipalities cannot escape their share. Certainly our local government is complex enough but in our practices we have made it even more difficult of understanding. The typical local government report is unattractive in form and stuffy in content. It repels the interest of the citizen and defies his understanding.

Almost every governmental department has a "lingo" of its own, and the members of the department take great pride in their ability to make a simple subject sound complicated to the uninitiated.

The starting point for greater citizen responsibility is greater citizen understanding of our government. Because local government provides so many of the day-to-day services which mean so much to the happiness and comfort of the citizen, local government has the greatest opportunity to aid his understanding.

With greater understanding will

(Continued on page 25)

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[1] See "Shame of the Cities—1946," the REVIEW. January 1947, pages 18-25.

Tax Rates of American Cities

Increased costs of municipal government are reflected in greater tax rates and increased assessments for 1948.

By Bureau of Governmental Research, Detroit, and the National Training School for Public Service*

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BOTH a 6 per cent increase in per capita assessed values and a 6 per cent increase in adjusted tax rates is the summary of the 1948 property tax survey. Unadjusted rates also increased 6 per cent. This year 333 cities reported, or 96 per cent of those queried.

The rate increases are not unexpected. Last year assessments jumped as adjusted rates decreased slightly. This year both climbed as cities raised rates on previously boosted assessments and as new assessments modestly reflected higher values and additional property placed on the rolls. The pattern is familiar and manifests the relentless demand of local government for more money with which to operate.

The increase in per capita assessments this year is considerably less than that described last year, 6 per cent as compared to 15.7 per cent for 1947 (see Table I). This seems to indicate that municipalities are following a prudent course in not gearing their assessments, as well as their financial structures, to inflationary property values. A random sample of cities shows that assessment rolls in 1948 are not significantly higher than in 1929, and in some instances are lower. Conservative assessments, new local taxes and grants from federal and state governments are all part of the explanation.

The greatest change in per capita assessed valuations over those of last year is found in the five cities of a million or more (Group I). In 1947 their per capita assessed value was up 26 per cent. This year the increase is a moderate 3.2 per cent. Cities in the other population groups show a similar but less marked tendency downward or increases of 5 per cent to 7 per cent. Group III (population 250,000 to 500,000), however, is the single exception. In 1947 this group showed an increase in per capita assessed values of approximately 6 per cent. This year the increase is 12 per cent. What brought about this higher increase is not known, but it is safe to assume that increased building is not the only answer.

It is well to remember that although those cities where legal requirements specify assessments at full or true cash value often report a 100 per cent ratio, it is impossible to find a city with actual assessments at 100 per cent of today's market. When 100 per cent or even lower ratios are reported, they may be ratios based on prewar values. Thus the real ratio is unreported and adjusted tax rates for these cities are subject to question and must be quoted with care. Wherever possible, information on this problem has been included in footnotes.

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*The following Volker Fellows of the National Training School for Public Service compiled and tabulated the data as part of their field training with the Bureau of Governmental Research, Detroit, under the supervision of the bureau staff: Charles R. Crawford, Dickinson College; Frederick B. Gillette, Washington and Lee University; Merle F. Goff, University of Maine; Frank W. Haines, University of Maine; Jules O. Hendricks, Indiana University; W. Leo Hill, Colorado College; Richard Malcolm, Pomona College; Ernest H. Newman, Jr., University of Missouri; John P. O'Brien, University of Akron; Harold J. Shamberger, West Virginia University; Francis J. Shannon, University of Notre Dame.

Tax Rates

Tax rates, both adjusted and unadjusted, reversed the decrease found last year (see Table I). For all cities reporting in both years the increase in adjusted rates is $1.73 and $2.48 for unadjusted rates. Without greatly raising assessments this year, cities were bound to raise rates, thus capitalizing on the valuation change of a year ago.

Cities of Group III (population 250,000 to 500,000) show the heaviest increase in unadjusted rates ($4.39), and are second only to the cities of Group V (population 50,000 to 100,000) in the rise of adjusted rates ($1.63) (see Table III). Thus this group has significant increases in both assessed values and rates. Since it is unlikely that the citizens of these cities demand more services than the citizens of either larger or smaller cities, it may be that Group III cities are undergoing more drastic population changes, a factor not reflected by the use of 1940 census figures in the tabulation.

Cities in Group IV (population 100,000 to 250,000) report an average increase in unadjusted rates of $3.50, while showing only a slight increase of $.50 in adjusted rates. Lowered ratios of assessed to true value seem to explain this, as drops in adjusted rates reflect a decrease in the ratio of assessed to true value.

The remaining groups show substantial increases in both the adjusted and unadjusted categories. The cities in Group I report an average increase of $2.41 in unadjusted rates, and a $1.57 rise in adjusted rates. Group II unadjusted rates are up $2.67 with adjusted rates climbing $1.04. Group V shows increases of $2.71 in the unadjusted rate, and $2.72 in the adjusted rate. Group VI rises $2.01 in unadjusted and $1.58 in adjusted tax rates.

School Rates

Inasmuch as support of the schools has been much discussed, unadjusted tax rates levied for school purposes were tabulated separately and compared with those of 1947. It was found that 36 per cent of the local property tax goes for the schools of the reporting cities. It was 35 per cent in 1947. The percentage is currently lowest (29 per cent) for Group III cities and highest (42 per cent) for Group IV cities. School rate increases either account for 20 per cent or more of each group's total rate increase, or are accompanied by reduced rates for other local purposes. Without taking into consideration the higher assessments in 1948, school rates, on the average, show an imperceptible change over last year.

Tax Exemption

The whittling away of the tax base by reason of exempted property

TABLE I

ANNUAL CHANGE IN PER CAPITA ASSESSED VALUE, AND IN AVERAGE UNADJUSTED AND ADJUSTED TAX RATES

Year	*Per Cent Change Per Capita Assessed Value*	*Change in Unadjusted Rates Per $1,000 of Assessed Value*	*Change in Adjusted Rates Per $1,000 of Assessed Value*
1948	+ 6 %	+ $2.48	+ $1.73
1947	+ 15.7	— .71	— .05
1946	+ 1.3	+ 2.52	+ .52
1945	+ 1.1	+ .90	+ .22
1944	+ .6	+ .18	+ .12
1943	+ 1.5	— .53	— .35
1942	— .1	— .46	— .05

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF PER CAPITA ASSESSED VALUE OF 300 CITIES 1947-1948

Population Group[a]	*Per Capita Assessed Value 1948*	*Per Capita Assessed Value 1947*	*Amount Change in Per Capita Assessed Valuation 1947—1948*	*Per Cent Change in Per Capita Assessed Valuation 1947—1948*
I	$2,174	$2,106	+ $ 68	3.2%
II	1,944	1,817	+ 127	7 %
III	1,453	1,294	+ 159	12 %
IV	1,501	1,405	+ 96	7 %
V	1,591	1,502	+ 89	6 %
VI[b]	1,568	1,494	+ 74	5 %
	$1,788	$1,690	+ $ 98	6 %

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF 1948 AND 1947 AVERAGE UNADJUSTED AND ADJUSTED TAX RATES OF 303 AMERICAN CITIES

Population Group[a]	*Average Unadjusted Rates Per $1,000 Assessed Value*			*Average Adjusted Rates Per $1,000 Assessed Value*		
	1948	*1947*	*Change*	*1948*	*1947*	*Change*
I	$36.69	$34.28	+$ 2.41	$30.70	$29.13	+$ 1.57
II	39.35	36.68	+ 2.67	33.16	32.12	+ 1.04
III	51.78	47.39	+ 4.39	27.26	25.63	+ 1.63
IV	45.35	41.85	+ 3.50	30.67	30.17	+ .50
V	43.57	40.86	+ 2.71	29.81	27.09	+ 2.72
VI[b]	39.93	37.92	+ 2.01	28.90	27.32	+ 1.58
	$42.66	$40.18	+ $2.48	$29.57	$27.84	+ $1.73

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[a] Population groups defined by United States Bureau of Census as indicated in tabulation following article.

[b] Group VI is defined by the Bureau of Census to include cities between 25,000 and 50,000 population, but in this study cities under 30,000 are not included.

is presenting the cities with a problem of growing seriousness as the pressures for spending become greater. Exempt property takes the form of ownership by government or religious, charitable and non-profit organizations, special privileges to industries, and homesteads. Fifty of 282 cities reporting on the question are affected by homestead exemption laws.

A total of 171 cities reported their percentage of tax-exempt property at 19.2 per cent as compared to 17.3 per cent last year. This slight change is of little importance as the total value of tax exempt property is frequently an estimate.

It is the predicament of the city possessing a high percentage of exempt property, perhaps because of a large university or federal property within its boundaries, that attracts attention. Too frequently it is forgotten that the 17 per cent of property that is tax exempt must have its burden assumed by the other 83 per cent which is not. It is well then for cities to inquire into the type and use of such specially privileged property.

Tabulation Explained

Several comments and notes of caution are in order on the tabulation itself.

The figure reported as the assessed value is the total amount of assessment rolls certified for city taxes and includes both realty and personalty.

The tax rates reported are all based on $1,000 of assessed valuation. Many cities reported rates levied by special taxing units such as park, library, relief, sanitary and water supply districts. These rates have been included in the rates reported under the four general headings with footnotes to give the necessary breakdown and explanation. In this way the total tax borne by property in a given city is reflected.

The estimated ratio of assessed value to true value includes both the city and county ratios. Generally, the city and county ratios are identical because either one unit or the other does the assessing. In cases where the city and county ratios differ, the percentage reported is an average of the two ratios weighted in accordance with the applicable rates.

The figure listed as the adjusted tax rate shows what the tax rate would be if the ratio of assessed to true value were 100 per cent for all cities listed. Even though based on judgment and interpretation, this adjusted rate presents a better basis for comparing tax rates in different cities than the actual rates levied. The adjusted figure is derived by multiplying each component part of the total unadjusted rate by the reported city or county ratio and adding the products.

The reader must realize that the tax rates reported do not furnish either a quantitative or qualitative measure of municipal services. One city with a relatively low rate may provide more services in a more efficient manner than another city. Therefore, it is not possible to use the data reported in this survey for comparing the costs and services of various cities.

The reader is cautioned against multiplying the assessed value by the total tax rate to derive the total tax levy because of the varied ratios of assessment, the varied tax rates applying to real and personal property, and the fact that special district taxes may affect only part of a city.

Acknowledgement

This is the 27th annual tabulation of tax rates of cities over 30,000 population. It has been made possible by the continued cooperation of city and county officials, bureaus of municipal research, chambers of commerce and other organizations in the cities to which questionnaires were sent. Every attempt was made to eliminate omissions and errors. However, it is hoped that any discovered, and such other comments as may be thought helpful, will be forwarded to the Bureau of Governmental Research, Detroit.

(See following pages for tabulation.)

PATRIOT RETURNS

(Continued from page 16)

and were hurried across the fields to a place of safety.

As they fled in the early April dawn the echo of firing at Lexington reached their ears. Sam Adams stopped to listen. Then he raised his hands to the sky and cried, "What a glorious morning is this!" Not glorious because the victories of the Revolution were won—eight years of almost intolerable struggle lay ahead—but glorious to the prophetic soul of Sam Adams because the conflict for which he had waited and worked was actually engaged.

It will be a glorious day for Boston or any other city in similar case when the forces of good government join issue with the machine. It may be a hard fight but it will eventually blossom into victory.

FIRMER FOUNDATION

(Continued from page 20)

come increased awareness of the services provided and appreciation of their value. The prestige of the public service will be raised to the high level it deserves. Perhaps we may even have "Oscars" for the outstanding public servant.

The citizen who now shuns politics will then recall that Elihu Root said: "Politics is the practical exercise of the art of self-government." He will be proud to be known as a politician as was Lincoln. Our people will be inspired with as great a zeal for service to their country in time of peace as in war.

If local government does its part we shall immeasurably strengthen the foundation upon which we have built our nation. With that strength we need not fear the future.

COMPARATIVE TAX RATES OF AMERICAN CITIES FOR 1948

Compiled by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research from Data Furnished by City Officials and Members of the Governmental Research Association

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
	Group I											
	Population 1,000,000 or over											
1	New York, N. Y.[1]	7,454,995	17,584,492,413	N	—	—	—	—	29.70	100	29.70	1
2	Chicago, Ill.[2]	3,396,808	7,527,708,198	20	16.28	9.80	2.64	N	28.72	100	28.72	2
3	Philadelphia, Pa.[3]	1,931,334	3,417,491,435	19	17.00	11.75	N	N	28.75	100	28.75	3
4	Detroit, Mich.[4]	1,623,452	3,745,817,710	32	21.04	9.65	5.65	N	36.34	100	36.34	4
5	Los Angeles, Calif.[5]	1,504,277	2,306,818,400	21	16.33	21.38	22.23	N	59.94	50	29.97	5
	Group II											
	Population 500,000 to 1,000,000											
6	Cleveland, Ohio[k]	878,336	1,525,816,647	22	16.00	11.00	4.00	N	31.00	70	21.70	6
7	Baltimore, Md.[6]	859,100	2,052,954,229	36	28.50	—	N	1.11	29.61	100	29.61	7
8	St. Louis, Mo.[7]	816,048	1,162,647,000	12	17.70	9.00	N	.70	27.40	100	27.40	8
9	Boston, Mass.[g]	770,816	1,581,994,000	9	39.44	10.78	2.37	.81	53.40	100	53.40	9
10	Pittsburgh, Pa.[8]	671,659	971,953,356	—	19.97	11.75	8.38	N	40.10	100	40.10	10
11	Washington, D. C.	663,091	1,872,056,621	15	20.00	—	N	N	20.00	100	20.00	11
12	San Francisco, Calif.[9]	634,536	1,430,218,531	22	44.45	16.45	—	N	60.90	50	30.45	12
13	Milwaukee, Wis.[10]	587,472	994,290,290	21	15.34	13.66	11.62	.25	40.87	80	32.70	13
14	Buffalo, N. Y.[11]	575,901	963,534,335	N	22.73	7.37	12.94	—	43.04	100	43.04	14

See also general notes at end of tabulation.

N = None.

— = Figures or breakdown not available.

* = Estimated figure.

† = These cities reported different assessment ratios for the city and county, or for land and buildings. The figure shown is the weighted average (to the nearest integer) of the several ratios.

[1] **New York City.** Rate shown is for borough of Manhattan. Total rate for Bronx is $29.60; Brooklyn $30.00; Queens $30.40; Richmond $29.70. See footnote j.

[2] **Chicago.** City rate includes $2.80, Park District; $2.40, Sanitary District; $.32, Forest Preserve.

[3] **Philadelphia.** City and county are consolidated. Rate for intangible personalty is $4 per $1,000. See footnote m.

[4] **Detroit.** The ratio of true to assessed value is quoted at 100 per cent in accordance with statutory provisions. A recent study conducted by the Board of Assessors revealed an average assessment ratio of 42.5 per cent on 1948 sales of residential buildings.

[5] **Los Angeles.** County rate includes flood control $1.95; metropolitan water district estimated adjustment for total assessment roll $2.70, the rate as levied on land and improvements is $3.40. See footnote d.

[6] **Baltimore.** Assessed valuation includes $67,000,000 shares of banks and trust companies, $387,000,000 deposits in savings banks, $69,570,000 railroad securities, taxed at one per cent, $1.875, and $3 respectively. Schools, included in city rate, approximately 22 per cent of funds raised by levy. There is no county government in Baltimore.

[7] **St. Louis.** St. Louis is a city and county within itself. City rates include county rate. Also included in city rate are $1 for library, art museum and zoo, and $4 for interest and public debt.

[8] **Pittsburgh.** City rate represents weighted average of $28 on land and $14 on improvements for an estimated rate of $19.97. Intangible personal property is taxed by the city and school board at 2 mills by each taxing body. In addition, the county has a 4 mill rate on personal property. The assessed valuation of such personal property within the city of Pittsburgh is $374,295,330; not included in assessed value. See footnote m.

[9] **San Francisco.** Assessed valuation does not include solvent credits of $430,099,919. City and county governments are combined.

[10] **Milwaukee.** City assessed valuation is 79.88 per cent of the equalized value as determined by the State Supervisor of Assessments for Milwaukee County.

[11] **Buffalo.** County rate includes $.93 Buffalo Sewer Authority. See footnote j.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
	Group III Population 250,000 to 500,000											
15	New Orleans, La.[12]	494,537	583,127,172	29	23.78	7.00	N	5.75	36.53	100	36.53	15
16	Minneapolis, Minn.[h]	492,370	269,785,754	27	71.34	25.81	25.08	6.77	129.00	34	43.86	16
17	Cincinnati, Ohio[k]	455,610	945,000,000	17	11.62	9.45	3.29	N	24.36	50	12.18	17
18	Newark, N. J.[i]	429,760	735,131,754	29	36.54	19.75	8.71	N	65.00	60	39.00	18
19	Kansas City, Mo.	399,178	573,088,210	28	14.90	13.00	7.00	.70	35.60	40	14.24	19
20	Indianapolis, Ind.[e]	386,972	584,171,920	33	17.90	14.40	6.50	1.50	40.30	100	40.30	20
21	Houston, Texas[13]	384,514	631,644,120	33	19.75	12.70	9.60	7.20	49.25	46†	29.44	21
22	Seattle, Wash.[14]	368,302	363,128,544	29	20.50	13.00	14.00	2.10	49.60	35	17.36	22
23	Rochester, N. Y.[j]	324,975	550,689,514	N	19.56	10.52	10.64	—	40.72	50	20.36	23
24	Denver, Colo.[15]	322,412	472,515,090	36	22.10	23.00	—	4.53	49.63	80	39.70	24
25	Louisville, Ky.	319,077	403,467,255	20	15.30	13.50	5.00	.50	34.30	65	22.30	25
26	Columbus, Ohio[k]	306,087	486,312,800	16	6.20	10.20	2.60	N	18.80	80	15.04	26
27	Portland, Ore.[16]	305,394	468,366,810	23	17.40	21.30	14.80	N	53.50	58	31.04	27
28	Atlanta, Ga.[17]	302,288	474,344,964	38	16.00	—	24.00	5.00	45.00	58†	24.98	28
29	Oakland, Calif.[18]	302,163	356,801,595	11	27.10	25.14	22.56	N	74.80	50	37.40	29
30	Jersey City, N. J.[19]	301,173	502,639,613	12	34.22	19.36	15.41	N	68.99	70	48.29	30
31	Dallas, Texas[o]	294,734	546,865,020	34	18.50	10.50	8.30	4.20	41.50	30†	12.70	31
32	Memphis, Tenn.[20]	292,942	392,429,794	10	11.50	6.50	9.10	.80	27.90	52	14.51	32
33	St. Paul, Minn.[21]	287,736	156,217,519	28	47.53	26.14	28.86	6.77	109.30	34	37.16	33
34	Toledo, Ohio[k]	282,349	499,599,753	18	6.85	11.18	2.97	N	21.00	74†	15.60	34
35	Birmingham, Ala.[a]	267,583	254,646,689	20[a]	11.50	6.50	11.50	6.50	36.00	40	14.40	35
36	San Antonio, Texas[22]	253,854	375,157,370	29	19.10	11.60	8.00	4.20	42.90	51†	22.00	36
37	Providence, R. I.[n]	253,504	746,864,473	—	25.00	—	—	—	25.00	100	25.00	37

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[12] **New Orleans.** City rate includes parish (county) rate and $5.50 levee rate. See footnote f.

[13] **Houston.** City rate includes $.25 library rate. See footnote o.

[14] **Seattle.** County rate includes $2.40 Port of Seattle rate. See footnote p.

[15] **Denver.** Consolidated city and county rate because of city-county governmental organization.

[16] **Portland.** City rate includes Dock Commission levy of $1.43. County rate includes Port of Portland levy of $.60.

[17] **Atlanta.** City rate includes schools and debt service. County rate includes $4 hospital rate. See footnote c.

[18] **Oakland.** County rate includes $.16 mosquito abatement, $.50 East Bay Regional Park District and $2.60 East Bay Municipal Utility District. Rates given are for District No. 1; total rate for District No. 2 is $74.50.

[19] **Jersey City.** City and school rates are assessed by the city and certified by the County Board of Taxation before being levied. See footnote i.

[20] **Memphis.** City rate includes $1.10 park rate and $.30 library rate.

[21] **St. Paul.** Total rate shown is for non-homestead property. Rate on homesteads is $105.55. See footnote h.

[22] **San Antonio.** School rate includes $.80, junior college. See footnote o.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
	Group IV											
	Population 100,000 to 250,000											
38	Akron, Ohio[k]	244,791	390,000,000	23	13.11	13.35	3.79	N	30.25	40	12.10	38
39	Omaha, Neb.[23]	233,844	311,284,315	18	13.90	19.00	4.68	7.56	45.14	70	31.60	39
40	Dayton, Ohio[k]	210,718	374,398,990	24	8.50	11.60	4.70	N	24.80	35	8.68	40
41	Syracuse, N. Y.[j]	205,967	350,432,795	N	19.18	10.87	14.56	.08	44.69	100	44.69	41
42	Oklahoma City, Okla.[l]	204,424	165,881,897	18	18.53	28.27	12.81	N	59.61	20	11.92	42
43	San Diego, Calif.[24]	203,341	281,309,690	23	20.50	21.10	25.50	N	67.10	50	33.55	43
44	Worcester, Mass.[25]	193,694	284,653,750	7	45.22	—	1.52	.06	46.80	70	32.76	44
45	Richmond, Va.[26]	193,042	352,214,661	22	—	—	N	N	22.00	89	19.58	45
46	Honolulu, T. H.[27]	179,358	186,824,357	N	—	—	—	—	33.18	25	8.30	46
47	Fort Worth, Texas[28]	177,662	242,810,235	28	21.60	11.60	9.30	7.20	49.70	65†	32.35	47
48	Jacksonville, Fla.[29]	173,065	165,516,280	21	15.50	14.27	10.73	N	40.50	100	40.50	48
49	Miami, Fla.[30]	172,172	417,832,940	17	27.60	13.00	11.70	N	52.30	100	52.30	49
50	Youngstown, Ohio[31]	167,720	297,530,646	15	7.10	10.10	3.40	N	20.60	80	16.48	50
51	Nashville, Tenn.	167,402	220,364,606	20	17.50	5.50	—	—	23.00	100	23.00	51
52	Hartford, Conn.	166,267	412,057,428	24	—	—	—	—	37.00	100	37.00	52
53	Grand Rapids, Mich.	164,292	263,396,680	29	8.06	6.84	4.16	N	19.06	75	14.30	53
54	Long Beach, Calif.[32]	164,271	349,088,800	17	10.89	22.55	24.35	N	57.79	50	28.90	54
55	New Haven, Conn.[33]	160,605	336,372,810	20	18.73	11.27	.50	N	30.50	75	22.88	55
56	Des Moines, Iowa	159,819	250,240,826	39	22.43	35.00	15.69	N	73.12	60	43.87	56
57	Flint, Mich.	151,543	293,366,300	23	7.25	6.73	3.16	N	17.14	96	16.45	57
58	Salt Lake City, Utah[34]	149,934	156,735,935	27	20.80	26.25	8.50	N	55.55	—	—	58
59	Springfield, Mass.	149,554	272,109,290	9	22.33	15.99	1.48	.10	39.90	100	39.90	59
60	Bridgeport, Conn.[35]	147,121	317,662,145	35	23.58	8.23	.19	N	32.00	100	32.00	60

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[23] **Omaha.** City rate includes $1, municipal university; estimated ratio based on statutory requirement that real property be assessed at 70 per cent of true value, and personal property at 100 per cent.

[24] **San Diego.** County rate includes water authority, $1.40. See footnote d.

[25] **Worcester.** City rate includes school rate. See footnote g.

[26] **Richmond.** Estimated ratio based on 1942 study reported by the State Department of Taxation.

[27] **Honolulu.** Rates are consolidated for city and county purposes including schools. Homestead exemption: first $1,500 assessed value plus half of value between $1,500 and $5,000.

[28] **Fort Worth.** City rate includes $3.20, water control rate. See footnote o.

[29] **Jacksonville.** County rate includes $.10 navigation districts rate and $.32 air base authority rate. See footnote b.

[30] **Miami.** County rate includes $.50 Everglades Drainage Districts rate. See footnote b.

[31] **Youngstown.** City rate includes sanitary district rate of $1.25 and $.10 township rate. See footnote k.

[32] **Long Beach.** County rate includes metropolitan water district $3.40, county flood control $1.95, and sanitation district $1.42. See footnote d.

[33] **New Haven.** Tax rate for Ward 32 is $15.77.

[34] **Salt Lake City.** City rate includes mosquito abatement rate $.30 and metropolitan water district rate of $1. School rate includes state school equalization rate of $8.90.

[35] **Bridgeport.** City rate includes welfare rate of $2 and Debt Service including schools $3.57.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
61	Norfolk, Va.[36]	144,332	223,555,588*	16	—	—	N	N	27.00	71	19.17	61
62	Yonkers, N. Y.[37]	142,598	297,253,305*	N	17.25	12.21	7.51	13.00	37.10	100	37.10	62
63	Tulsa, Okla.[l]	142,157	124,166,642	—	14.84	24.01	10.06	N	48.91	40	19.56	63
64	Scranton, Pa.[38]	140,404	96,459,961	N	17.54	22.50	11.50	N	51.54	44	22.73	64
65	Paterson, N. J.[l]	139,656	180,134,595	10	25.99	20.27	8.98	N	55.24	100	55.24	65
66	Albany, N. Y.[39]	130,577	246,495,817	N	30.88	—	11.22	.10	42.20	93	39.25	66
67	Chattanooga, Tenn.	128,163	137,000,000	—	25.00	—	16.40	—	41.40	55	22.77	67
68	Trenton, N. J.[l]	124,697	159,426,996	18	22.60	22.50	10.20	N	55.30	75	41.48	68
69	Spokane, Wash.[p]	122,001	101,265,061	18	18.00	12.30	10.50	2.20	43.00	50	21.50	69
70	Kansas City, Kans.	121,458	87,663,948	20	23.97	27.98	11.60	1.30	64.85	35	22.60	70
71	Fort Wayne, Ind.[e]	118,410	215,000,000*	32	14.50	12.50	8.30	1.50	36.80	65	23.92	71
72	Camden, N. J.[l]	117,536	137,839,495	16	22.57	18.96	14.47	N	56.00	—	—	72
73	Erie, Pa.[m]	116,955	128,881,540	N	17.00	18.50	10.00	N	45.50	92†	42.00	73
74	Fall River, Mass.	115,428	122,341,500	15	—	—	—	N	48.80	100	48.80	74
75	Wichita, Kans.[40]	114,966	166,198,936	24	16.48	25.65	9.77	1.30	53.20	40	21.28	75
76	Wilmington, Del.	112,504	176,630,000	N	18.37	3.63	5.00	N	27.00	60	16.21	76
77	Gary, Ind.[41]	111,719	148,000,000*	28	20.63	27.34	13.10	1.50	62.57	39†	24.22	77
78	Knoxville, Tenn.	111,580	176,326,131	22	17.20	9.20	18.00	.80	45.20	52†	23.36	78
79	Cambridge, Mass.[42]	110,879	198,210,950	7	29.56	8.59	.87	.88	39.90	100	39.90	79
80	Reading, Pa.[43]	110,568	139,642,725	N	12.00	18.50	6.50	N	37.00	71†	26.09	80
81	New Bedford, Mass.[44]	110,341	113,151,625	14	35.43	11.10	1.35	.12	48.00	100	48.00	81
82	Elizabeth, N. J.[l]	109,921	137,693,870	11	26.83	18.58	6.19	N	51.60	100	51.60	82
83	Tacoma, Wash.[45]	109,408	74,969,980	35	22.54	26.60	18.00	2.13	69.27	30	20.78	83
84	Canton, Ohio[46]	108,401	190,125,850	22	4.80	13.40	22.00	N	20.40	80	16.32	84
85	Tampa, Fla.[47]	108,391	130,732,057	23	32.00	17.30	18.20	N	67.50	77	51.98	85
86	Sacramento, Calif.[48]	105,958	162,130,595	17	20.40	19.60	16.30	N	56.30	54†	30.19	86

[36] **Norfolk.** Estimated ratio based on 1942 study reported by Virginia Department of Taxation. Assessed value and per cent personalty based on estimates. Personalty includes machinery assessment. Total rate does not include $10 machinery tax. City rate includes school tax.

[37] **Yonkers.** City rate includes $6.67 debt service (other than water and schools). See footnote j.

[38] **Scranton.** City rate represents weighted average of $24.82 on land and $12.41 on improvements for an estimated rate of $17.54. County rate includes $4.50 for Institution District (poor). See footnote m.

[39] **Albany.** Assessment ratio reported by State Department of Taxation and Finance. City rate includes schools. See footnote j.

[40] **Wichita.** School rate includes $2.90, University of Wichita. County rate includes $1.95 elementary school—city only.

[41] **Gary.** City rate includes $1.83 Sanitary District rate. See footnote e.

[42] **Cambridge.** City rate includes $.49 "overlays" rate.

[43] **Reading.** $4 personal property tax is not included in county rate. See footnote m.

[44] **New Bedford.** City rate includes $2.96 debt and interest rate.

[45] **Tacoma.** City rate includes park rate of $2.75, county rate includes port rate of $3. See footnote p.

[46] **Canton.** City rate includes $.10 town levy. See footnote k.

[47] **Tampa.** City rate includes $5.50 for debt service. School rate includes $2.30 for debt service. County rate includes $.50 for Port Authority District. See footnote b.

[48] **Sacramento.** County rate includes flood control $.40, $.20 Sacramento-Yolo Mosquito Abatement District, and $.20 Sacramento-Yolo Port District. See footnote d.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
87	Peoria, Ill.[49]	105,087	349,923,640	29	8.95	9.00	1.15	N	19.10	100	19.10	87
88	Somerville, Mass.[50]	102,177	139,631,300	5	32.99	13.27	1.30	2.34	49.90	100	49.90	88
89	Lowell, Mass.	101,389	100,311,250	10	37.65	13.91	1.30	.14	53.00	100	53.00	89
90	South Bend, Ind.[e]	101,268	177,201,160	33	16.85	14.58	8.47	1.50	41.40	80	33.12	90
91	Duluth, Minn.[h]	101,065	47,597,631	22	48.35	53.67	38.80	6.77	150.39	32	48.12	91
92	Charlotte, N. C.[51]	100,899	155,756,905	35	14.20	4.70	8.90	N	27.80	67	18.63	92
93	Utica, N. Y.[j]	100,518	148,660,418	N	21.92	10.52	12.47	—	44.91	100	44.91	93
	Group V **Population 50,000 to 100,000**											
94	Waterbury, Conn.	99,314	———	—	18.06	10.18	1.28	.23	29.75	63	18.74	94
95	Shreveport, La.[52]	98,167	144,767,016	37	19.00	—	—	—	—	60	11.40	95
96	Lynn, Mass.	98,123	Not reported									96
97	Evansville, Ind.[e]	97,062	144,996,880	26	12.30	17.10	11.90	1.50	42.80	75	32.10	97
98	Allentown, Pa.[m]	96,904	113,364,232	N	14.00	18.00	7.00	N	39.00	63†	24.50	98
99	El Paso, Texas[o]	96,810	115,254,700	27	17.50	13.50	9.20	7.20	47.40	33†	15.57	99
100	Savannah, Ga.[c]	95,996	52,793,099	37	23.00	15.00	13.00	5.00	56.00	60	33.60	100
101	Little Rock, Ark.	88,039	57,334,933	25	14.20	18.00	8.30	6.50	47.00	20	9.40	101
102	Austin, Texas[o]	87,930	131,702,210	18	16.00	7.00	8.50	7.20	38.70	64†	23.26	102
103	Schenectady, N. Y.[j]	87,549	161,242,813	N	18.72	14.02	9.31	—	42.05	88	37.00	103
104	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.[53]	86,236	82,489,487	8	17.00	18.00	11.70	N	46.70	100	46.70	104
105	Berkeley, Calif.[54]	85,547	112,676,425	17	18.65	22.49	22.56	N	63.70	53†	33.92	105
106	Rockford, Ill.[55]	84,637	277,407,112	N	7.08	7.46	1.16	N	15.70	100	15.70	106
107	Lawrence, Mass.	84,323	———	—	—	—	—	—	45.60	100	45.60	107
108	Harrisburg, Pa.[m]	83,893	96,709,755	N	14.00	16.50	6.00	N	36.50	58†	21.30	108
109	Saginaw, Mich.	82,794	127,376,565	21	6.91	6.33	5.28	N	18.52	50	9.26	109
110	Glendale, Calif.[56]	82,582	114,795,135	14	10.00	25.47	19.52	N	54.99	50	27.50	110
111	Sioux City, Iowa[57]	82,364	83,168,745	17	19.08	26.19	12.36	N	57.63	60	34.58	111
112	Lincoln, Neb.[58]	81,894	115,902,895	29	12.90	22.48	3.49	6.86	45.73	78†	35.39	112
113	Pasadena, Calif.[59]	81,864	199,877,610	11	11.20	24.11	20.91	N	56.22	64†	35.92	113

[49] **Peoria.** City rate includes $1.24 Park District, $.97 Sanitary District, $.22 town levies.

[50] **Somerville.** City rate includes $4.24 for "overlays"—the amount set aside to pay refunds and abatements on poll, personal and real estate tax.

[51] **Charlotte.** City rate includes $.20 parks and recreation rate.

[52] **Shreveport.** City rate includes $9 bond retirement and $1 library and recreation rate. See footnote f.

[53] **Wilkes-Barre.** County rate includes $3 institutional levy, but does not include $4 personal property levy. See footnote m.

[54] **Berkeley.** County rate includes utility district $2.60, regional parks $.50 and mosquito abatement $.16. See footnote d.

[55] **Rockford.** City rate includes $.95 Sanitary District, $1.29 Airport-Park Districts, $.54 town levies.

[56] **Glendale.** County rate includes flood control, $1.95. See footnote d.

[57] **Sioux City.** City rate includes $1.25 levy on agricultural land for township road.

[58] **Lincoln.** City rate includes $2 sanitary district rate.

[59] **Pasadena.** County rate includes flood control $1.95 and sanitation district $1.38. See footnote d.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
114	Altoona, Pa.[60]	80,214	83,240,880	N	12.00	18.00	6.00	N	36.00	65†	23.40	114
115	Winston-Salem, N. C.	79,815	153,097,345	49	19.50	3.50	5.00	N	28.00	80	22.40	115
116	Bayonne, N. J.[l]	79,198	128,162,113	16	29.76	27.66	16.55	N	73.97	100	73.97	116
117	Huntington, W. Va.[61]	78,836	154,022,390	38	3.58	9.68	2.97	.07	15.81	35	5.53	117
118	Lansing, Mich.[62]	78,753	149,353,580	31	15.25	11.75	6.50	N	33.50	80	26.80	118
119	Mobile, Ala.[a]	78,720	81,978,117	32	7.50	9.00	12.50	6.50	35.50	60	21.30	119
120	Binghamton, N. Y.[63]	78,309	113,218,432	N	26.41	12.60	4.63	—	43.64	94	41.02	120
121	Montgomery, Ala.[a]	78,084	53,274,651	30	12.50	7.00	7.50	6.50	33.50	33	11.06	121
122	Niagara Falls, N. Y.[64]	78,029	162,420,200	N	20.98	16.93	7.36	—	45.27	85	38.48	122
123	Manchester, N. H.[65]	77,685	110,104,052	29	34.90	—	4.99	.11	40.00	100	40.00	123
124	Quincy, Mass.[g]	75,810	141,591,600	6	—	—	—	—	38.00	100	38.00	124
125	Pawtucket, R. I.[n]	75,797	167,544,801	30	21.00	—	—	—	21.00	100	21.00	125
126	St. Joseph, Mo.	75,711	61,787,450	26	16.50	15.60	8.80	.70	41.60	62†	25.72	126
127	East St. Louis, Ill.[66]	75,609	150,878,700	14	12.10	14.40	1.90	N	28.40	100	28.40	127
128	Springfield, Ill.[67]	75,503	201,581,128	16	8.25	7.70	1.85	N	17.80	95	16.91	128
129	Portland, Me.[68]	73,643	90,506,950	29	32.25	15.01	1.67	6.67	55.60	70	38.92	129
130	Charleston, S. C.	71,275	21,429,575	39	62.00	40.00	21.00	N	123.00	20	24.60	130
131	Springfield, Ohio[69]	70,662	116,472,117	24	5.57	13.80	3.63	N	23.00	80	18.40	131
132	Troy, N. Y.[70]	70,304	71,787,988	N	25.97	12.60	14.81	—	53.38	89	47.51	132
133	Hammond, Ind.[e]	70,184	109,337,365	22	15.34	28.90	12.66	1.50	58.40	29	16.94	133
134	Newton, Mass.	69,873	184,111,400	10	—	—	—	—	34.00	100	34.00	134
135	Roanoke, Va.	69,287	89,130,790	14	—	—	N	N	25.00	60	15.00	135
136	Lakewood, Ohio[k]	69,160	106,151,892	6	9.30	15.90	4.00	N	29.20	75	21.90	136
137	East Orange, N. J.[l]	68,945	109,266,172	9	20.67	17.65	8.87	N	47.20	100	47.20	137
138	New Britain, Conn.[71]	68,685	121,528,890	21	15.18	14.42	4.90	—	34.50	100	34.50	138
139	San Jose, Calif.[d]	68,457	96,207,465	21	16.10	26.28	19.30	N	61.68	50	30.84	139
140	Charleston, W. Va.[72]	67,914	146,761,275	40	5.15	10.27	5.37	.07	20.86	30	6.26	140

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[60] **Altoona.** Personal property rate for the county is $4. See footnote m.

[61] **Huntington.** Huntington has 3 classes of property; the city rate is the average rate of these 3 classes.

[62] **Lansing.** At time of publication school and county rates were tentative, not final.

[63] **Binghamton.** City rate includes $1.11 hospital, $4.35 welfare, $.92 library and museum, $8.06 debt service. See footnote j.

[64] **Niagara Falls.** Assessment ratio as determined by New York State Department of Taxation and Finance. See footnote j.

[65] **Manchester.** City rate includes school rate.

[66] **East St. Louis.** City rate includes $1.20 town, $3 levee, $1.82 park, $.45 health rates.

[67] **Springfield.** City rate includes $1.32 town, $.47 Sanitary District, $.51 airport, $.63 park levies.

[68] **Portland.** Assessment ratio furnished by Maine Bureau of Taxation. City rate includes $4.45 for debt service (including school debt).

[69] **Springfield.** County rate includes $.03 township levy. See footnote k.

[70] **Troy.** Assessment ratio as determined by New York State Department of Taxation and Finance. School rate shown is for Troy city school district. See footnote j.

[71] **New Britain.** School and county rates computed from 1948 appropriation summary.

[72] **Charleston.** County rate includes $2.23 to finance county airport bonds. Tax limits per $1000 as follows: Class I, personal, $5; Class II, owner residential property $10; Class III, other (outside municipalities), $15; Class IV, other, $20 for all purposes except debt contracted prior to 1932 in certain cases, which may be above limit.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
141	Topeka, Kans.[73]	67,833	76,549,347	17	17.72	19.17	7.17	1.45	45.51	40	18.20	141
142	Madison, Wis.[74]	67,447	170,531,071	19	10.92	14.27	7.59	.22	33.00	87	28.71	142
143	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.[75]	67,362	145,818,455	N	11.77	17.42	8.61	—	37.80	100	37.80	143
144	Racine, Wis.	67,195	120,157,035	20	8.18	15.35	7.25	27.00	31.05	80	24.84	144
145	Johnstown, Pa.[76]	66,668	74,494,375	8	15.00	19.00	8.00	N	42.00	100	42.00	145
146	Pontiac, Mich.	66,626	137,095,720	33	9.12	6.70	4.47	N	20.29	75	15.22	146
147	Davenport, Iowa	66,039	Not reported									147
148	Oak Park, Ill.[77]	66,015	151,636,586	9	11.06	17.06	2.64	N	30.76	78	23.99	148
149	Augusta, Ga.[e]	65,919	57,934,161	35	21.00	17.00	8.50	5.00	51.50	51†	26.31	149
150	Phoenix, Ariz.	65,414	173,542,764	13	12.60	49.50	12.50	—	74.60	62†	46.02	150
151	Evanston, Ill.[78]	65,389	187,690,137	11	10.68	13.19	2.64	N	26.51	100	26.51	151
152	Cicero, Ill.[79]	64,712	166,345,467	25	10.94	13.62	2.64	N	27.20	100	27.20	152
153	Atlantic City, N. J.[l]	64,094	93,861,425	8	39.50	17.60	14.50	N	71.60	100	71.60	153
154	Dearborn, Mich.	63,584	311,679,950	43	14.87	11.26	6.07	N	33.20	100	33.20	154
155	Medford, Mass.	63,083	86,787,250	6	—	—	—	—	54.40	100	54.40	155
156	Terre Haute, Ind.[a]	62,693	62,920,000	27	19.83	20.70	10.97	1.50	53.00	60	31.80	156
157	Columbia, S. C.	62,396	———	—	39.00	—	38.50	—	77.50	—	—	157
158	Brockton, Mass.	62,343	75,796,500	11	33.82	18.90	2.08	N	54.80	100	54.80	158
159	Cedar Rapids, Iowa[80]	62,120	74,448,116	29	18.92	32.42	9.00	N	60.34	60	36.20	159
160	Jackson, Miss.	62,107	Not reported									160
161	Covington, Ky.[81]	62,018	61,503,415	6	17.40	15.00	18.50	.50	51.40	57†	29.31	161
162	Passaic, N. J.[l]	61,394	91,767,975	20	29.45	19.72	8.93	N	58.10	100	58.10	162
163	Lancaster, Pa.[m]	61,345	97,348,950	N	7.50	14.00	5.00	N	26.50	91†	24.01	163
164	Springfield, Mo.[82]	61,238	44,308,839	10	16.80	25.50	8.20	.70	51.20	60	30.72	164
165	Wheeling, W. Va.	61,099	140,706,800	50	3.87	5.99	3.73	.07	13.66	40	5.46	165
166	Galveston, Texas[o]	60,862	81,078,218	22	18.90	9.00	9.00	4.20	41.10	72†	29.58	166
167	St. Petersburg, Fla.[83]	60,812	144,816,087	10	21.25	—	—	—	—	—	—	167
168	Fresno, Calif.[84]	60,685	91,707,605	20	20.63	20.00	13.20	N	53.83	40	21.53	168

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[73] **Topeka.** Per cent of personalty does not include $25,860,373 intangible which is assessed at $5 per thousand. City rate includes $2.60 municipal university and $.94 city library.

[74] **Madison.** City rate includes $.14 Metropolitan Sewer District and $.88 library rate. Ratio as given by Supervisor of Assessments.

[75] **Mt. Vernon.** School rate includes $1.24 library rate. See footnote j.

[76] **Johnstown.** City rate includes $.50 library rate. The per cent of personalty is figured on an occupation valuation totaling $5,842,625. See footnote m.

[77] **Oak Park.** City rate includes $.36 town, $1.02 Park District, $2.40 Sanitary District, $.32 Forest Preserve, and $.34 miscellaneous levies.

[78] **Evanston.** City rate includes $2.82 for "other purposes."

[79] **Cicero.** City rate includes $6.40 town, $.32 Forest Preserve, $.22 poor relief, $2.40 Sanitary District, $1.60 Clyde Park district rates.

[80] **Cedar Rapids.** Assessed valuation does not include moneys and credits of $41,665,918.

[81] **Covington.** County rate includes $12.50 for county schools.

[82] **Springfield.** County rate includes $3.50 special road and bridge rate.

[83] **St. Petersburg.** City tax rate represents an average of four tax districts. See footnote b.

[84] **Fresno.** County rate includes $.60 mosquito abatement district. See footnote d.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
169	Durham, N. C.	60,195	115,933,587	42	13.45	3.55	5.50	N	22.50	40	9.00	169
170	Greensboro, N. C.	59,319	128,354,117	32	16.60	3.90	10.00	N	30.50	85	25.93	170
171	Decatur, Ill.[85]	59,305	115,610,696	26	8.90	14.33	.97	N	24.20	100	24.20	171
172	Chester, Pa.[m]	59,285	63,594,169	N	16.44	17.00	5.75	N	39.19	86†	33.51	172
173	Beaumont, Texas[o]	59,061	96,518,330	22	17.40	15.00	20.30	4.20	56.90	39†	22.33	173
174	Bethlehem, Pa.[86]	58,490	67,639,759	10	14.00	16.00	11.50	N	41.50	35	14.53	174
175	New Rochelle, N. Y.[j]	58,408	159,975,350	N	20.80	14.90	6.80	—	42.50	100	42.50	175
176	Malden, Mass.[87]	57,865	75,989,375	9	28.31	15.93	1.76	N	46.00	100	46.00	176
177	Macon, Ga.[c]	57,865	53,000,000[a]	30	13.00	12.42	13.58	5.00	47.00	57†	26.90	177
178	Corpus Christi, Texas[o]	57,301	95,694,650	22	20.00	17.00	13.00	4.20	54.20	65†	35.49	178
179	York, Pa.[m]	56,712	52,000,000	N	13.50	23.00	7.50	N	44.00	32†	14.04	179
180	Union City, N. J.[88]	56,173	62,860,089	8	31.43	21.64	16.56	N	69.63	100	69.63	180
181	Waco, Texas[o]	55,982	81,976,960	31	16.80	12.50	4.20	6.90	40.40	70†	28.64	181
182	McKeesport, Pa.[m]	55,355	57,834,850	N	13.50	17.00	8.38	N	38.88	72	27.99	182
183	Irvington, N. J.[l]	55,328	73,895,739	13	27.10	22.60	8.90	N	58.60	80	46.88	183
184	Cleveland Heights, Ohio[k]	54,996	107,700,210	7	6.00	18.90	4.00	N	28.90	80	23.12	184
185	Stockton, Calif.[89]	54,714	74,584,655	23	26.60	29.55	18.27	N	74.42	40	29.77	185
186	East Chicago, Ind.[e]	54,637	112,502,250	39	13.08	15.72	10.50	1.50	40.80	50	20.40	186
187	Kalamazoo, Mich.[90]	54,097	103,624,050	34	10.53	16.51	4.92	N	31.96	80	25.57	187
188	Holyoke, Mass.[91]	53,750	75,324,060	6	32.24	—	1.47	.29	34.00	100	34.00	188
189	Santa Monica, Calif.[92]	53,500	95,839,175	26	19.90	21.61	22.93	N	64.44	50	32.22	189
190	Columbus, Ga.[c]	53,280	55,015,284	32	15.00	13.00	14.00	5.00	47.00	36†	16.90	190
191	Pueblo, Colo.	52,162	35,240,368	54	38.60	32.85	11.50	4.00	86.95	50	43.48	191
192	Waterloo, Iowa	51,743	55,388,219	33	22.40	25.80	8.33	N	56.53	50	28.27	192
193	Amarillo, Texas[93]	51,686	106,493,296	37	14.70	12.80	8.00	4.20	39.70	66†	26.05	193
194	Asheville, N. C.[94]	51,310	64,060,000	23	15.30	7.60	8.10	N	31.00	50	15.50	194
195	Highland Park, Mich.	50,810	120,046,300	35	14.70	12.15	5.60	N	32.45	50	16.23	195

[85] **Decatur.** City rate includes $2.42 town, $.84 Sanitary District, $1.10 Park District, and $.39 T.B. Sanitarium rates.

[86] **Bethlehem.** County rate shown is for Northampton County only. The city lies in two counties and the rate for Lehigh County is $7. The per cent of personalty is figured on a male occupation tax totaling $6,562,100. A per-capita tax of $1 is levied upon women totaling $19,741. See footnote m.

[87] **Malden.** City rate includes an overlay of $.72, interest and debt maturing of $4.03. The total city rate actually is $32.15 less a credit of $3.84, thus giving the rate of $28.31.

[88] **Union City.** City is consolidation of towns of West Hoboken and Union. Rates shown are for West Hoboken district which is 62 per cent of total assessed valuation. Rates for Union are as follows: city $31.12, school $22.47, county $16.56, total $70.15. See footnote i.

[89] **Stockton.** County rate includes $.97 port district. See footnote d.

[90] **Kalamazoo.** School rate includes $5.18 special school and $.71 school debt. City rate includes $.21 collection fees.

[91] **Holyoke.** City rate includes school rate.

[92] **Santa Monica.** County rate includes $1.95 flood control and $3.40 metropolitan water district. See footnote d.

[93] **Amarillo.** City rate includes $1.70 junior college. See footnote o.

[94] **Asheville.** School rate includes $3.60 for county school.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
196	Portsmouth, Va.	50,745	50,029,394	7	—	—	N	N	25.00	70	17.50	196
197	Hamilton, Ohio[k]	50,592	78,750,000	23	7.37	13.92	2.25	N	23.54	60	14.12	197
198	Hoboken, N. J.[95]	50,115	81,691,651	13	—	—	—	N	65.39	50	32.70	198
	Group VI **Population 30,000 to 50,000**											
199	Hamtramck, Mich.	49,839	93,895,600	44	20.00	12.44	6.27	N	38.71	70	27.10	199
200	Brookline, Mass.	49,786	145,664,600	10	23.71	8.54	.84	.91	34.00	100	34.00	200
201	Muncie, Ind.[o]	49,720	————	—	16.20	20.30	6.60	1.50	44.60	40	17.84	201
202	Pittsfield, Mass.[g]	49,684	66,224,370	9	43.38	—	2.58	.44	46.40	100	46.40	202
203	Jackson, Mich.	49,656	92,115,305	26	6.57	8.19	5.42	N	20.18	80	16.14	203
204	Lexington, Ky.[96]	49,304	58,051,614	15	16.90	10.00	5.00	.50	32.40	48†	15.65	204
205	Woonsocket, R. I.[n]	49,303	80,304,350	28	25.00	—	—	—	25.00	100	25.00	205
206	Clifton, N. J.[i]	48,827	64,845,170	10	16.10	24.20	9.00	N	49.30	75	36.98	206
207	Kenosha, Wis.[97]	48,765	78,991,200	12	11.22	18.35	9.16	27.00	39.00	84	32.76	207
208	Berwyn, Ill.[98]	48,451	83,127,444	5	9.76	14.68	2.64	N	27.08	100	27.08	208
209	Bay City, Mich.	47,956	63,806,980	27	17.96	11.77	6.10	N	35.83	70	25.08	209
210	Stamford, Conn.[99]	47,938	123,634,360	24	—	—	—	—	41.20	100	41.20	210
211	Muskegon, Mich.	47,697	89,223,725	34	6.01	8.67	3.75	N	18.43	50	9.22	211
212	New Castle, Pa.[m]	47,638	52,988,080	7	15.00	20.00	5.50	N	40.50	60	24.30	212
213	Aurora, Ill.[100]	47,170	119,982,763	21	9.71	10.14	1.00	N	20.85	100	20.85	213
214	Cranston, R. I.[n]	47,085	98,842,400	23	25.00	—	N	N	25.00	100	25.00	214
215	Raleigh, N. C.[101]	46,897	85,091,242	25	13.50	—	7.90	N	21.40	50	10.70	215
216	Everett, Mass.[102]	46,784	91,010,925	18	23.68	10.02	1.20	1.90	36.80	100	36.80	216
217	Haverhill, Mass.[103]	46,752	53,561,250	11	41.50	11.95	1.50	.05	55.00	100	55.00	217
218	Green Bay, Wis.[104]	46,235	81,263,440	14	9.46	15.13	8.09	.26	32.94	76	25.03	218
219	Port Arthur, Texas[o]	46,140	62,400,537	23	17.00	13.00	—	—	—	—	—	219
220	Wichita Falls, Texas[104a]	45,112	48,716,780	43	13.50	18.90	12.00	4.20	48.60	33	16.20	220
221	Elmira, N. Y.[j]	45,106	51,933,702	N	22.00	15.10	—	12.98	50.08	85	42.57	221

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[95] **Hoboken.** Assessment ratio reported by the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce. See footnote i.

[96] **Lexington.** City rate includes $2 debt service.

[97] **Kenosha.** City rate includes $1 for library purposes.

[98] **Berwyn.** City rate includes $.62 township and poor relief, $2.40 Sanitary District, $.32 Forest Preserve, $.52 public health, and $.70 Park District. Rate given is for School District 100; total rate for School District 98 is $27.80.

[99] **Stamford.** Tax rate shown is for the first taxing district. Rate for third taxing district is $36.60. Rates cover a 15-month period (April 1, 1948 - June 30, 1949). City and town will consolidate on April 15, 1949. Town rate furnished by Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Inc.

[100] **Aurora.** City rate includes $.68 township, $.63 township road and bridge, $.96 Park District, $1.12 Sanitary District, and $.14 Forest Preserve rates.

[101] **Raleigh.** County rate includes school rate.

[102] **Everett.** City rate includes $.97 debt and interest rate. School rate includes $.16 school debt and interest rate.

[103] **Haverhill.** City rate includes $.95 for "overlay."

[104] **Green Bay.** City rate includes $2.09 Metropolitan Sewerage District and $1 Sewer District.

[104a] **Wichita Falls.** School rate includes $3.90 college rate. County rate includes $5 water improvement district rate. See footnote o.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
222	Lima, Ohio[k]	44,711	68,938,640	33	7.65	11.50	3.05	N	22.20	75	16.65	222
223	Lynchburg, Va.	44,541	60,074,461	8	12.00	11.50	N	N	23.50	70	16.45	223
224	Williamsport, Pa.[105]	44,355	30,808,575	N	13.75	22.00	13.00	N	48.75	51†	25.09	224
225	Lorain, Ohio[106]	44,125	100,939,532	23	6.60	8.46	1.96	N	17.02	50	8.51	225
226	Dubuque, Iowa	43,892	Not reported									226
227	Ogden, Utah[107]	43,688	44,117,852	20	16.50	28.80	7.60	—	52.90	40	21.16	227
228	San Bernardino, Calif.[108]	43,646	48,909,450	22	12.73	31.10	20.30	N	64.13	50	32.07	228
229	Battle Creek, Mich.	43,453	92,703,050	32	10.00	13.87	4.40	N	28.27	80	22.62	229
230	Warren, Ohio[k]	42,837	77,814,238	17	5.10	12.40	2.30	N	19.80	—	—	230
231	Rock Island, Ill.[109]	42,775	95,671,424	23	8.67	10.80	1.73	N	21.20	100	21.20	231
232	LaCrosse, Wis.	42,707	68,467,010	21	12.66	14.36	10.71	.27	38.00	75	28.50	232
233	Jamestown, N. Y.[j]	42,638	58,195,803	N	15.20	20.07	9.39	—	44.66	90	40.19	233
234	Joliet, Ill.[110]	42,365	131,329,350	—	5.21	11.76	1.89	N	18.86	100	18.86	234
235	Fitchburg, Mass.	41,824	56,813,800	16	—	—	—	—	47.00	100	47.00	235
236	Chicopee, Mass.	41,664	44,683,460	7	20.23	17.24	1.48	.05	39.00	100	39.00	236
237	Bloomfield, N. J.[l]	41,623	69,949,400	15	19.25	22.19	8.96	N	50.40	100	50.40	237
238	Anderson, Ind.[e]	41,572	51,387,410	40	13.40	26.10	10.40	1.50	51.40	29†	14.91	238
239	Council Bluffs, Iowa	41,439	36,487,602	24	23.18	30.74	13.89	N	67.81	60	40.69	239
240	Chelsea, Mass.	41,259	43,811,300	9	41.68	16.30	—	2.42	60.40	100	60.40	240
241	Perth Amboy, N. J.[111]	41,242	51,427,656	15	24.90	23.15	15.55	N	63.60	50	31.80	241
242	Salem, Mass.[112]	41,213	56,476,550	12	28.17	16.38	2.86	.09	47.50	100	47.50	242
243	Sioux Falls, S. D.	40,832	59,091,685	26	16.32	18.23	4.25	N	38.80	70	27.16	243
244	Sheboygan, Wis.	40,638	48,860,145	19	15.66	19.59	6.66	27.00	42.18	80	33.74	244
245	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.[113]	40,478	54,787,474	N	28.29	12.99	6.16	—	47.44	84	39.85	245
246	Quincy, Ill.[114]	40,469	100,368,362	45	8.17	9.66	2.50	N	20.33	100	20.33	246
247	Portsmouth, Ohio[k]	40,466	54,039,420	13	10.50	9.41	2.89	N	22.80	65	14.82	247
248	White Plains, N. Y.[115]	40,327	125,811,085	N	13.57	16.25	8.65	—	38.47	99	38.09	248
249	Waltham, Mass.	40,020	58,038,950	8	—	—	—	—	50.00	100	50.00	249
250	Arlington, Mass.[g]	40,013	58,686,450	6	—	—	—	—	44.20	100	44.20	250

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[105] **Williamsport.** City rate includes $.75 library rate. County rate includes $5 institutional levy. County also charges $4 on personal property par value. In addition, the city levies a poll tax of $5 on all residents who have reached the age of 21. See footnote m.

[106] **Lorain.** County rate includes $.06 township levy. See footnote k.

[107] **Ogden.** School rate includes $8.90 state school fund; county rate includes $.30 mosquito abatement.

[108] **San Bernardino.** County rate includes flood control $1.80.

[109] **Rock Island.** City rate includes $.50 township, $.65 street and bridge, $.25 Airport Authority.

[110] **Joliet.** City rate includes $1.50 township (including road and bridge), $.79 Park District and $.04 Forest Preserve district tax.

[111] **Perth Amboy.** County rate includes $.14 county district courts rate. See footnote i.

[112] **Salem.** City rate includes $1.10 S. Essex sewerage rate, $.71 overlay and $.01 overlay deficit.

[113] **Poughkeepsie.** Assessment ratio reported by New York State Department of Taxation and Finance. See footnote j.

[114] **Quincy.** City rates include $1.28 town, and $.72 Park District.

[115] **White Plains.** Assessment ratio reported by New York State Department of Taxation and Finance. See footnote j.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
251	Norwalk, Conn.[116]	39,849	94,126,055	21	—	—	—	—	35.28	80	28.22	251
252	Montclair, N. J.[l]	39,807	83,751,690	11	—	—	—	N	52.60	50	26.30	252
253	East Cleveland, Ohio[k]	39,495	60,116,588	16	8.40	14.40	4.00	N	26.80	50	13.40	253
254	Meriden, Conn.[117]	39,494	70,418,415	24	19.70	11.84	.46	N	32.00	100	32.00	254
255	Cumberland, Md.[118]	39,483	58,800,000	21	15.50	6.36	10.34	1.11	33.31	78	25.98	255
256	Kearney, N. J.[119]	39,467	84,337,633	17	—	—	—	N	44.36	50	22.18	256
257	West New York, N. J.[120]	39,439	46,616,955	8	26.71	28.65	16.31	N	71.67	60	43.00	257
258	Laredo, Texas[o]	39,274	26,106,810	30	24.20	7.50	16.40	4.20	52.30	65†	34.08	258
259	Oshkosh, Wis.	39,089	60,393,850	20	11.98	19.16	5.44	.62	37.20	85	31.62	259
260	Alhambra, Calif.[121]	38,935	60,083,470	14	11.39	20.88	20.81	N	53.08	50	26.54	260
261	Lewiston, Me.	38,598	36,610,252	22	35.75	—	2.00	7.25	45.00	50	22.50	261
262	High Point, N. C.	38,495	63,578,398	33	13.89	9.53	4.23	N	27.65	85	23.50	262
263	Elgin, Ill.[122]	38,333	109,537,631	23	7.04	9.12	1.14	N	17.30	100	17.30	263
264	Norristown, Pa.[123]	38,181	23,164,940	N	14.50	30.50	1.50	N	46.50	50	23.25	264
265	Hazleton, Pa.[124]	38,009	26,823,752	N	17.00	27.00	11.07	N	55.07	58†	31.94	265
266	Steubenville, Ohio[k]	37.651	62,981,957	18	6.80	9.35	2.25	N	18.40	—	—	266
267	Zanesville, Ohio[k]	37,500	47,605,058	18	4.30	10.75	2.25	N	17.30	60	10.38	267
268	Plainfield, N. J.[l]	37,469	61,864,243	11	18.49	23.92	7.69	N	50.10	—	—	268
269	Pensacola, Fla.[b]	37,449	———	—	13.00	—	—	—	13.00	90	11.70	269
270	Taunton, Mass.	37,395	36,104,770	5	21.97	21.93	3.33	.17	47.40	100	47.40	270
271	Mansfield, Ohio[k]	37,154	74,306,539	23	3.87	13.70	3.43	N	21.00	87	18.27	271
272	Joplin, Mo.[125]	37,144	25,614,947	25	20.50	28.20	7.50	.70	56.90	50	28.45	272
273	Butte, Mont.	37,081	Not reported									273
274	Newport News, Va.[126]	37,067	55,066,782	23	18.40	14.10	N	N	32.50	43	13.98	274
275	Gadsden, Ala.[127]	36,975	32,469,328	20	5.00	8.00	11.50	6.50	31.00	30	9.30	275
276	Danville, Ill.[128]	36,919	72,692,663	17	9.70	13.50	1.40	N	24.60	75	18.45	276
277	Tucson, Ariz.	36,818	30,896,338	24	48.45	60.06	12.12	—	120.63	55	66.35	277
278	Colorado Springs, Colo.	36,789	36,923,890	23	12.00	31.87	9.46	4.00	57.33	—	—	278

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[116] **Norwalk.** City has six taxing districts. Figures show average tax rate in the inner districts. Tax rates in outer districts average $28. Information obtained from controller and supplemented by Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Inc.

[117] **Meriden.** City rate includes $1.97 welfare.

[118] **Cumberland.** Date of fiscal year is being changed so that current tax levy is for 15-month period.

[119] **Kearney.** Assessment ratio reported by the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce. See footnote i.

[120] **West New York.** County rate includes $.14 district court tax rate. See footnote i.

[121] **Alhambra.** County rate includes $1.85 flood control and $1.38 sanitation district. See footnote d.

[122] **Elgin.** City rate includes $1.05 town and $.54 Sanitary District.

[123] **Norristown.** An institutional tax is included in the county rate. A $5 flat levy per capita is made for schools. See footnote m.

[124] **Hazleton.** The city discontinued personal assessments in favor of a $3 poll tax which is not included in the total assessments rolls. See footnote m.

[125] **Joplin.** County rate includes $3.50 special road rate.

[126] **Newport News.** State Department of Taxation reports ratio of 65.3 per cent.

[127] **Gadsden.** School rate includes $3 for special school. See footnote a.

[128] **Danville.** City rate includes $2.40 town, $.40 other purposes, $.80 Sanitary District, $.35 Airport Authority.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
279	Orlando, Fla.[129]	36,736	83,955,075	14	20.80	10.00	14.90	—	45.70	60	27.72	279
280	Fort Smith, Ark.[130]	36,584	23,524,136	37	11.75	18.00	8.00	N	37.75	15	5.66	280
281	West Allis, Wis.[131]	36,364	92,583,720	35	14.50	9.39	13.99	.30	38.18	67	25.58	281
282	Alameda, Calif.[d]	36,256	39,668,840	16	15.60	1.30	44.50	N	61.40	50	30.70	282
283	Auburn, N. Y.[j]	35,753	—	—	18.90	10.97	5.67	—	35.54	100	35.54	283
284	Orange, N. J.[l]	35,717	44,726,849	11	27.51	21.03	8.96	N	57.50	100	57.50	284
285	Meridian, Miss.	35,481	Not reported									285
286	Albuquerque, N. M.	35,449	Not reported									286
287	Watertown, Mass.	35,427	58,766,855	7	27.74	11.49	1.39	1.48	42.10	100	42.10	287
288	Richmond, Ind.[132]	35,147	48,967,466	—	8.55	21.45	10.20	1.50	41.70	50	20.85	288
289	Superior, Wis.	35,136	42,466,660	17	8.01	19.13	16.47	.22	43.83	100	43.83	289
290	Santa Barbara, Calif.[133]	34,958	57,942,170	8	13.80	23.05	18.95	N	55.80	50	27.90	290
291	Greenville, S. C.	34,734	15,164,370	54	54.00	—	—	—	—	13	—	291
292	Baton Rouge, La.[f]	34,719	55,642,780	33	10.25	10.30	3.60	5.75	29.90	33	9.87	292
293	Riverside, Calif.[134]	34,696	38,626,210	17	16.10	21.30	23.70	N	61.10	50	30.55	293
294	Moline, Ill.[135]	34,608	90,978,845	25	6.37	9.60	1.73	N	17.70	100	17.70	294
295	Revere, Mass.	34,405	Not reported									295
296	Burbank, Calif.[136]	34,337	102,613,845	—	14.50	23.52	19.53	N	57.55	50	28.78	296
297	Waukegan, Ill.[137]	34,241	99,510,057	5	6.62	12.18	1.36	N	20.16	100	20.16	297
298	Rome, N. Y.[138]	34,214	34,330,623	N	23.65	22.71	15.87	—	62.23	75	46.67	298
299	Norwood, Ohio[k]	34,010	73,815,080	27	4.16	10.17	3.29	N	17.62	—	—	299
300	Kokomo, Ind.[e]	33,795	40,646,500	40	15.77	22.40	7.33	1.50	47.00	57	26.79	300
301	West Hartford, Conn.	33,776	123,337,316	16	—	—	N	—	22.00	60	13.20	301
302	Paducah, Ky.[139]	33,765	22,867,673	27	17.90	15.50	5.80	.50	39.70	42†	16.51	302
303	West Palm Beach, Fla.[140]	33,693	54,710,500	15	33.00	17.10	15.19	N	65.29	75†	48.79	303
304	Easton, Pa.[m]	33,589	41,468,040	N	12.00	17.00	11.50	N	40.50	91†	37.05	304
305	Alexandria, Va.[141]	33,523	71,338,178*	21	27.50	—	N	N	27.50	50	13.75	305

[129] **Orlando.** City rate includes $3 bonded indebtedness and $2.80 for roads and bridges. See footnote b.

[130] **Fort Smith.** City rate includes $1.75 for police, firemen and library, and $5 for city and county bonds. County rate includes $3 for county roads.

[131] **West Allis.** City rate includes $1.89 Metropolitan Sewer rate.

[132] **Richmond.** County rate includes $.90 poor rate and $.40 hospital rate. See footnote e.

[133] **Santa Barbara.** County rate includes $.45 S.B. County Water Agency District. See footnote d.

[134] **Riverside.** County rate includes flood control rate of $1.10. See footnote d.

[135] **Moline.** City rate includes $.56 street and bridge, $.25 airport, and $.50 town rates.

[136] **Burbank.** County rate includes flood control $1.95. See footnote d.

[137] **Waukegan.** City rate includes $.67 township, $.48 township road and bridge, $.55 North Shore Sanitary District, and $.80 Waukegan Park District. School rate includes $7.19 city grade school and $4.99 Waukegan township high school.

[138] **Rome.** School rate shown is that in the Rome city school district. There are 29 school districts which levy taxes in the city. Assessment ratio reported by New York State Department of Taxation and Finance. See footnote j.

[139] **Paducah.** City rate includes $2.90 for city bonded debt. School rate includes $.50 for city junior college.

[140] **West Palm Beach.** County rate includes $.10 Florida Inland Marine District, $4 Palm Beach Port District, and $1 Road and Bridge District $11. See footnote b.

[141] **Alexandria.** Rate for personal property is $30 per $1,000.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
306	Elkhart, Ind.[e]	33,434	53,000,000	—	13.80	17.90	5.30	1.50	38.50	60	23.10	306
307	Wilmington, N. C.	33,407	54,819,396	20	18.00	5.23	3.77	N	27.00	50	13.50	307
308	Watertown, N. Y.[j]	33,385	48,504,898	N	16.40	14.80	15.30	—	46.50	100	46.50	308
309	Amsterdam, N. Y.[j]	33,329	26,724,622	21	17.97	34.18	15.00	—	67.15	65	43.65	309
310	New Brunswick, N. J.[i]	33,180	45,018,755	12	21.90	20.73	14.97	N	57.60	—	—	310
311	University City, Mo.[142]	33,023	47,400,000	16	10.90	23.40	11.00	.70	46.00	35	16.10	311
312	Nashua, N. H.[143]	32,927	49,093,679	38	36.00	.14	5.16	N	41.30	100	41.30	312
313	Bloomington, Ill.[144]	32,868	86,106,123	19	5.24	9.97	1.53	N	16.74	100	16.74	313
314	Port Huron, Mich.	32,759	45,464,620	17	13.94	11.56	7.72	N	33.22	75	24.92	314
315	Danville, Va.[145]	32,749	39,264,627	20	22.50	—	N	N	22.50	60	13.50	315
316	Fargo, N. D.[146]	32,580	47,268,515	23	17.79	17.69	6.39	1.48	43.35	60	26.01	316
317	Hagerstown, Md.[147]	32,491	53,000,000	—	5.00	—	16.00	1.10	22.10	84	18.56	317
318	Muskogee, Okla.	32,332	18,717,580	37	12.09	26.16	11.92	—	50.17	50	25.09	318
319	Spartanburg, S. C.[148]	32,249	11,848,819	48	61.00	41.00	20.00	—	122.00	13	15.86	319
320	East Providence, R. I.[n]	32,165	67,201,010	—	23.50	—	—	—	23.50	100	23.50	320
321	Santa Ana, Calif.[149]	31,921	50,905,290	4	20.36	23.20	16.86	—	60.42	50	30.21	321
322	Newburgh, N. Y.[j]	31,883	39,728,346	N	21.33	16.00	4.59	.12	42.04	87	36.57	322
323	Lubbock, Texas[o]	31,853	60,864,070	23	12.50	—	7.00	4.20	—	—	—	323
324	Ottumwa, Iowa	31,570	Not reported									324
325	Newark, Ohio[150]	31,487	43,133,473	17	5.20	12.55	3.25	N	21.00	78†	16.42	325
326	Alton, Ill.[151]	31,255	80,848,537	22	5.29	7.05	1.36	N	13.70	100	13.70	326
327	Middletown, Ohio[k]	31,220	72,660,803	34	4.82	10.19	2.25	N	17.26	—	—	327
328	Salem, Ore.	30,908	22,352,447	20	20.50	36.00	17.00	—	73.50	41	30.19	328
329	Marion, Ohio[152]	30,817	48,550,000	24	6.04	13.82	3.14	N	23.00	60	13.80	329
330	Eau Claire, Wis.	30.745	40,148,605	17	8.63	23.49	10.55	.33	43.00	62	26.66	330
331	Newport, Ky.	30,631	23,992,055	6	19.10	15.30	6.00	5.00	45.40	66†	29.85	331
332	Petersburg, Va.	30,631	31,781,715	16	—	—	N	N	22.50	50	11.25	332

[142] **University City.** County rate includes $3.20 for road, $.10 hospital sinking, $2.20 road sinking, $.30 judgment finding, $.10 Court House sinking, $1.20 hospital maintenance, $.40 health center.

[143] **Nashua.** Rule of State Tax Commission requires taxable property be assessed at full and true value.

[144] **Bloomington.** City rate includes $.20 town rate, and $.92 for Sanitary District.

[145] **Danville.** Rate for personal property is $25 per $1,000.

[146] **Fargo.** City rate includes $1.90 city parks rate. Statutory requirement is that city assessed valuation be 100 per cent of true cash value. Figures are those for 1947. 1948 rates were not available at time of compilation.

[147] **Hagerstown.** County rate includes schools.

[148] **Spartanburg.** City rate includes $5 Metropolitan Sewer District and $1 Library Fund rates. School rate includes $4 bond fund and $2 building fund rates.

[149] **Santa Ana.** City rate includes harbor district $.36. County rate includes flood control $1.35, cemetery $.10, mosquito abatement district $.46, sanitation district $.25, acquisition improvement district $4, $1.30, and metropolitan water district $3.40. See footnote d.

[150] **Newark.** County rate includes $.50 township rate. Rates are for 1949. See footnote k.

[151] **Alton.** City rate includes $1.21 town and $.25 civic memorial airport.

[152] **Marion.** County rate includes $.14 township rate and $1 agriculture coliseum rate. See footnote k.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
333	Wyandotte, Mich.[153]	30,618	56,737,990	12	13.24	16.14	6.69	N	36.07	100	36.07	333
334	Clarksburg, W. Va.	30,579	66,924,460	42	3.45	5.88	2.70	.07	12.10	30	3.63	334
335	Newport, R. I.[n]	30,532	76,605,000	26	—	—	—	—	27.50	100	27.50	335
336	New London, Conn.	30,456	52,133,288	19	22.50	11.79	.53	—	35.00	95	33.25	336
337	Owensboro, Ky.	30,245	24,611,257	16	13.00	16.00	5.00	.50	34.50	47†	16.15	337
338	Everett, Wash.[154]	30,224	18,729,813	25	22.50	26.00	10.00	2.40	60.90	50	30.45	338
339	Bristol, Conn.	30,167	76,204,680	37	—	—	—	—	28.75	80	23.00	339
340	Inglewood, Calif.[155]	30,114	49,924,015	15	13.00	28.46	20.22	N	61.68	50	30.85	340
341	Parkersburg, W. Va.	30,103	55,860,840	40	3.16	8.98	2.65	.07	14.86	27	4.01	341
342	West Haven, Conn.	30,021	Not reported									342
343	Hutchinson, Kans.	30,013	34,114,117	30	16.26	25.22	5.91	1.30	48.69	67†	32.64	343

[153] **Wyandotte.** Ratio of true to assessed value is quoted at 100 per cent in accordance with statutory requirements. However, reliable estimates place ratio at approximately 45 per cent to 50 per cent.

[154] **Everett.** City rate includes $3 port district and $2 public utility district rates. See footnote p.

[155] **Inglewood.** County rate includes flood control $1.94 and county free library $.70. See footnote d.

GENERAL NOTES

[a] **Alabama.** The legal basis of assessment is 60 per cent of true value. Homestead exemption: First $2,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state tax only.

[b] **Florida.** Homestead exemption: The first $5,000 of the assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state and all local taxes except debt service on obligations incurred prior to the passage of the amendment.

[c] **Georgia.** $2,000 general homestead exemption on owner-occupied property.

[d] **California.** State statutory ratio is 50 per cent.

[e] **Indiana.** County tax rate includes township rate. School tax rate includes library rate.

[f] **Louisiana.** $2,000 general homestead exemption for all owner-occupied residential property. $5,000 exemption for veterans and their dependents.

[g] **Massachusetts.** Statutory requirement is that valuation be a fair cash value.

[h] **Minnesota.** Property classification: There are five classes of property assessed at varying percentages of true value; platted real estate at 40 per cent, except for first $4,000 of homesteads which is assessed at 25 per cent; unplatted real estate at 33 1/3 per cent, except first $4,000 of homesteads at 20 per cent; iron ore at 50 per cent; and personalty in three classes at 10 per cent, 25 per cent and 33 1/3 per cent. The first $4,000 true value of homesteads is exempt further from state levies except debt service on obligations issued prior to the enactment of the law.

[i] **New Jersey.** Second class railroad property included in total assessed valuation and taxable at the general tax rate.

[j] **New York.** Realty valuations include public utilities. Where state rate is not shown, it is included in county rate.

[k] **Ohio.** In the process of checking sales in numerous counties of the state to determine the percentage of assessed value to recorded sales. A statewide equalization program is also in progress with attention placed on uniformity of assessment. The information on the following cities was furnished by the Ohio State Taxation Report: Warren, Steubenville, Norwood and Middletown.

[l] **Oklahoma.** Homestead exemption: the first $1,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from tax rates for all units. Debt service charges on obligations incurred prior to this act are specifically allowed.

[m] **Pennsylvania.** Tangible personal property is not subject to city rate except as noted.

[n] **Rhode Island.** There is no county government in Rhode Island. State does not tax real property. There is a $4 tax rate on intangible property which is not included in this survey because there seems to be little attempt either to assess or to collect this tax in most cities and towns outside of Providence. The figures on the following cities were taken from news clippings: Providence, East Providence, Pawtucket, and Woonsocket.

[o] **Texas.** First $3,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state taxes only.

[p] **Washington.** State statutory ratio is 50 per cent.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Home Rule Need Stressed by AMA

Louisiana Voters Reject Proposed State Controls

MEETING in Washington December 13-15 in its 25th annual convention, the American Municipal Association placed special emphasis on the need for municipal home rule. A resolution stressing the right of cities to self-government was adopted after vigorous advocacy by Mayor de Lesseps S. Morrison of New Orleans, who was unanimously elected president of the association on December 14.

Mayor Morrison told of the efforts of the governor and legislature to transfer governmental powers from the city to the state, and to hamper the city administration in other ways. He showed the need for a policy under which a city can choose its own government, meet its special problems and raise the necessary revenues. He recounted the efforts of New Orleans to retain what autonomy it has, and of the heartening defeat of nine of the state administration's proposed constitutional amendments at the recent election.

The association approved the following policy:

> The people of an incorporated city should have the right to handle their own affairs under a constitional grant of power from the state.
>
> Home rule would permit cities to amend their own charters by action of the local electors, to choose the activities they wish to perform and to raise their revenue as they see fit.
>
> They should be free to choose their own form of government, not merely to operate a government given them by the state.

The AMA also took the position that if the federal government requires cities to be responsible for civilian defense in case of war, local governments must be permitted to withhold key men from being drafted into military service. City officials complained of the action of the armed services in organizing firemen, police, engineers, etc., into technical reserves to be called whenever a national emergency may arise.

General Philip Fleming, federal works administrator, told the convention that President Truman has asked him to prepare a program of national disaster relief, for consideration by Congress, including provision for water, electricity and similar municipal services in case of fires, floods and earthquakes.

The association adopted a resolution calling on the federal government to make payments in lieu of taxes on its property in municipalities.

Louisiana Defeats Many Administration Amendments

Final results as to the 41 constitutional amendments voted on in Louisiana November 2 show that the first nine were defeated, all the others being approved.

Amendment No. 1 would have removed existing limitations on powers of the Board of Liquidation of the State Debt to appropriate funds and incur debt for state purposes, except for the requirement that a majority of the legislators must assent by letter or telegram. Opponents charged that the amendment would in effect have subordinated the legislature to the board in the handling of state fiscal matters.

Several defeated amendments would have increased the power of Governor Long. No. 3 would have reorganized the New Orleans dock board to give the governor control; it administers the great Port of New Orleans. No. 5 would have placed the Louisiana State University board of supervisors under control of the governor; No. 6 would have created a board of control (governor-appointed) for other Louisiana colleges and universities; and No. 7 would have accordingly changed the powers of the present State Board of Education.

One of the successful amendments (No. 34) permits an increase in the authorized school tax in Orleans Parish (including the city of New Orleans) from seven to ten mills without local referendum; another (No. 32) requires the transfer of school property owned by the city of New Orleans to the parish school board. New Orleans voted overwhelmingly against these, but they were carried by the vote in the rest of the state.

Shreveport fared better than New Orleans in regard to home rule. Amendment 27 provides for the creation of a charter commission for the up-state city, to develop a new plan of municipal government, to be voted on by the people of Shreveport.

Other amendments approved cover such varied subjects as authorization for municipalities to contract for privately owned urban redevelopment projects under eminent domain, creation of airport districts with bonding and taxing powers, a veterans' bonus of $60,000,000, and partial tax exemption to minor changes in provisions for widows of confederate veterans. Many should be matters of statute rather than constitutional detail.

Votes on Minnesota Constitutional Amendments

As noted last month (page 600) the voters of Minnesota declined to make the process of constitutional revision easier in that state. The final votes on four proposed constitutional amendments is reported as follows:

1. Increasing the counties' constitutional share of gas tax from 1/3 to ½—yes, 534,538; no, 539,224 (defeated);
2. Permitting several constitutional amendments to be submitted as one proposition—yes, 319,667; no, 621,523 (defeated);
3. Authorizing the legislature by two-thirds vote to call a constitutional convention without submitting this question to vote of the people—yes, 294,842; no, 641,013 (defeated);
4. Authorizing the legislature to enact a state bonus—no specific provision for financing—yes, 664,703; no, 420,518 (adopted).

Under the Minnesota constitution amendments to be adopted must have a majority of those voting at the election rather than on the measure.

New Mexico Disapproves Four-Year State Terms

A proposed constitutional amendment in New Mexico, to provide four-year terms for the governor and other state executive officers, without eligibility for reelection until after four years, was defeated, 30,364 to 28,914. Earlier returns indicated its adoption, as reported last month in the REVIEW (page 597). A similar proposal for county officers was defeated by a heavier margin.

Arizona 22nd State Now with Merit System

With the recent adoption of a statewide civil service system in Arizona, a total of 22 states now have comprehensive civil service programs, the Civil Service Assembly reports.

The Arizona act, to take effect January 1, creates a three-man civil service board to be appointed by the governor for overlapping six-year terms, and provides for appointment of a state personnel officer following competitive examinations. All present employees of the state are covered into their jobs. A public employees' retirement system covering all state employees and permitting participation by other political subdivisions of the state also was adopted.

In the remaining 26 states, merit systems are in operation which cover at least those employees engaged in federal-state public assistance and employment security programs.

Maryland League Extends Activities

The recently revived Maryland League of Municipalities (see the REVIEW, October 1948, page 495), in its monthly news letter, *Maryland Municipal News*, for November, announces a meeting in Baltimore, January 7-8, at which time it is hoped that most Maryland cities will be members. The news letter also mentions that the Cumberland charter commission, appointed last year, expects to have a new charter ready for submission at the coming session of the legislature; and that officials of Princess Anne hope to present bills to the legislature for the town's governmental improvement, the city attorney having been instructed to draft a new charter.

The league's office is at the University of Maryland (College Park), where Joseph M. Ray is its executive secretary.

Interstate Cooperation on Insurance, River Development

The staff of the Council of State Governments has been requested to study the possibility of developing methods to assist states in insurance regulation by a midwest regional conference of insurance commissioners and commissioners on interstate cooperation.

The Commissions on Interstate Cooperation of the five Columbia River Basin states — Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming — have voted to establish an Interstate Committee on the Columbia Basin, to be composed of one member from each state, appointed by the chairman of the Commission on Interstate Cooperation. The committee is to prepare proposals for state action in the development of the basin.

Tri-state Council Set Up For Maumee Valley

Conservation of soil and water resources of the Maumee River valley is to be furthered by the recently formed Tri-state Soil and Water Council of the Maumee Valley. The Maumee River flows into Lake Erie at Toledo, Ohio, and drains portions of three states—part or all of fifteen counties in Ohio, five in Indiana and three in Michigan. The council is comprised of committees from the 23 counties, which include various public officials and other interested citizens. Other group representatives or individual residents or landowners in these counties may also belong. The board of directors consists of four members from each state.

The purposes of the council are: to coordinate conservation efforts in the area, to provide a forum of discussion, to disseminate information through available channels, and to enlist the cooperation of governmental subdivisions and volunteer organizations in support of measures for conservation of the soil and water resources.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Six cities in Texas have recently adopted the council-manager plan: **Colorado City** (5,213), **Fort Stockton** (3,294), **Gilmer** (3,138), **Jasper** (3,497), **Lake Jackson** (3,100) and **Paris** (18,678).

Wakefield, Michigan, (3,591) adopted a council-manager charter on December 6 by a vote of 543 to 140.

The manager plan was recently adopted in **Las Cruces, New Mexico,** (8,385) and is now in effect.

The city council of **San Carlos, California,** (3,520) has adopted the manager plan by ordinance.

On December 1 the electors of **Galena, Illinois,** (4,126) voted to adopt the council-manager form of government.

The **Saco, Maine,** Civic Association plans a public meeting at which a proposed council-manager charter will be read and discussed.

In **Franklin, New Hampshire,** the council-manager plan adopted a year ago was sustained at an election on November 24, by a vote of 1,875 to 1,128. This was a majority of 747, as compared to a margin of only 210 votes when the plan was adopted in 1947.

Voters of **Manchester, New Hampshire** expect the opportunity at the 1949 municipal elections to decide between their present plan of government and either a strong-mayor or a council-manager charter. The municipal charter revision commission expects to have the final draft of a charter ready for submission to the state legislature early in January. It is rumored that this charter will be of the strong-mayor type. The Manchester Taxpayers' Association is also preparing a new charter, on council-manager lines, for submission to the legislature in January.

A citizens' committee in **Nashua, New Hampshire** is drafting a council-manager charter for submission to the 1949 legislature.

The **Rutland, Vermont,** *Herald* editorially endorses the council-manager plan, charter amendments to embody which are in process of preparation by an official charter commission. It will be the subject of a Vermont Forums discussion in January.

Citizens of **Willimansett, Massachusetts,** are discussing adoption of the council-manager plan. Interest has been increased by the recent vote to abandon a cumbersome 29-member board of aldermen for a body of nine chosen by wards.

In **Danvers, Massachusetts,** at a special town meeting on November 29, citizens voted 45 to 21 to petition the state legislature for a town manager enabling act under which a referendum could be held at the annual election next March. A petition has been filed asking that the action of the town meeting be put to a referendum vote.

Nahant, Massachusetts, at a town meeting on October 23, voted 631 to 518 against adoption of the town manager plan recently approved by the state legislature.

Mayor Thomas A. Keating of **Chelsea, Massachusetts,** has publicly expressed his opinion that the people of that city would vote overwhelmingly for Plan E (council-manager plan with P. R.) if placed on the ballot. The chamber of commerce is studying the plan and a vote of its members is expected to be taken.

Voters of **Beverly, Massachusetts,** defeated a proposal to adopt Plan E—council-manager plan with P. R.

The Columbian Civic League of **New Rochelle, New York,** has asked the city council to submit the question of repeal of the manager plan to referendum. One objection raised was election of councilmen at large rather than by wards.

An election will be held on January 25 in **Martinsville, Virginia,** on adoption of the council-manager plan as a result of a petition of some 500 names filed with the city circuit court.

The board of aldermen of **Concord, North Carolina,** will ask the legislature, meeting in January, to adopt an enabling act to permit employment of a city manager, subject to approval by the voters.

Election of a Cracker party candidate as mayor brings an end to council-manager government in **Augusta, Georgia.** On May 17, 1947, the electorate adopted a council-manager charter by a vote of 6,107 to 5,040, but on April 13 of this year the charter was declared unconstitutional by the courts on a technicality. The city council, at that time dominated by the independents who had secured the manager charter, immediately passed a series of ordinances providing the manager plan. The recent election of a Cracker party mayor, however, has been interpreted by the council as a mandate to rescind the manager ordinances and such action was taken on December 3.

Hillsdale, Michigan, will vote on the adoption of a council-manager charter, recently drafted by a charter commission, at the state primary election on February 21.

A council-manager charter for **Crookston, Minnesota,** was defeated on November 2 by a vote of 2,067 to 1,149. A council-manager P. R. charter for **Hastings** lost by 1,227 to 1,219—a narrow margin, except that in Minnesota a new charter must receive a 60 per cent vote.

Voters of **Abilene, Texas,** on November 30 retained the manager plan, adopted two years ago, by a margin of about 400 votes in a total of 5,000. This was the largest vote ever cast in an Abilene municipal election, and nearly twice as great as the total vote when the plan was adopted in August 1946. The election for the city's three-man commission re-occurs next April.

The **Plainview, Texas,** charter commission has drafted a council-manager charter that will be submitted to popular vote on January 25.

The city council of **Newport Beach, California,** has set February 8 as the date for a referendum on a council-manager charter prepared by a board of freeholders. **Redondo Beach** votes on a manager charter on January 4.

Voters of **San Jose, California,** at the general election in November, rejected a proposal to abolish the biennial vote of confidence as to the city manager.

Voters of **Coos Bay, Oregon,** at a special election on September 21, approved, about 700 to 250, eleven charter amendments some of which weaken the council-manager plan that has been in effect since 1945, and one of which abolishes proportional representation. One provision is that the mayor with council approval shall appoint the city engineer, treasurer, attorney, police and fire chiefs, etc., but that the council by ordinance may delegate such power to the city manager — whose duties are to be specified by the council. On October 4 the council adopted an ordinance stating the manager's duties, including appointment of all appointive officers.

The *Union Bulletin* of **Walla Walla, Washington,** advocates the council-manager plan for that city, now under commission government.

The civic affairs committee of the **Ottawa (Ontario)** Board of Trade has been directed to investigate and make recommendations on the advisability of an appointive city manager.

Minneapolis Defeats Strong-Mayor Charter

At a special election on December 6 the proposed strong-mayor charter for Minneapolis, Minnesota, offered as an over-all charter amendment prepared by the city's charter commission, was defeated by a vote of 54,378 to 39,459. The favorable vote was only 42 per cent of the total; 60 per cent was required for adoption. Only about one-third of the registered voters participated in the election.

The amendment would have transferred various scattered administrative functions to the mayor, established a central financial control, reduced the council from 26 to 13 members and made several offices appointive which are now elective.

Acting Mayor Eric G. Hoyer opposed the amendment, in contrast to active support by his predecessor, U. S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

New Orleans Makes Films for Publicity

The city government of New Orleans, in cooperation with the local board of port commissioners and the association of commerce, has completed a 30-minute sound film in color outlining that city's advantages. It is designed for use throughout the United States and other English-speaking nations. A Spanish sound track is also being added to help further the New Orleans trade and tourist program in Latin America. It will be exhibited locally in schools and by civic clubs.

The film outlines the history and the present attractions of the city; approximately half the footage is devoted to a study of New Orleans' economic and trade advantages, as an air and sea gateway for the Mississippi Valley, as a manufacturing center, and as a financial and business capital of the south.

Traffic Students Observe 16 Police Departments

Twenty-seven police officer students attending the traffic police administration course at the Traffic Institute, Northwestern University, began one-week studies of sixteen selected police departments—five state, eleven municipal—in eight states on Monday, November 29. The purpose of the studies was to permit the students to observe the day-to-day operations of traffic control programs and such related subjects as organization of traffic departments, records and analysis, equipment, training, traffic engineering and safety education.

The first Western Institute for Traffic Training will be held on the University of California's Berkeley campus January 31 to February 11. The Traffic Institute of Northwestern University and the Traffic Division of the International Association of Chiefs of Police are cooperating with other national traffic safety organizations in presenting the training courses and seminars.

This is the first institute of its kind to be conducted on a regional basis. Others will be held later at the Traffic Institute of Northwestern University and in the south and east.

The University of California's newly organized Institute of Transportation and Traffic Engineering, directed by Professor Harmer E. Davis, will serve as host for the meeting in cooperation with University Extension. Courses will be open to all persons engaged in specialized traffic control and accident prevention occupations and are sponsored by the National Committee for Traffic Training.

New Charters Face Court Action

Suits Filed in Montgomery and Santa Clara Counties

THE four Republican members of the board of county commissioners of Montgomery County, Maryland, have brought suit to enjoin the board of elections from proceeding with the January 6 election of the new county council, as provided by the home rule charter adopted last November.[1] The fifth commissioner, a Democrat, opposed the suit. Success in the suit would permit commissioners to retain their seats until 1950.

Among the contentions of the four county commissioners bringing suit are:

1. That nomination to the proposed charter council must be by party primary instead of by petition, as the charter provides;

2. That if a charter council assumed office it would be "removal" of the commissioners in conflict with a state law prohibiting a charter council from removing county officers whose appointment is provided for in the state constitution;

3. That the "credit of the county and its ability to sell its securities will be brought into question";

4. That the five county commissioners are entitled to full four-year terms under the state constitution (the present board was elected in 1946);

5. That the constitution authorizes the holding of elections for state and county officers only on a quadrennial basis, which places the next "legal" election in 1950;

6. That the constitution prevents county charters from "expanding" certain powers granted them and that, hence, a provision calling for the January election is invalid; and

7. That the scheduled election will cost county taxpayers $14,000, and expenditure of that amount on such an unconstitutional election would be illegal.

The suit added that "legislation passed by such usurping members of the council so unlawfully elected will be void and of no effect and will lead to great confusion in the conduct of Montgomery County government and to a multiplicity of suits concerning the county's affairs."

At least five charter committee attorneys will ask the court's permission to intervene and assist the two attorneys of the board of election supervisors to show that an election for charter councilmen on January 6 would be entirely legal. With formal filing of the suit, there were immediate promises from all sides that the "emergency" litigation would be speeded through the courts in an effort to settle the questions before January 6. Attorneys for both sides said they would cut legal "red tape" to a minimum, and authoritative court sources said the suit would receive preferential treatment.

Validity of Santa Clara's New Charter Questioned

Immediately following the November victory for a new manager charter in Santa Clara County, California,[1] opponents of the new form of government contested the charter's validity on the grounds that the board of supervisors—who were legally responsible for the action—overlooked errors in the pre-election newspaper publication that is required by the constitution of California. On five of the ten days of publication several paragraphs, though properly numbered, were out of sequence. The court is expected to hand down its decision promptly.

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[1] See the REVIEW, December 1948, page 618.

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City-County Consolidation Wins in Washington State

First announced as defeated (see the REVIEW for December, page 616) the amendment to the Washington state constitution permitting city-county consolidation was adopted on November 2 by 291,699 to 287,813. Absentee ballots turned the tide. Because of its limitation to counties of 300,000 population and over, it applies only to Seattle and King County.

Councilman M. B. Mitchell of Seattle, a leader of the amendment campaign, says that the next move is for the legislature to provide the procedure under the amendment. The law must specify the method by which voting on consolidation may be done and how boundaries of the areas proposed to be consolidated shall be determined.

There will be no conflict between this amendment and that providing home rule for all Washington counties which passed at the same election, Mr. Mitchell pointed out.

City-County Consolidation Revived in Atlanta

A newly elected member to the Georgia state legislature, Luther Alberson, has promised to introduce a measure for the consolidation of Fulton County and Atlanta. He declares it will protect the rights of various suburbs and outlying communities, leaving it to their citizens to determine whether their areas shall become part of the single government. He will seek an act to authorize creation of a commission to work out details.

New Mexico Defeats Four-year Limit on County Officers

The voters of New Mexico last November defeated by a substantial margin a proposed constitutional amendment that would have extended the terms of all county officers to four years but would have made them ineligible to succeed themselves.

Wicomico County Survey Published

The Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Maryland, which has published several pamphlets on state and municipal government in Maryland, has released its first publication in the field of county government. The report is, in essence, the unpublished study submitted in January 1947 to the commissioners of Wicomico County, Maryland, by the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League. It has been brought up-to-date and revised slightly by the author, and issued under the title, *Improving the Government of Wicomico County*.[1]

Manager Plan Provided

The pamphlet presents an over-all survey of the structure, activities and essential practices of the Wicomico County government, including its relationship with the state and with local governments in the county. It indicates the major lines of legal and administrative action that must be taken in order that government in Wicomico County will be as serviceable, efficient and economical as possible in future years.

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[1] By Elwyn A. Mauck. College Park, 1948, 56 pages.

Major recommendations are as follows:

1. Adopt the county manager plan;
2. Adopt a modern budget system including a long term capital budget;
3. Join with the city and board of education in centralized purchasing;
4. Integrate financial functions, including collection of taxes, in a division of finance;
5. Install modern personnel procedure;
6. Join with the city of Salisbury in all activities which prove adaptable to cooperative effort;

State-Local Relations

7. Investigate possibility of securing more favorable formulas for allotment of state welfare and road money;
8. Consider the possibility of securing return from the state of greater jurisdiction over services such as health, welfare, county roads and assessment of property;
9. Establish a planning and zoning board to provide controls for orderly development;
10. Develop and integrate recreational services already initiated;
11. Investigate further the need for a county police force, with full consideration of existing state and city facilities;
12. Take necessary action to have control over liquor dispensary transferred to the county;
13. Provide desired services for unincorporated communities by establishment of special districts;
14. Seek codification, simplification and clarification of the statutory and constitutional authority under which the county operates, with a view to permitting more effective home rule in all matters primarily of county concern.

Study Term Limitation of County Officers

The *Kansas Government Journal* has made a survey to determine the extent to which various states limit the number of terms of office that an individual may serve as sheriff or county treasurer. The survey was undertaken because sheriffs and treasurers of Kansas counties were advocating an amendment to the constitution removing the provision that limits them to two successive terms.

Based on the study, an article in the *Journal* first traces the office of sheriff through early English history. This is followed by an analysis of restriction on the number of terms a person may serve in the offices as established by state constitutions.

Only twelve states have ever had constitutional limitations on the number of terms an incumbent may serve as sheriff or as county treasurer. Four states subsequently removed such limitations. Of the remaining eight, five have constitutional limitations applying to both officers, two applying to the sheriff only, and one applying to the treasurer only.

The study concludes that the limitations are no longer of any genuine value in serving the purposes for which they were originally intended.

Milwaukee County Smoke Control Effective

As a result of the recent enactment of a county-wide smoke control ordinance, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, now has "spotters" established in observation posts throughout the area. They will be on the lookout for industrial smoke as well as forest fires. The city of Milwaukee will be required to install new stokers in its municipal buildings, costing approximately $1,200,000, in order to comply with the ordinance.

First Rural Zoning Plan in North Carolina

The planning board established jointly by Forsyth County and Winston-Salem, North Carolina, recently completed the first zoning plan for rural areas ever adopted in North Carolina. After public hearings are held, it probably will go into effect early in 1949. It will be enforced by a zoning officer appointed by the county commissioners. Other counties in the state are expected to follow the Forsyth County ordinance as a model.

No Regimentation for Texas County Police

Of the four highway patrolmen of Hidalgo County, Texas, two have refused to wear the regulation style cap with their uniforms, persisting in wearing western style ten-gallon hats. The county commissioners, after lengthy debate, decided to permit them to continue to wear their hats rather than to lose their services.

New York County Budget Creates Savings

Chautauqua County, New York, which during the past seven years has developed an improved budgetary and accounting procedure, recently received its reward through reduced appropriations and simultaneous cost-of-living salary increases. When the budget for 1949 was presented recently to the county board, a reduction of $175,000 in appropriations was indicated, but 350 employees were to be granted a $252 annual salary adjustment upward and county officers a similar adjustment of $1,000. The new budget procedures have been bringing many inquiries from various parts of the state.

School District Report Released

After a two-year study of schools throughout the nation, the National Commission on School District Reorganization has published *Your School District.* This study was sponsored by the rural education project of the University of Chicago and the Department of Rural Education of the National Education Association.

The report points out that the little red school house, once a dynamic force as a center of community life, is now rapidly taking its place beside the town meeting house and other institutions which have played their part in the development of American life and culture. School consolidation which began hesitantly at the turn of the century now is a widespread movement deemed practical and essential if the best in American education is to be continued. The report is expected to give additional impetus to the consolidation movement as, for example, in Guilford County, North Carolina, where the state superintendent of public instruction recently appointed a five-man committee to study the feasibility of consolidating the county's rural high schools.

School Surveys Continue

The Jasper County, Missouri, schools are now being surveyed by the local Tax Economy Association, and a survey has just been completed of Teton County schools in Wyoming by the Wyoming Taxpayers' Association. The express purposes of the Jasper County survey are to focus public attention on the need for redistricting and to present information which will be of assistance to the newly organized county board of education. The county's 113 school districts will be analyzed in regard to assessed valuation, revenues, expenditures, tax rates and average daily attendance.

The Wyoming Taxpayers' Association has presented its report in a very attractive illustrated pamphlet.[1] Clever graphic presentation is used to illustrate that the county's one high school and five elementary districts should be consolidated into a single county-wide school district. The report concludes with the following recommendations: (1) that Teton County citizens avail themselves of the certain educational advantages to be gained by participating in the current school district reorganization law; (2) that a foundation be provided for correcting educational inequalities now prevailing in the county by enlarging school districts as authorized in current statutes; (3) that the schools be placed in a more favorable financial status through district reorganization; (4) that Teton County be organized as one school district; (5) that the high school and the elementary school districts be operated as a single unit; and (6) that Teton County residents strive to achieve the expressed legislative hope of 1947: "Wiser use of public funds, uniform school tax rates, and equalized educational opportunity."

County Road Units Popular in Kansas

In the recent general election ten more Kansas counties voted on the county unit plan of road administration. Eight voted to adopt the plan and one voted to retain it. Only one county voted against establishment of the unit system. There are now 51 counties in Kansas operating their road systems under the unit plan.

Propose Elimination of Counties in Old Age Assistance

The Wisconsin Public Welfare Association has proposed that county financial participation in the cost of old age assistance be eliminated. It notes that there is no county participation in such programs in about half the states. It argues that "local autonomy" is merely a trite expression in view of the fact that state and federal rules permit no real decisions to be made by the counties.

County Infirmaries Plan Modified

The Wisconsin State Medical Society has revised its proposed statute to establish an infirmary in every county of the state. The original plan called for construction of facilities to care for all the aged infirm as well as the chronically ill persons in all age groups.

A subcommittee on welfare of the Legislative Council received the plan favorably but indicated that there would be insufficient funds to construct facilities for such a program. Consequently, the new bill will provide for only the aged infirm. It is estimated that the infirmaries will cost approximately $10,000,000. The cost of building would be borne entirely by county funds, but the cost of care for inmates would be divided evenly between the state and the counties.

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[1] *A Case for School District Reorganization*, Cheyenne, October 1948, 36 pages.

P. R. League Meets in Boston

Lively Annual Session Appraises Obstacles

SCHEDULING its annual meeting, as in the past, in conjunction with the sessions of the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, the Proportional Representation League met in Boston, Tuesday, November 23. Nearly a hundred persons from many parts of the country attended what proved to be a lively and instructive meeting devoted to means of educating the voter on the use and advantages of P. R.

The league's newly elected president, Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati, presided.

First speaker was Oxie Reichler, editor of the Yonkers *Herald Statesman,* who reported on the loss of P. R. in Yonkers at the November 2 election.[1] The main burden of Mr. Reichler's address was the part a newspaper should play in educating the voter. He pointed out that, as in any educational campaign, the duty of the press is "to lay out the facts and comment in language easy to understand and in type easy to read." The failure of the New York City papers, which are widely read in Yonkers, to meet this requirement was one of the chief causes of the recent reverses in both cities.

Mr. Reichler stressed the fact that in dealing with P. R. "the newspaper must learn a new and sometimes baffling technique. It is a way of fighting bogeymen, hobgoblins and bugbears."

Mayor Cash responded to Mr. Reichler's address by reciting some of the unfair comments of Cincinnati newspapers against P. R. when it was under attack in 1947 and describing the celebration on the evening of election day, when the voters had retained P. R. by a substantial majority, in which a good part of the staff of the most critical newspaper joined with enthusiasm.

Worcester's Program

Robert B. Service, Jr., treasurer of the Worcester Citizens' Plan "E" Association, described the successful efforts to secure Plan E for Worcester and the plans of his organization to educate the voters in preparation for the 1949 P. R. election and installation of the council-manager plan in January 1950.

Mr. Service displayed numerous excellent charts, pictures, clippings, etc., demonstrating the association's techniques for education, raising money and district and overall organization. He described the cooperation of the Worcester Public Library and of the public school system (the latter has issued a manual describing the manager plan and P. R., which is used in civics classes); the association's booth at the Worcester Centennial Exhibition, the city hall booth of the League of Women Voters. He announced that the association will endorse candidates for the nine councilmen and the six school committeemen to be elected by P. R. next year. Mr. Service warned that the newly-elected legislature could be expected to snipe at the P. R. provisions of Plan E.

Edward A. Crane, city councilman of Cambridge, described how P. R.

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[1] See Mr. Reichler's account in this department for December.

and the manager plan have worked in his city. The forces for good government there, he asserted, must always be on the alert. In Cambridge there have been no serious setbacks. One point he stressed was the necessity of explaining proportional representation in detail to the satisfaction of the voter. The complaint that it is complicated must be met head on. American voters want no mysteries. Asked to demonstrate the simple five-minute explanation of the P. R. count which he said was possible, he did so in exactly that time.

'Teas for Ten'

Dr. Jon Covell of the Yonkers New Women's Group, described a new technique for reaching women voters—teas for ten. She felt that had the idea gotten started earlier in Yonkers, more women would have been reached and the day might have been saved for P. R.

Starting with a single "tea for ten" Dr. Covell said that each of the women attending agreed to give a tea for ten others; each of these was asked to repeat the idea; with an ever widening circle of women being brought into the group. Such a technique reaches women who ordinarily do not go to political meetings but who are glad to attend a tea given by a neighbor or friend.

The New Women's Group is making plans to extend the idea. It hopes to train baby sitters to release those women unable to attend teas because of home duties. Yonkers people feel that P. R. may be regained—it was sustained in those parts of the city which were best covered in the educational campaign.

The importance of P. R. as a practical issue in Boston was brought home to the meeting by a bit of heckling. A former election commissioner under Mayor Curley arose at this point and began asking questions of the last speaker—obviously with the idea of raising doubts as to the merits of P. R. He was answered by people from several different cities.

Fourteen participants were listed on the program and many of them took part in the general discussion.

Albert A. Arditti, of Long Beach, New York, described the successful campaign of the Long Beach Citizens Union to elect a councilman by a write-in vote on the P. R. ballot — a feat which would have been impossible in the circumstances without the opportunity for representation offered by P. R. to any large minority.[2]

Walter J. Millard, field secretary of the league, called attention to an article in the *Scientific Monthly* for October 1948, entitled "Three Methods of Voting," by W. S. Taylor of Smith College.

Wm. Redin Woodward, one of the editors of this department, commented on the importance of newspapers in reaching the commuter. He praised the Lowell *Sun,* as well as the Yonkers *Herald Statesman,* for excellent reporting of the detailed political information made available by P. R. elections.

Chandler Johnson, formerly of Cambridge, who helped to draft the Plan E law of Massachusetts, commented on the Cambridge experience.

H. M. Olmsted, staff member of the New York State Public Service Commission, cited the near-monopoly of New York City's congressional and state senate contests by a single party this fall as evidence of the need for P. R. in his city.[3]

Dr. Belle Zeller, of Brooklyn College, felt that full explanation of the P. R.

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[2] See this department for December 1947.

[3] See the analysis by the New York Citizens Union in this department last month.

count is necessary. Many fail to realize that transfers are made in accordance with the voter's expressed wishes.

George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary of the New York Citizens Union and of the P. R. League, gave a short report on recent developments in the P. R. field.

Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., of *The Queen's Work*, St. Louis, nominated the following for re-election as trustees of the P. R. League: Albert D. Cash, mayor of Cincinnati; Richard S. Childs, chairman of the council of the National Municipal League and chairman of the New York Citizens Union; U. S. Senator Paul H. Douglas of Chicago; Provost C. A. Dykstra of the University of California at Los Angeles; C. G. Hoag of Haverford, Pennsylvania, honorary secretary of the P. R. League; J. Henry Scattergood of Villa Nova, Pennsylvania; and Thomas Raeburn White of Philadelphia, vice president of the P. R. League. Robert B. Service, Jr., of Worcester, nominated from the floor, asked that his name be withdrawn. The seven nominees were then elected unanimously.

Two Cities Defeat P. R. Proposals

A proposed new charter for Hastings, Minnesota, a community of 5,662, was defeated at the polls on November 2 by a vote of 1,227 to 1,219. While the margin of defeat seemed very close, under the Minnesota constitution new charters need a 60 per cent majority for adoption. The proposed charter, submitted by a local charter commission, provided for the council-manager plan with P. R. for election of the council.

A referendum on Plan E—council-manager plan with P. R. for election of the council and school board—held in Beverly, Massachusetts, on December 14, resulted in defeat of the plan.

Coos Bay Ends Use of P. R.

The only use of P. R. for public elections in Oregon came to an end when after one election the little city of Coos Bay voted on September 21 to abolish it by a vote of almost 700 to 250.

The abolition was one of numerous weakening amendments to the new city manager charter approved at the same time after submission by a group dissatisfied with its initial operation. The city manager rather than P. R. was the principal target of the attack. The P. R. feature appears to have been included in the items singled out for change chiefly because of its unfamiliarity.

We are indebted for this information to Coos Bay Councilman William T. McLean.

Social Democrats Get Majority in Berlin

With 86.2 per cent of a total of 1,500,000 eligible voters taking part, the western sectors of Berlin elected a new city assembly on December 5, 1948. Social Democratic party candidates received a clear majority of the votes—64.5 per cent—in the count of the P. R. ballots.

This was the second general election held in Berlin since the end of the war. The 1946 election covered the entire city but, although the Soviet Union was pledged to hold further elections, it persisted in refusing to cooperate, leaving the other occupation powers the choice of having no more elections or permitting one in the western sectors only. Communists urged their supporters to boycott the elections, claiming they were "illegal" because of

(Continued on page 63)

Taxation and Finance . . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Jersey County 'Scoops' State

Purchases Bridges at Twice Statutory Recapture Price

THE special municipal agency empowered to incur indebtedness by pledging the earnings of a proprietary enterprise not eligible for general property tax support has established itself as a useful and highly economic device of local government in many instances, with results of demonstrated benefit to all concerned. Many observers, however, have had reservations about the device, especially as to the absence of effective political control where the capacity or judgment of the agency might reasonably be called in question.

A startling example, seeming to give considerable basis for a critical attitude toward special agencies and their revenue bond financing, has just developed in New Jersey in the so-called Burlington County bridges case.

The case received considerable publicity in New Jersey and New York City in November, when it was revealed that the Burlington County Bridge Commission had purchased for approximately $12,000,000 two privately owned toll bridges across the Delaware River which were subject to recapture by the state within two to three years at a price not much exceeding $5,000,000. The commission financed the purchase through issuance of revenue bonds to the owners of the bridges, who thereupon resold them to a syndicate of municipal bond dealers.

Governor Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey immediately objected to the purchase by the county and directed the state attorney general to ascertain the facts and recommend a course of action. The text of the report of Attorney General Walter D. Van Riper has been made available to the press and published *in toto* at least once.[1]

In the account of the situation which follows, reliance is principally on the attorney general's report, and quotations are from that report, which was based on inquiries in which all parties to the transaction participated voluntarily.

Subject to Recapture

The deal involved two toll bridges across the Delaware River, both owned by private companies and under a 1925 statute subject to recapture by the state at any time after they were five years old at a price to be set by a stipulated formula. In the fall of 1946 a group, including a prominent Burlington County figure who had been associated in the sales of privately owned bridges to county bridge commissions in two other New Jersey counties, started negotiations for the purchase of the Burlington-Bristol bridge, but refused to proceed when advised that the 1925 statute imposed an impediment to resale.

At the 1947 session of the New Jersey legislature the 1925 act was amended to abrogate the state's recapture privilege in case the bridges were acquired by another public agency (specifically naming a county bridge commission) and the bridge was subsequently acquired by the Burlington-Bristol Bridge Company.

The price was $1,350,000, financed by a $1,000,000 mortgage and $350,000 of notes given by the stockholders of the new company to the former owners. The stockholders of the new company contributed $50,000 in cash for legal, engineering and other expenses.

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[1] See *The Daily Bond Buyer,* December 1, 1948, page 1396 et sequa.

In the spring of 1948 principals of the Burlington-Bristol Bridge Company approached the president of a New York concern "whose business it was to buy bridges and promote their sales to public agencies," and this concern subsequently acquired options from the stockholders of the Tacony-Palmyra Bridge Company for the purchase of their stock. These options expired November 1, 1948, prior to which the purchase would be effective when certain things were done, including the deposit in escrow of money to meet the purchase price of $6,487,500.

Bridges for Sale

In September 1948, the president of the Burlington-Bristol Bridge Company approached a member of the Burlington County board of freeholders and advised him that he was a stockholder in the company, that the company owned the Burlington-Bristol and the Tacony-Palmyra bridges, that both were for sale and that it would be a good deal for the county. He left with the freeholder various statistical data on the bridges including an appraisal valuing them "in excess of $13,000,000."

On October 20 the official called a meeting of three of his colleagues in his home, at which the company representative repeated his offer, stated that the price was $12,000,000, and explained how the money could be raised by the creation of a county bridge commission and the issuance by it of revenue bonds payable solely from the earnings of the bridges. Three members of a bridge commission, to receive salaries of $3,000 per annum, were selected.

The next morning, October 21, the members selected the night before to serve as bridge commissioners were notified for the first time of their appointment and the reason. That afternoon, they met in a Philadelphia hotel with representatives of the Burlington-Bristol Bridge Company and a prominent New York bond attorney, and the deal was "explained." They were handed a prepared, printed resolution, covering the technical details of the creation of the commission, approval of the sale, etc.

Talking It Over

"The gentlemen who had been asked to serve on the bridge commission were then told to take this into another room and go over it and decide whether or not they were satisfied to 'go along.' They repaired to a bedroom with their attorney and spent probably an hour in discussion."

On Friday morning, October 22, the Burlington County board of freeholders held a private session immediately prior to its public meeting, at which one member not theretofore included in the discussions was informed what it was proposed to do. This member was shown the statistical data, and thereafter the board began its public session, adopting a resolution appointing the three men previously selected as bridge commissioners.

These gentlemen were waiting in an adjacent building and, on receiving word of their appointment, took the oath of office, organized and then quickly passed the previously prepared resolution contracting them to purchase the bridges. "All of this adds up to the fact that within a period of eighteen hours (including a night) from the time when they first heard of the deal the bridge commission had purchased $12,000,000 worth of bridges."

Immediately after the adoption of the resolution purchasing the bridges, the commissioners were informed that they were to leave at once for a meeting at a bank in New York City, where the deal was to be closed and the money turned over. At the bank some 33 persons took part in the routine which was necessary to convey the bridges to the commission, issue the bonds, etc.

A fascinating part of the deal is that, when the parties entered the bank, the Burlington-Bristol Bridge Company did not yet own the Tacony-Palmyra bridge, nor had the concern from which the company proposed to buy it yet taken up its options on the Tacony-Palmyra Bridge Company stock. The options were taken up with $6,487,500 borrowed from the bank and placed in escrow early in the session by the bridge buying concern. The bank loan was later repaid when the bridge buying concern received $6,750,000 from the Burlington-Bristol Bridge Company as the purchase price of the Tacony-Palmyra bridge. For assembling the options on the stock of the Tacony-Palmyra bridge, the profit was $262,500, with no capital investment whatsoever. The profit to the stockholders of the Burlington-Bristol Bridge Company, who had contributed $50,000 cash for various expenses, was some $2,000,000 after all mortgages and liens against the bridges had been satisfied. The exact amount of bridge bonds issued was $12,400,000, the added $400,000 providing the bridge commissioners with working cash.

Governor Steps In

It appears that the bonds had a ready market, and would have been disposed of by the purchasing syndicate (which acquired them at the bank from the bridge company) had not the objections of Governor Driscoll made it evident after the transaction was announced that litigation was likely to ensue. At this writing, the bonds remain in a bank vault, while the fate of the entire transaction is weighed.

The attorney general recommended that suit be brought attacking the constitutionality of the 1947 amendment and seeking to rescind the sale and also that suit be brought to recover the profit of approximately $2,000,000 realized by the stockholders of the Burlington-Bristol Bridge Company, "on the theory that the stockholders either personally or through their agent . . . both suppressed important information from the freeholders and bridge commissioners and failed to disclose other information which it was their duty to do when dealing with public officials concerning the use of public funds."

Wyoming Cities Ask More Taxes

An increase in the general property tax rate limit for cities from 8 to 12 mills and a greater amount of state aid were asked by Wyoming cities at a meeting early in October of the Wyoming Municipality League.

The proposals, to be submitted to the legislature when it convenes in January, included, in addition to the property tax rate increase: allocation of 25 per cent of the state sales tax to the counties, to be reallocated among the cities on a population basis; reimbursement of cities for revenue lost through a $2,000 veteran tax exemption; return to the counties for reallocation to the cities on a per capita basis of 50 per cent of the profits and taxes of the Wyoming Liquor Commission; and distribution to the cities of 10 per cent instead of the present 2 per cent of state gasoline taxes. A proposition to raise the property tax rate limit was submitted to the voters at the November election but was not approved.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

National Civic Secretaries Meet

Discuss Finance, Political Aspects of Citizen Groups

MEETING in Boston November 21 and 22 as a cooperating organization of the National Conference on Government, the **National Association of Civic Secretaries** held two sessions.[1] Subject for the first was "Organization Fundamentals: Program and Finances." Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of *The American City*, presided.

First speaker was Irving L. Spear, executive secretary of the **Massachusetts Foundation,** who explained the relationship between the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations** and the foundation. "The federation conceives and implements the program and is the fighting front known to the public." Its membership is restricted to local taxpayers' associations in Massachusetts. "The purpose of the foundation is to finance the federation. . . . This somewhat unusual arrangement has been devised primarily in order to afford complete protection to the contributors, whose names and contributions are held in confidence."

The foundation has organized committees covering the respective industrial and banking classifications in Massachusetts. Each committee is a separate entity presided over by a carefully selected general chairman of high standing who in turn selects his own committee personnel. Approximately 500 men are serving who carry on actual solicitation. Each committeeman is responsible for about six prospects.

Mr. Spear suggested that the sources of financial support be diversified. No strings must be attached. "Our organization has never hesitated to return a check to a contributor if he became particularly insistent on his views being carried out."

Business executives "will pay far larger amounts in support of your program than you may believe possible," he said, "if they are assured of the need of the program and its effectiveness. A potentially large contributor may not have a high estimate of an organization if he is requested to make a nominal payment when he is capable of and willing to make a substantial one."

William R. Pouder, executive secretary of the **Tennessee Taxpayers Association,** explained in his paper[2] that while his association "makes a charge against a local government or a group of sponsoring citizens for some extended and minutely detailed survey of a unit of local government, representing from one-fourth to one-half the actual cost of the work, the bulk of association support comes from individual and corporation contributions," none of which contributes enough to present any question of its influencing policies or procedures.

Mr. Pouder felt that "raising funds for the support of the work of a civic agency is not so much a matter of a money-getting technique in itself as it is one of the by-products of the careful application of five or six other techniques. He suggested that the sponsoring group should be reasonably representative of the city or other geographic district covered; at least one staff member should possess demonstrated ability in oral and written salesmanship and in the maintenance of good public relations; there should be an appealing program of objectives and promotional action; the staff should conduct the painstaking research necessary to provide a good foundation upon which may be erected dependable and defendable conclusions, practicable recommendations and enthusiastic action; the question of credit for work done and objectives accomplished should be the subject of frank discussion between governmental and political leaders and the organization; there must be confidence in the organization's leadership, faith in its ability to "ring the bell" with acceptable results which can be "sold" to contributors and prospective contributors; application should be made for "two types of tax exemption—one on surplus funds of the organization and one on contributions made by individuals and corporations.

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[1] This article is based on reports made by Mrs. Florence B. Widutis, editor of *Resolved*, who acted as recorder.

[2] Read by Forest Frank, executive secretary of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, in Mr. Pouder's absence.

Long and Short Range

George H. Hallett, Jr., executive secretary of the **Citizens Union of the City of New York,** described his organization's financing program. The union has long range objectives, he said, but in order to get continuing support it must often concentrate on immediate objectives. As an example the union is working for the council-manager plan and P. R. for New York City as a long range objective, but an immediate objective, with a good chance for success, is its smoke abatement program.

The union is working for a change in the tax deductibility law which does not permit exemption of contributions to nonpartisan groups engaging in political activity at election time. The union has set up its **Citizens Union Research Foundation** which, it is hoped, will secure tax exemption status, since its work will be confined entirely to planning and research.

Personal contacts have proved most effective in raising funds, said Mr. Hallett. He pointed out that one serious difficulty is the division of time between program and financing when one executive is responsible for both.

In the general discussion following the talks, H. Eliot Kaplan, then secretary of the **National Civil Service League,** described his organization as the oldest citizen group in the country, whose purpose is to compel public officials to comply with the law. He commented that the director of a civic group has to be a kind of Pooh-Bah—publicity man, program director, fund raiser, office manager and orator. In his opinion, the job of raising money should not be the job of the executive director but of the board of directors.

Sherman P. Voorhees, executive secretary of **Future Springfield** (Massachusetts), described the fund raising methods of his three-year old research organization. Minimum dues are $200 to $1,000. The organization uses salesmanship to put its product over.

Lloyd Hale of the **Minneapolis Taxpayers Association** described the work of the **Minneapolis Civic Council,** which raises funds for some six organizations. He pointed out that the council ran into difficulties recently when the various organizations concerned were split on support of a proposed new charter. He felt that joint fund raising does have a definite appeal in that it saves people annoyance.

Others participating included Forest Frank, executive secretary of the Cincinnati City Charter Commission, Walter J. Millard, field secretary of the Proportional Representation League, and Miss Hazelle B. Scott, acting secretary of the Allegheny County Civic Club.

The second session discussed the question, "Do We Have to Be Political?" Mr. Hallett presided, with Guy C. Larcom, Jr., director of the **Citizens League of Cleveland,** and Arthur L. Thexton as scheduled speakers.

Mr. Larcom described the work of his organization, referring particularly to its recommendations on local candidates and the issuance of its voters' directory. The Cleveland league believes that civic groups must be political, said Mr. Larcom, in the sense of influencing government; every effort must be made to mobilize citizen opinion behind good issues. Research and education are needed, with political activity to put over objectives.

How Political?

Joseph McLean of Princeton University observed that it does not seem to be a question of do we have to be political but how political must we be? One problem is that we do not know how to define a civic organization. Mr. Thexton commented that it is an error to define politics in terms of supporting candidates—it is also political to stand for issues. Mass membership is important since votes are the only recognized political coin.

Mrs. Florence B. Widutis, editor of *Resolved,* opined that the size of the membership is not necessarily the determining factor in effectiveness and Mr. Childs remarked that smaller groups make up with velocity and light what is lacking in mass. Mr. Childs felt that the reason civic organizations lack mass is sometimes because of the need to keep purity of character and singleness of objective.

Mr. Millard defined the two poles of politics—influence exercised in regard to institutions and issues which benefit the whole community—as against activity directed to see to it that as much as possible of the money collected by governments flows into the pockets of the politician's friends. Where does political activity stand between these extremes?, he asked.

Albert A. Arditti described the work of the **Long Beach, New York, Citizens Union,** of which he is chairman emeritus. Previously, groups in his community set up as nonpolitical were taken over by the politicos. His group decided that the only way to keep the organization free of the politicians was to indulge in politics.

Other contributors to the session included Mrs. Laura Lundy of the **Chicago Federation of Women's Clubs,** Miss Louise C. Morrell of the **Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs,** Miss Scott, and Oxie Reichler, editor of the Yonkers, New York, *Herald Statesman.*

Lawson Purdy of New York, a member of the National Municipal League's Advisory Council, summed up the session with his statement that politics should be defined as any action taken to influence the administration of law or the enactment of law. He expressed dislike of the contempt frequently expressed for politics. He feels that there should be a clearer distinction between the type of politics used to achieve an objective such as change of government from the aldermanic type to the council-manager plan and that used to secure passage of legislation of a technical character. In the first instances large masses are dealt with; in the second it may be only a few people who understand the technicalities.

At this second session of the association, officers were elected for 1949 as follows: President, Mr. Frank; first vice president, Mr. Hallett; second vice president, C. A. Crosser, executive secretary of the **Seattle Municipal League**; third vice president, Mr. Pouder; secretary-treasurer, Miss Scott.

Books in Review

New York Legislative Annual, 1947. Compiled by Elisabeth McK. Scott. New York City, New York Legislative Service, Inc., 1948. vi, 287 pp. $7.50.

This is the second edition of the *New York State Legislative Annual,* the first appearing in 1946. The aim of the book is to set forth the purpose and intent of laws enacted at a regular annual session of the New York legislature.

Each chapter covers one of the major fields of legislation. It begins with a general account of the problems faced, written usually by a state administrative official. Following this discussion are memoranda presented by the governor, state administrative agencies, local governmental agencies and private organizations which sponsored the legislation. For instance, following the general discussion on housing legislation are memoranda of the governor, the State Division of Housing, New York City Housing Authority and the Citizens' Union of New York City.

Each bill is summarized and the reasons for the need for its enactment enumerated. In short, the compiler, Miss Scott, sums up the contents of the book in the foreword of the 1946 volume, as "largely a compilation of the supporting memoranda of the agencies recommending measures."

Later, in the same foreword, Miss Scott says significantly, "The material contained in this volume gives impressive evidence of the tireless effort going into the growth of the laws we live under."

The complexities of social and economic legislation of the modern age present difficult problems to the sponsors of legislation, the law-making body itself, administrative officials, both state and local, the courts and the citizenry whose lives are affected by legal enactments. In the past 40 years we have seen the creation and growth of legislative aids—legislative reference bureaus, legislative councils and scientific bill-drafting. The *New York Legislative Annual* is another step in research on legislation, namely, a means of determining the intent and purpose of a law.

The 1948 *Annual* is expected to include statements from the legislative committees now functioning, an important addition to the material in the present edition.

The book is useful not only to the courts in the work of judicial review but also to administrators and citizens interested in the operation of a law. With the usefulness of this kind of publication assured is it not possible that legislators and the electorate will become convinced that publication of proceedings of state legislatures is likewise a necessary part of the legislative process?

John P. Senning

University of Nebraska

The Legislative Process—Law Making in the U. S. By Harvey Walker. New York, Ronald Press Company, 1948. vii, 482 pp. $5.

A comprehensive and thorough critical and factual statement of the subject at the congressional, state legislative and local levels, organized for textbook use with review questions at the end of each chapter. It ranges freely outdoors among the political realities that lie beyond or beneath the ostensible legal mechanisms. The volume includes, but only briefly, material on initiative and referendum, which, by the way, needs a new book of its own these days.

Introduction to the Study of Public Administration (third edition). By Leonard D. White. New York, Macmillan Company, 1948. xvii, 612 pp. $5.75.

A fluent, readable account of the progress and current state of federal, state and local administration in the United States, illuminated by the author's appraisals and criticisms, which reflect his exceptional authority as a former member of the Chicago and the United States Civil Service Commissions. Previous editions were in 1926 and 1939.

Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups. By V. O. Key, Jr. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1947. xvi, 766 pp. $4.25.

This textbook is in its second edition and its ninth printing which constitutes proof enough of the esteem which it has attained since its first appearance in 1942. It takes political science out of the law books into the outdoor realities of the American scene.

The concentrated account of internal politics and control of labor unions which so often parallel the failings and distortions of public politics is particularly welcome; if regulation of labor unions is in prospect of further extension, the great unions will have to be made to adopt some of the reforms of the cities and states to enable their membership to throw off the self-perpetuated corrupt bosses and machines which now prevail in some of them. Delay in such reform becomes more dangerous as such union leadership attempts to throw its weight around in public affairs. There should be more fact-gathering and thinking along such lines.

County Government—An Analysis; County Government — Constitutional Data; County Government — Forms. (Nos. 12, 13 and 14 of a series prepared for the Oklahoma Constitutional Survey Committee.) By John Paul Duncan. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma State Legislative Council, 1948. 43, 42 and 23 pp. respectively.

Prof. Duncan was evidently allowed full freedom to propose bold local county programs. He assembles up-to-date proof of the desirability of consolidating many counties, getting rid of constitutional obstacles to new forms, providing optional laws to make county manager form available and transfer of functions to or from the state. An interesting illustration of the usefulness of official research to back up proposed laws!

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Traffic Safety

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PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 53)

failure to obtain concurrence of the Soviet Union in the election plans.

The margin of victory of the Social Democratic party represents a substantial increase over its 1946 strength, although the party was the largest in the city at that time. The other parties, Christian Democratic and Liberal Democratic, polled 19.9 per cent and 16.1 per cent, respectively, according to the New York *Herald Tribune.*

Under the party list form of proportional representation used in Berlin, the assembly seats obtained by each party will be closely in proportion to the votes obtained by each party ticket, since the voter is limited to a choice between party lists and may not distribute his preferences among candidates of two or more parties as can be done under the Hare system.

The Moscow press printed a report that one of its correspondents had been informed "everywhere he went" in the western sectors that not more than 35 per cent of the eligible voters had voted (reported from Moscow by the New York *Herald Tribune*). This and other apparently unfounded charges relating to the Berlin election may be indicative of the general nature of election figures announced in the press of Communist-controlled countries.

Plea for P. R.

On October 29 the Cincinnati *Post,* in an editorial entitled "A Legislative Ticket," commented:

"The election of the Hamilton County delegation to the Ohio legislature would be an excellent spot for the use of P. R.

"This county usually sends a solid Republican group to Columbus when the gubernatorial candidate carries the county. However, citizens with long memories tell us that it has happened that Democratic state senators and representatives have been elected from this county.

"A delegation chosen by the P. R. ballot would be truly representative of the people of this county, just as the Cincinnati council reflects fairly the major political and social elements of the city. This thought of a P. R.-elected ticket for the legislature may be an idle dream as of now, but its value must be apparent to all local voters."

LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from page 2)

fourteen books, with incidental self-education, wrote a new series of eighteen newspaper stories on the council-manager plan which have already been published in at least 41 papers with a total circulation of more than a million. And I loved it! I've never had so much fun in my life."

William Collins, chairman of the Finance Committee, reported continued progress in broadening the financial base despite some retarding of the process due to the preoccupation of many people with the election campaigns. He called for increased cooperation by members in enlisting additional members and contributors.

Alfred Willoughby, secretary, reported briefly on the year's work. He said a considerable amount of time has been spent serving citizen and official groups dealing with the problems of state constitutional revision and that the adoptions of modern council-manager plan city and county charters continue at a record rate with consequent heavy demands on the staff. The League's membership, he said, had increased 40 per cent in the last four years, with a net gain of almost 400 members in 1948 alone.

George H. McCaffrey suggested that, in view of the urgency of the problem and of the League's experience in encouraging citizen participation in public affairs, the organization help to develop a plan for civilian defense. After discussion, during which Mr. Emmerich pointed out that governmental agencies and various national organizations of public officials already had committees at work on this problem, it was agreed that the president should appoint a committee to consider the advisability of following the suggestion.

Annual Meeting of the Council

The Council met in dinner session the evening of November 22 at the Hotel Statler, Boston, in connection with the National Conference on Government.

Present were: President Charles Edison, presiding; Frederick L. Bird, Harold S. Buttenheim, Richard S. Childs, William Collins, Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., Herbert Emmerich, Arnold Frye, George H. Gallup, Lloyd Hale, John S. Linen, Mark S. Matthews, William J. Pape, Carl H. Pforzheimer, Lawson Purdy and Henry L. Shattuck. Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary, and John E. Bebout, assistant secretary, also were present.

The Council appointed for one-year terms the following:

Chairman of the Council: Richard S. Childs
Secretary: Alfred Willoughby
Treasurer: Carl H. Pforzheimer

The Council discussed the secretary's report on the year's work and heard from William Collins, finance chairman, details of the financing program during 1948 and plans for 1949. Mr. Collins expressed the hope that a current deficit of approximately $8,000 would be wiped out in view of the continued upward trend of memberships and contributions and especially in view of the recent recruitment of the following allies in the financing effort: James A. Cunningham, Chicago; Lloyd E. Graybiel, San Francisco; James L. Beebe, Los Angeles; Paul C. Kaul, Omaha; Charles P. Vogel, Milwaukee; Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond, in addition to others who have previously been active in other parts of the country.

The Council adopted a budget for 1949 of $127,000.

J. Horace McFarland (1859-1948)

One of the most useful citizens the United States has produced died at the age of 89 on October 2. J. Horace McFarland of Harrisburg was a member of the National Municipal League from its early days but his tremendous volunteer service to civics related primarily to physical planning. He was for a long period the active leader of the American Civic Association, interested and effective in issues relating to national parks, city planning and scenic America. Incidentally, he was a famous printer and a grower of unusual roses.

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PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the Review by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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Publication Office: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
Editorial and Business Office: 299 Broadway, New York, 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXVIII, No. 2 Total Number 385

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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The Luxury of Bossism

AMONG the economic wastes we cannot afford in a high cost era is political bossism.

The comparative tax rates[1] of all cities over 30,000 published in the January REVIEW showed Mayor Curley's Boston with the highest rate among the big cities—that is, those over 150,000 — and Boss Hague's Jersey City a close second. Boston's rate in 1948 was $53.40 and Jersey City's $48.29.

It is no surprise that Dayton, the first large city to turn to nonpartisan management of public affairs, had the lowest rate — $8.68. Dayton adopted the council-manager plan in 1914. Cincinnati, which adopted the plan in 1926, had a rate of $12.18 and Dallas, adopting it in 1931, $12.70.

A Boston taxi driver recently told an officer of the National Municipal League that Mayor Curley was a sort of Robin Hood, taking from the rich for the benefit of the poor. As long as bosses can make the "common man" swallow this kind of tripe, boss-ridden cities will continue to fall behind in the race.

Frank Hague has many of his constituents similarly convinced by such devices as a publicly supported hospital with which he has not hesitated to play Lord Bountiful for "friends."

This kind of fakery will be destroyed only when its chief victim, the workingman, understands that it hastens the flight of industry and business beyond the borders of cities and that such losses mean fewer jobs and poorer pay.

Just for the Record

ON THE day the National Conference on Government in Boston adjourned, Mayor James Michael Curley, stung by the suggestions of some of the speakers that his kind of government should be junked, made a statement to the newspapers in which he said in part:

"The Republican party died Tuesday, November 2. After a lapse of sixteen days, another wake is arranged and held in Boston and professional weepers arrive to weep over the death of the Republican party and against the methods of conducting the affairs of Boston."

Intelligent citizens learned long ago that this is the kind of rejoinder any politician, from Jim Curley to Joe Stalin, makes when he has no real answer. You simply abuse your accuser, carefully avoiding a plea of guilty or not guilty, whether you are caught stealing a country or just the people's money by such low methods as giving public jobs to the wrong people or throwing business to favored contractors.

Could Mr. Curley, a Democrat, have heard that the League's executive committee (including Democrats, by the way) had turned thumbs down on the idea of asking Boston's mayor to welcome the Conference? Of course, that would be a blow to the vanity of a man who had addressed the 1924 Conference —before what he represented in public life became so clear.

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[1] Tax rate figures quoted here are adjusted to 100 per cent basis of assessment for purposes of comparison.

Mr. Curley lives in something of a dream world which may keep him from understanding fully that an increasing number of people in both major parties have lost patience with spoils politics, but he is a smart, shrewd man, bright enough to know that people of varying political preferences band themselves together in the League to work for better government and a more responsible citizenry.

Now let's see; just who was it who first pointed out that the bigger the lie the more likely people are to believe it?

For Unselfish Public Service

THE civic action field lost an outstandingly effective gadfly recently when H. Eliot Kaplan resigned as secretary of the National Civil Service League to become deputy comptroller of the state of New York.

His accomplishments are legion. Few men have done as much to pull the hands of political racketeers off the public's cash. Time and again he went into court in the City and State of New York to snatch the political grab bag from them, saving the taxpayers many millions of dollars.

As the merit system spread during the last generation, always resisted by the champions of the status quo, and as unending assaults to weaken the system were made, it was to Eliot Kaplan more than to any other man that good citizens throughout the nation looked for guidance. A brilliant lawyer as well as civic leader, with the most comprehensive mastery of civil service law, he has given attorneys, public officials, civil service commissions, groups of public employees and others counsel which, in private practice, would have made him a wealthy man.

The fact that his devotion of 35 years to the fight against political plundering finds him a man at the height of his vigor and effectiveness seems impossible to those who are unaware that he started with the civil service crusaders as office boy at the tender age of fifteen and burned the midnight oil to win his lawyer's shingle and training in finance.

Eliot Kaplan, who deserves a laurel wreath for unselfish public service, will be missed in the civic field.

Pattern for Greater Boston

Majority of people in its 83 communities refuse to face economic and functional facts, educator at Harvard warns.

By CHARLES R. CHERINGTON*

THE recent history of Metropolitan Boston presents an interesting pattern of numerous successes interwoven with serious failures. It is only through an examination of this pattern that we can arrive at a workable strategy for the second half of the twentieth century.

Today there is no single "plan" for the Boston metropolitan area that commands any appreciable amount of common agreement or enthusiasm. Instead, there is a wealth of scattered data, a multitude of piecemeal proposals and projects, and a few master schemes which in their very generalities illustrate the lack of popular consensus on the task that faces us.

In this respect Boston is far behind our British friends with their highly developed plans for the future of London. It is even behind certain other metropolitan areas in the United States. Our present spirit, however, should not be one of self-reproach but rather of candid reappraisal of our present plight and future alternatives.

Historically, Boston is the oldest of American metropolitan areas. Relatively speaking, it has displayed slow but steady growth and its people, in historical perspective, have shown a remarkable capacity to meet and overcome the most serious physical and organizational difficulties. Had it not been for certain unfortunate historical accidents it is quite possible that today we would have in the environs of Massachusetts Bay the fullest development of metropolitan government on this continent.

One hundred years ago this area was on the march. The industrial revolution was well under way and Boston men were in the forefront of the new revolutionary pioneers. Radiating out from the city the railroad net which was to serve as the circulatory system of the new era was already largely completed. Within the city limits the herculean task of filling first the South Bay and then the Back Bay was slowly being advanced. The new waterfront was emerging to serve as the operating base for a growing overseas commerce. In keeping with the times, most of this was the work of private enterprise, but in the then limited sphere of government, progress was apparent.

Old Boston proper became a city in 1822. Municipal services expanded and at the same time, for a period of several decades, there was a determined drive to extend the jurisdiction of the municipality to include peripheral towns. This drive, despite a number of reverses, was generally successful until about 1870. It did not entirely disappear until some twenty years later when Boston proper reached its present geographical limits.

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*Dr. Cherington is secretary, as well as associate professor of government, of the Harvard University Graduate School of Public Administration. In 1942 he was an administrative analyst in the Division of Administrative Analysis of the Bureau of the Budget and in 1943-45 an economist on a consultant basis in the War Production Board. This article is his address before the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, Boston, November 24.

Had annexation continued, the metropolitan problem today would have been far simpler, probably far less acute. Our present plight springs from the fact that the majority of the people in the 83 cities and towns which make up the metropolitan area refuse to face the economic and functional realities. They refuse to admit that they are Bostonians.

Immigration Poses Problem

The trouble began about 80 years ago. It is somewhat difficult for a non-Bostonian and a non-historian to discover exactly what happened. Apparently, the tensions created by the great immigrant waves which swept into Boston and other east coast cities in the middle and late nineteenth century were largely responsible. To the Yankee ruling class, and even more to the Yankee middle class and to the Yankee farmer, the new immigrant was a terrifying phenomenon.

In Boston the first wave of the new immigration was typified by the Irish peasant fleeing from the potato famine—dirty, ignorant and miserable and, perhaps most important, a Papist. When such new immigrants collided with the somewhat stiff and proud and still militantly Protestant Yankee, there was certain to develop a tension which was of decisive importance in the development of the metropolitan area.

The consequences are still with us and until they are swept away we cannot hope to achieve a satisfactory solution of Boston's problems.

As fate would have it, the Massachusetts form of town government was magnificently suited to serve as a defensive system for the displaced Yankees. The slow retreat began, first to the inner circle of towns like Brookline and Quincy, then on to outer circles such as Lexington, Needham and Marblehead. This is a process which can go on indefinitely. It is, of course, related largely to the "flight to the suburbs"—an almost universal phenomenon in metropolitan areas. In Boston, however, the consequences of the flight are still colored by these early tensions which to a surprising extent lived on in popular myth long after the new immigrant became more American than the old Yankee.

It was the flight to the peripheral towns against such a sociological background that checked the logical growth of the city of Boston proper. Brookline refused to join Boston in 1873. Later in the century wise proposals to combine other peripheral municipalities such as Cambridge, Somerville, etc., were rejected. The next 50 years was a period of local parochialism gone mad. It is today a complex kind of parochialism but the following three elements are plainly discernible.

First, there is a kind of sentimental nostalgia for the independence and simplicity of the town meeting tradition. Proud memories linger on even in such weird arrangements as representative town meeting forms in Watertown, Brookline and other areas which have long since ceased to be towns and have now few of the social and functional characteristics of independent cities. Yet even after they sink to the level of geographic anachronisms in the metropolitan pattern, their inhabitants cling to the shadowy autonomy of another age.

Public Employees Want Status Quo

Second, there is the influence of the town and city employees. In themselves a numerous army, they have many friends. I suspect that in the last analysis this is the true hard core of resistance to metropolitan union. This block of vested interests, containing many men of considerable technical and administrative skill, continues to keep alive the traditions and bias of separatism.

Third, we come to a strand which is difficult to define but which is a real factor in the Boston situation. In terms of the cost of government it is cheaper to live in the outlying towns than it is in the central urban core or in the blighted inner periphery. The reasons for this are not hard to find.

He who moves from Boston to Concord or Acton, or to Weston or Needham, leaves a considerable part of his municipal burdens behind him. He leaves tremendous problems of public health and public welfare back in the central urban core, or back in the industrial soot of Cambridge or Somerville or Chelsea. He leaves Boston to solve its own street problem while he drives to work on a state supported, federally aided highway, or he may park his car at the end of the rapid transit line and ride into State Street on the Metropolitan Transit Authority's deficit. He knows that his suburban government is cheaper and in terms of his own mythology it is "better." He draws a State Street salary but he pays a farmer's taxes. We can scarcely find a better example of having your cake and eating it too.

These three types of thinking and interest—that of the traditional sentimentalist, of the municipal employee and of the suburban escapist—are largely responsible for the pattern of disintegration in the metropolitan area. These are the strands of opposition which must be overcome if we are to execute effective plans for Greater Boston. Already much has been done in the way of piecemeal projects and ingenious improvisation.

First, consider the Metropolitan District Commission. Historically speaking, this ingenious device is the consequence of arresting the natural growth of Boston in the second half of the last century. It permits unified metropolitan service in the functional areas of water, sewers and parks. It enables several hundred thousand people who refuse to admit that they are Bostonians to enjoy some of the benefits of metropolitan service. The commission represents a compromise response to the needs of the area. An appointive body, its technical record has been on the whole remarkably good and it has done much to overcome the Balkanized pattern of local government in matters within its jurisdiction.

As a half-way house to union the commission has its attractions until we remember that it is, after all, a mere administrative arm of the state, spending local funds without local political control except in the most indirect sense. From the technical point of view we would probably get better service from a Metropolitan District Commission which took over police and fire protection, public health and welfare functions, streets and parks, and perhaps even all the schools of the metropolitan area. But the price of such technical advance would be, in effect, almost complete abdication of local self-government. This is a larger price than most of us are prepared to pay.

Makeshift Solution

Second, the Metropolitan Transit Commission provides us with an interesting case study in makeshift solutions to Boston problems. Here again we see an excellent example of administrative federalism, devised in a moment of desperation to meet the momentary crisis in our contemporary mass transport system in the period immediately following the war. I have nothing but respect for the technical competence of this body and for its moral courage in its recent proposal to face the economic facts confronting us and—to put it bluntly—raise the fares. But while one may admire its tactics, it is necessary to deplore the strategic mistake behind the creation of this agency.

Rapid transit is only one facet of local transport in this or any other metropolitan area. The current deficit of the Metropolitan Transit Authority is more than a local, temporary problem. It is a portent for the future. The real key to metropolitan transport in the next generation is the rubber-borne highway vehicle, particularly the private automobile. We are already a $225,000,000,000 country. By the time we are a $300,000,000,000 country—let us say ten years from now—not only every family but every adult citizen will have his or her own automobile and will, in effect, be independent of rapid transit systems. Thus within the calculable future we may see rapid transit lines become as obsolete—and as uneconomic—as interurban trolley lines have become within the past generation.

The M.T.A. is a stop-gap device and no more. Only an agency which treats all metropolitan transport—in all its competing and varied phases—can provide a viable solution for the next generation to Boston's problems. Such an agency must be more than a specialized, ad hoc body. The only effective answer is to create a new and all-embracing metropolitan municipality.

Third, let us look at the plans that have been drawn, some of them with great imagination and daring. The Boston Contest of 1944 elicited a bumper crop of these paper dreams.[1] Many of these proposals had genuine merit and a few of them have already been realized in fact. But through all the published proposals submitted in that contest, and in most of the more specialized schemes developed since that time, runs one fundamental miscalculation. It is useless to plan for Metropolitan Boston until its 2,000,000 inhabitants are prepared to concede that they are Bostonians. In other words, we must realize that our problems are social and political in the larger sense. Physical improvements and administrative devices can never be more than piecemeal stop-gaps until the basic facts of metropolitan unity are driven home, accepted and appreciated.

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[1] See the REVIEW, January 1945, page 30.

It must be conceded that we are dealing with perhaps the most difficult problem of modern political science—the realization of civic consciousness and political responsibility in the gargantuan community. Essentially, this is a task for social scientists, but it is a task for which they are not yet prepared. To the social scientist the unity of metropolitan areas such as Boston seems obvious—but such unity clearly is not so obvious to the residents of its 83 cities and towns.

There is a job of basic fact-finding to be done here. Intuitive insights, sweeping generalities, must be supported with cold, hard facts. We have been too much inclined to pulpit preaching, too little to the drudgery of careful field research. We should be able to prove, and I think we can prove, that there is today a growing interdependence between all people in this area, from the banks of the Merrimac to the valley of the Blackstone and from the Worcester Hills to Boston Light.

Until we can support such a thesis with conclusive evidence, it will be difficult for the majority to believe that we are in fact all Bostonians. And until that time comes there may be many plans but there can be no one plan for the Boston metropolitan area.

Public Relations Group Urged

A meeting on municipal public relations, held at Boston in November in connection with the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, adopted a resolution requesting that the League establish a committee on municipal public relations to investigate the feasibility of increased activity in this field and to recommend methods by which public relations programs can be made effective in local government. The motion was introduced by Paul A. Volcker, town manager of Teaneck, New Jersey, as the result of a suggestion by Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of the *American City*.

Local Government's Story

Conscious public relations policy urged to overcome public apathy and ignorance on municipal problems.

ERIODICAL DEPT

By HENRY DAVIS NADIG and ERIC CARLSON*

Mr. Nadig:

FOR some time citizen organizations such as the National Municipal League have been going more than half way in rallying public interest behind good government.

It is now up to municipal government itself to produce real cooperation with this effort by official public relations action.

Municipal public relations must be given widespread official status in local government if American cities are going to keep the wolf from the door and maintain municipal stability, independence and democracy.

Unless our cities make expert use of public relations by incorporating it as an official municipal function, local government may become gradually undermined by public apathy and popular misunderstanding possibly to the point of moral and fiscal bankruptcy.

At least eleven progressive cities have already recognized the potential dangers of chronic ignorance and apathy by setting up official municipal public relations departments or municipal public relations divisions within existing departments.

These cities have realized that they must tell their story to the people simply, clearly and dramatically with benefit of both actual authority and professional proficiency.

They are Kansas City, Missouri; Bessemer, Alabama; Rochester, New York; Daytona Beach, Miami Beach and St. Petersburg, Florida; Norfolk, Virginia; Charleston, South Carolina; Toledo, Ohio; Dearborn, Michigan; New Orleans, Louisiana.

All these MPR-wise cities recognize that official municipal public relations can buttress the structure of municipal government against the impact of disparaging forces.

By trying to give popular sanction to the false idea that local government is becoming too burdensome, complex and costly, tax-conscious individuals are tending to create public resistance to adequate financial support of sound, economical administration and well developed cities.

What is municipal public relations from the viewpoint of its highest standard? Municipal public relations is the conscious official use of practical methods expertly applied to produce a fully informed, understanding, active citizen interest in local government.

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*This article is based on remarks by Mr. Nadig and Mr. Carlson at the National Conference on Government in Boston in November. Mr. Nadig is public relations director of the Regional Plan Association of New York and public relations editor of *The American City,* for which he writes a monthly column, "The City Tells Its Story."

Mr. Carlson, associate editor of *The American City,* considers city planning his extra-curricular activity. He is an active member of various planning groups and was a student assistant at Columbia University's Planning and Housing Division. He also attended the Institute of Public Administration in New York City.

By adopting and carrying forward a realistic public relations policy, municipalities could overcome complacency and lack of knowledge which, if unchecked, inevitably must lead to civic prostration.

An Effective Answer

An official MPR program based upon sound policy and executed skilfully can provide the most effective answers to carping critics of city government and make the most critical taxpayer start pulling his punches.

But to have an MPR program it is necessary first to achieve a clear concept and sound policy for the basis of operations. Official recognition of what MPR really is and adoption of a plan of action are implicit in such an achievement. They give the "go" sign to real municipal public relations.

Your city's success in municipal public relations—the quality and character of MPR operations and its money and time saving accomplishments—depends upon the strength and purpose behind your MPR concept and policy, as well as upon the degree to which MPR is permitted to serve your city and its people.

The city tells its story best if it tells it continuously—not only yearly but monthly, weekly and even daily. The job of keeping the public well informed is a constant one.

It costs less in the long run to plan and carry out an adequate public relations program than it does to proceed haphazardly with promotion of municipal activities.

No city or town in the United States need fear for its finances or its citizen support if its local government makes good use of the various media of public relations.

Where municipal officials realize that the functional concept of municipal public relations provides them with the best means to gain public interest and action, they will proceed on the basis of official municipal public relations as the most efficient, most economical, most democratic way to inform the public about local government, to attain harmonious relationships between municipal departments and the people, and to promote good government.

The city of Dearborn is the most recent municipality to set up an official municipal public relations department. Dearborn's accomplishment came only after some good hard work and fight by Mayor Orville L. Hubbard and his supporters who succeeded in establishing a department last July.

In his recommendation to the city council, Mayor Hubbard made these significant remarks: "New thought recognizes that any contact with city officials by the public is a phase of public relations. . . . Our idea on public relations is that it is a means to an end—maximum service to all the people."

That is the aim of real municipal public relations—to serve the public by efficiently coordinating local government information and bringing the people and their government into a closely working partnership.

Mr. Carlson:

CIVIC inertia has been recognized as perhaps the greatest threat to our democratic way of life. If we consider local government as the bulwark of democracy, should we not fix responsibility on this level for combatting public apathy? Local government and its operation can be as absorbing as any other aspect of our way of life. It's time we set about to organize systematically, on an official basis, to arouse continuing citizen concern in local affairs.

The idea of municipal public relations has not developed overnight. There has been plenty of discussion about bringing government to the people. The need has been recognized; interesting and effective public relations techniques have been developed in various municipalities. These have included: popularizing annual reports, tours of municipal facilities and offices, bettering press and radio relations, open hearings on public affairs, preparation of literature and bulletins on municipal activities, civic textbooks and lectures and courses in schools as well as before adult education and discussion groups, cooperation with citizen groups and community councils, and determining of citizen attitudes on local issues through polls and other devices.

Unfortunately, most of this work has been on a hit or miss basis. The threads of an approach to municipal public relations began to be pulled together by Phillips Bradley several years ago in a series of articles in *The American City* on the "Human Side of City Hall." This series was discontinued during the war. It was followed in April 1947 by another series, still continuing, "The City Tells Its Story," edited by Henry Davis Nadig.

The validity of the idea also received reinforcement as a result of material in a number of British publications such as the *NALGO Journal, Municipal Review, Citizen* and *PROgress* (a new magazine edited especially for public relations officers in Britain). As with so many other administrative innovations, we seem to be indebted here also to the British who have established public relations officers as an integral part of local government structures in more than 50 municipalities.

It didn't take long before these events served as catalysts in crystallizing our thinking, and posed the question "Why shouldn't municipal public relations develop in this country as a full fledged profession?"

Consistent Program

Unlike many other municipal activities and the performance of municipal services, municipal public relations has been too much dependent on the personality characteristics of the mayor or city manager. When there is a change in political fortunes, and the mayor retires or the manager moves on, existing public relations programs, if there are any, may be ignored or dropped completely. Other approaches may or may not be substituted. Yet, there is serious need for continuity in municipal dealings with the people.

We live in a fluid, mobile society. From 1940 to 1947, 70,000,000 people changed their places of residence. The sponsoring of a complaint week one year and a municipal open house event a year or two later, obviously is not enough in the way of public relations gestures. The turnover of population in communities must be recognized. Basic information on local affairs must be constantly put before the people, even if this means repetition and rewriting of material already issued. Repetition, incidentally, is one of the prime tools used in the advertising and public relations media of business and industry. Why should not local government adopt, at least to a greater extent than it has, patterns which have proved so successful elsewhere?

Realization that ours is a dynamic society also clearly points to another prime function of municipal public relations—informing people of alternatives available in techniques of government, of local practices elsewhere, and pointing to the need for institutional changes where such seem to be warranted.

For example, on such a basic question as taxation, if it is found that the property tax in a city cannot be stretched to meet municipal needs and demands for increased services, every effort should be made to inform people of alternatives. Such basic things as the relationship of the municipality to the county and state governments, need for more home rule, and passage of state legislation to broaden the local revenue base should be explained.

In some municipalities the mere coordination of existing public relations efforts will result in considerable savings and in providing greater effectiveness of coverage. For example, various departments in several cities will each issue annual reports and carry on public relations programs of their own without any coordination.

Obviously, one person should be responsible for guiding all or most municipal publications through the mill. He could streamline documents, improve typography and makeup so that they will be genuinely readable—and probably succeed in lowering publication costs substantially.

Director's Duties

It doesn't matter much whether an MPR officer is designated as an assistant to the chief executive—the mayor or city manager—or whether, as in Rochester, New York, the MPR office is located in the city's department of commerce. The important consideration is that there be accessibility and close understanding as to basic policies between the officials concerned. Nor does it matter if the office or the person is labelled information officer or given some other title, as long as the MPR job is being done.

In the case of smaller municipalities, a conscious policy on municipal public relations must be established, even if no person can be appointed on a full time basis to handle a program. Perhaps, in some places, it will be possible to designate someone within the municipal organization who is close to the mayor or city manager to be responsible for an MPR program, on a part-time arrangement, in addition to his regular duties. He must, of course, be qualified.

A better approach would be for two or three smaller municipalities to band together and hire a full time competent expert to handle the public relations programs for all of them. It is important, however, that such a person be in close touch with the officials of all the municipalities involved so that he may help guide their respective programs at every step of the way.

There are great savings in time to be made, an increasingly important consideration for municipal officials, if one office is established or one person designated to help prepare articles, releases, exhibits, radio and television appearances, to handle requests for information and questionnaires from other cities and from interested citizens and students. Municipal officials, though often generating ideas on many things they'd like to do, often find that public relations programs get lost in the shuffle for want of time and for want of someone at their side to help execute their ideas.

A municipal public relations office should also be of value in helping to coordinate the promotional and informational programs undertaken by civic groups such as taxpayers associations, leagues of women voters, and chambers of commerce. Such a step would make for more effective use of the moneys expended by various sources on such aspects as industrial development, housing promotion, improvement of labor relations, etc.

There need be no antipathy between organizations engaged in such programs. But if a local or state private citizen group is doing a good job of promoting good annual reports or stimulating citizen participation in town planning, it should not stand in the way of establishing a municipal public relations policy. There is certainly still need for full public responsibility in this field even though one or two phases of MPR are undertaken by private groups. The job is such a big one that there is room for all. The more help, the better.

MPR Objectives

Municipal public relations should have as one of its major objectives the devising of methods to tap the hidden wealth of energy and resources that lie latent, untouched for civic purposes, in almost every citizen of the community.

There is, of course, a danger in attempting to tie up too large a number of activities in a neat package labelled "Municipal Public Relations," but the following brief listing may serve to indicate a few of the possibilities, most of which still need exploration:

1. *Open house or get acquainted affairs.* Tours of municipal facilities and offices arranged for schools and other interested groups; night displays of equipment, etc., in order to satisfy taxpayer curiosity about how municipal funds are being expended.

2. *General liaison with schools.* Scheduling talks and appearances by municipal officials; help on civic textbooks.

3. *Promotion of bond issues.* Seeing that all facts are presented to the people in a straightforward way.

4. *Improving central city-suburb relationships.* Milwaukee's department of annexation, for example, is producing material on advantages to some suburbs in annexing to city.

5. *Employee training programs.* Improving and systematizing contacts with the public of meter readers, public works department personnel, refuse collectors, policemen, switch-

board operators; simple rules should be established and understood on letter writing, telephone answering, reporting complaints, etc.

6. *Development of municipal public relations as a two-way street,* rather than as exclusively an information program. This has been worked out in Kansas City, where officially designated community coordinators attend meetings of neighborhood groups and councils, both to transmit information on municipal activities and to note suggestions and ideas on municipal undertakings and improvements.

7. *Coordination of municipal information arrangements,* perhaps with public library and municipal reference library staffs.

Good Government and MPR

The major MPR battle lines during the next several years probably will be formed over the question of whether MPR is to be used as a device to perpetuate political control of present officeholders, to glorify the existing administration and to tone down and cover up bad management so that efforts at improvement and increased efficiency will have one more hurdle to overcome. The charge may be made that MPR is a concept for "using the taxpayer's funds to hoodwink the taxpayer." In some cities where the MPR concept is undergoing experiment, such as in Dearborn, Michigan, these charges were encountered before an MPR office was even established and given a chance to function.

This particular issue can be overcome; good government and municipal public relations must go hand in hand. The council-manager movement over the years faced somewhat similar attacks and others of all kinds, yet today the council-manager plan is almost universally recognized.

When an MPR policy is proposed in a municipality, however, and appropriations are sought for a staff or for a phase of the program, it is most important that the initial proposal be specific in terms of MPR functions and what will be done with the money. MPR is a new field and opposition will be considerable if there is no clear understanding or "spelling out" of MPR phases of operation, such as some of those mentioned in this article. It will be all too easy for opponents to decry a system in which some "hack newspaper man will be employed to write up handouts for the local press."

To achieve full respect and recognition, it also seems essential that there be established a strong, professional group of people in the MPR field. Such a group should have an extremely high code of ethics, to serve as a major influence in setting standards for honest, clean and impartial work in municipal public relations.

New England Pioneers Again

Manager plan spreads rapidly in Maine as operation in small towns wins approval and adoption is made easier.

By LAWRENCE PELLETIER*

THE BIG story on local government in Maine is the successful extension of the council-manager plan to small communities.[1] Such pioneering seems out of step with the native conservatism which is commonly supposed to make northern New England arid ground for new ideas. While annexation and consolidation of local units, adoption of consolidated schools, and utilization of budgeting and uniform accounting are resisted by rural Maine, the council-manager plan is proving increasingly popular.

As of December 15, 94 Maine municipalities had adopted the plan; 19 per cent of a possible total of 493, counting 21 cities, 412 towns and 60 plantations.

The first manager adoption in the state was in 1917; largest numbers of adoptions in any one year were ten in 1944 and thirteen in 1946. Seventy-two of the 94 adoptions have occurred since 1940.

The trend toward the manager plan in Maine is even more phenomenal when one considers the record in other New England states:

	1942*	1948*
Maine	35	88
New Hampshire	0	6
Vermont	22	26
Massachusetts	5	11
Connecticut	5	10
Rhode Island	0	0

*Figures, as of March 1 of each year, from *Municipal Year Book* of the International City Managers' Association.

In 1948 there were 38 local manager units (41 per cent of all Maine manager municipalities) with a population of 1,500 or less; seventeen (18 per cent) manager units under 1,000; and seven (8 per cent) with fewer than 500. Orient, with a population of 148, is the smallest.

The spread of the system has been encouraged by these factors: (1) Satisfactory local experiences with the plan; (2) financial pressures generated by the past depression and present inflation; (3) experience of municipalities with state commissioners under the Emergency Municipal Finance Board; (4) increasing difficulty encountered in persuading the right type of man to assume the duties of selectmen as long as the office was on an elective basis; (5) experience with so-called town agents (while these agents are given no real authority under the general laws, they are often *de facto* managers); (6) ease of adoption under the Town Manager Enabling Act of 1939; (7) popular support — in almost every manager municipality in Maine, adoption of the system has been brought about by the efforts of one or two very much interested individuals.

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[1] Much of the factual information in this article was secured from questionnaires circulated to all managers in Maine by the author and the Maine Municipal Association, to which 83 replied.

Methods of Adoption

The 21 cities in Maine may adopt the council-manager plan only after securing a charter from the legislature in the form of a special act; 13 cities have so acted[2]. The 412 towns have an option, however. They also may secure a special charter from the legislature[3] or they may institute the plan under the 1939 enabling act. Sixty-one towns are now operating under this act, so it is no coincidence that the mass trend to the council-manager system dates from 1939.[4]

Towns are authorized to place an article in their warrants summoning voters to a town meeting to see whether the voters wish to approve the council-manager system.[5] If the vote is in the affirmative, the plan goes into effect at the beginning of the next municipal year.

In small towns not employing the Australian ballot, the vote may be taken at the regular town meeting provided the municipal officers have not been elected. Where the Australian ballot is utilized—in all towns of any size—the vote should be taken at a special town meeting held at least 30 days prior to the regular annual meeting. Once the plan is in operation, it can be voted out at any special town meeting held at least 60 days (90 if a town is a member of a union of towns) prior to the regular town meeting.

The manager is chosen by the selectmen on the basis of his administrative ability and may be removed by them for cause. He is to: (1) enforce the laws; (2) do the purchasing for all departments except schools; (3) attend meetings of the selectmen and make recommendations; (4) inform selectmen and citizens as to the finances of the town; (5) perform such other duties as shall be given him by the selectmen, including those of treasurer, road commissioner, tax collector and overseer of the poor. In fact, the manager may be anything from administrative head of the town to errand boy for the board of selectmen.

There is rather general agreement that the enabling act should be amended both to expand the authority of the manager and to clarify the procedure to be followed in adoption of the plan.

Top salary for towns with a population of 1,500 and less is $4,000; with 1,000 and less, $2,000; and with 500 and less, $3,500.

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[2] Auburn, Bangor, Bath, Belfast, Brewer, Calais, Eastport, Ellsworth, Old Town, Portland, Presque Isle, Rockland, South Portland.

[3] There are eighteen towns with a manager charter.

[4] The number will be 63 when Brunswick and South Berwick appoint a manager in March 1949.

[5] *Revised Statutes of Maine, 1944,* chapter 80, section 16.

Managers' Duties

In the larger municipalities the duties of the manager are those commonly associated with his office—general management, but in the small community he is expected to be jack-of-all-trades. In the fourteen towns in the 1,500—2,500 population group the following duties are given the manager.

Duties	Number of Towns
Tax collector, road commissioner, overseer of the poor, treasurer	7
Tax collector, road commissioner, overseer of the poor	5
Tax collector, road commissioner, overseer of the poor, treasurer, clerk	1
Tax collector	1

Apparently, in communities with fewer than 2,500, population does not affect the distribution of duties because in the 38 towns of 1,500 or less there are about the same combinations of functions:

Duties	Number of Towns
Tax collector, road commissioner, overseer of the poor	14
Tax collector, road commissioner, overseer of the poor, treasurer	10
Tax collector, overseer of the poor, treasurer, clerk	3
Tax collector, overseer of the poor	3
Tax collector, overseer of the poor, treasurer	1
Tax collector, road commissioner	1
Other	6

The pattern is also substantially the same in the 27 towns with from 2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants.

Duties	Number of Towns
Tax collector, road commissioner, overseer of the poor	8
Tax collector, road commissioner, overseer of the poor, treasurer	10
Road commissioner, overseer of the poor	3
Tax collector, overseer of the poor	2
Other	4

It is evident that the duties assigned the manager have little direct relationship to the size of the community—at least where the population is not in excess of 10,000. Most important duties can be combined under the manager without seriously overburdening him. In fact, one manager, who has had an outstanding record in both small and large municipalities, is convinced that the superiority of the plan lies in the improved coordination which is achieved by placing on the manager direct responsibility for all important municipal functions. One thing is certain, however, a successful town manager must be versatile!

Selectmen Supervise

The policy-making function in towns with a manager is still exercised by the town meeting, but the board of selectmen appoint and dismiss the manager, fix his compensation and exercise general supervision subject to the general policy laid down by the voters at town meeting. Consequently, it is desirable that selectmen be of high caliber and that they be well acquainted with the problems of the town.

Under the old plan, where select-

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

men act as administrative heads of the town, it is customary to elect three for a term of one year, although the law permits the election of three, five or seven with a staggered term. Under the manager plan there is a decided tendency to increase the number of selectmen to five and to stagger terms. Twelve municipalities from 1,500 to 2,500 elect a five-man board, and eight have a three-year staggered term. Two elect a board of three for a one-year term.

In the 38 municipalities of 1,500 inhabitants or less there is not the same tendency to enlarge the board and to stagger the term. Twenty-five still elect three selectmen to serve one year; three elect three selectmen for three years; five elect five for three years; two elect seven for three years, and three elect five for one year. The best practice seems to be election of a board of five or seven to serve for a staggered term. Greater continuity is secured and the boards are more representative; there is also less possibility of the acute factionalism which has developed in some of the smaller boards. The larger boards and the longer terms are, however, not popular in the small municipalities because they are regarded as less democratic than the customary three members for one year.

Experience of Managers

Thirty-nine (47 per cent) of the 83 managers reporting came to their present positions with no previous experience; 29 had served previously as managers in one or more municipalities; and fifteen reported some experience in the public service—selectman, town clerk, etc.

Unquestionably, this tendency to utilize men with little experience and training will be less evident in the future. More men are gaining experience as the number of manager municipalities increases, and the new management degree at the University of Maine is supplying men with specialized training.[6] Realism forces one to admit, however, that the small communities with their unattractive salaries will continue to draw heavily from local talent, often without experience or training.

The enabling act authorizes towns to combine in a union to hire a manager. If a union is created, the manager is hired by a joint board of selectmen and his salary is borne by the towns in the union. Apparently the manager is, however, responsible to the separate boards in his conduct of the affairs of the municipalities. Towns may withdraw from the union if they give a 60-day notice. The law does not provide for a real union in the sense of common use of equipment, personnel, etc., and should be expanded and clarified. That it does not satisfy a need as it now stands is demonstrated by the fact that only three unions have been created although there are eight managers in Maine who serve more than one municipality.

Municipalities	*Union*
Castle Hill (600) and Mapleton (1,350)	No
Orient (148) and Danforth (1,348)	No

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[6] See "School for City Managers," by Edward F. Dow, the REVIEW, October 1948.

Municipalities	*Union*
Dyer Brook (265) and Oakfield (667)	No
Merrill, (430) and Smyrna (409)	Yes
Portage Lake (720) and Masardis (60)	Yes
Hodgdon (1,054), Linneus (800) and Reed Plantation (500)	Yes (Hodgdon and Linneus)
Patten (1,550) and Staceyville (700)	No
Wallagrass (1,445) and New Canada Plantation (63)	No

In the very small rural community the manager's activities will require only a day or so a week. In fact, where the manager serves more than one municipality, he often divides his time, spending two or three days a week in each town.

A Manager's Day

It has been estimated by a group of managers that they may engage in as many as 82 distinct activities. The manager's job is ordinarily thought of as "management" and so it is in the larger municipalities but in rural communities activities of the manager almost defy description. Management as a high level concept—planning, organization, coordination, etc.—is not the concern of the small town manager. He is a doer rather than a director, supervisor or rationalizer. He *is* town government. As one manager put it: "My most vivid impression of a town manager's life is the almost infinite variety of my day-to-day activities. Each day is typical only in that it is different from all others."

The day may start before seven in the morning, and it may end at any hour of the night. If it is summer and road work is in order, the manager will want to get his road crew started. This may involve giving them detailed instructions, if one has a capable foreman; or it may mean working most of the day with the men. Between times equipment must be checked and materials secured. In one morning the manager may be called on for several important decisions—whether to take a chance on opening up a particular gravel pit, whether to increase the fill on a certain piece of road, and whether to discharge the foreman. These decisions usually require some technical knowledge and a mistake in judgment may be expensive to the town. In the winter time he must contend with sanding and snow removal.

The average manager usually spends a great deal of time in the field—a matter of necessity as much as choice. Yet, if he does not have a capable girl in the office, his paper work will accumulate. A manager must be somewhat of an accountant as well as an engineer. There is the cash book to keep, accounts to balance, tax bills to collect, tax receipts to enter, pauper orders to issue, checks to draw and recommendations to make.

In the evening the manager is fortunate if there is not a civic meeting of some sort which he is expected to attend. Even then, his free evenings may be interrupted to take care of a pauper case or some other so-called emergency. Sundays and holidays are no exceptions.

There are, however, compensations. As one manager wrote, "I think that in some ways it's lots easier to be a manager in a small town than in a large one. I have to know more about many technical things than the manager of a larger place, but I am very close to the people. I know most everyone by his first name. I can go out of my way to do many favors for folks which would be an impossibility in a large city. For instance, I frequently come down to the office on Sundays or evenings or early in the morning to excise a truck. I make tax collections all over town and in some surrounding towns. I can scare off the able-bodied paupers by putting them to work at piece rate. I have time for the little details that make better government whereas the manager of a larger town must rely on his employees to do these things. . . .

Can't 'Pass the Buck'

"Because we are small and because the requests made on us are few, we can give individual attention to all requests. We cannot pass the buck, make long delays or ignore the taxpayer, and we would not if we could."

Obviously the successful manager of a rural community enjoys a real sense of personal accomplishment. As manager he must be acquainted with many technical matters and must be able to deal with them. When a task is well done, the credit is his; when it is poorly done, the responsibility is his.

Experience in Maine indicates that the rural community can employ with profit the council-manager system. Opponents of the plan argue that it destroys democracy and the spontaneity which has been so typical of town government. Yet this has not been true. Most managers pride themselves on being close to the people and, in the rural community, they can personalize government; or best of all they can avoid the appearance of "governing." The town's affairs are still everyone's business. The rules, the impersonality, the trappings necessary perhaps for larger units have no place in the manager's approach to rural government.

The major problem has been and will continue to be recruitment of capable managers. While the experience is valuable, the salary is unattractive; and the small town must be content with local talent or with a young man who is starting at the bottom and who will move on in a few years. More attractive manager positions could be created by wider use of the authority to form manager unions. It is safe to conclude, however, that the feasibility of the council-manager plan for small municipalities has been demonstrated; now the way is open for further experimentation and advance.

PERIODICAL DEP

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

State Legislatures Act for More Efficiency

Legislative Planning and Research Gain

WITH 44 state legislatures meeting in 1949, emphasis is being placed on need for further progress in improving legislative procedure and adding to provisions for research and planning for legislation, both during and between sessions. Substantial advance has been made in these respects, especially during the last two years, but much remains to be done.

Various provisions to modernize and strengthen the legislatures and their methods have been recommended to state officials by the Committee on Legislative Processes and Procedures of the Council of State Governments.

In a recently revised edition of *Our State Legislatures,* the committee places increased emphasis on its twelve major suggestions which may be summarized as follows:

1. Remove restrictions on the length of regular sessions so that legislators may have adequate time for their duties. Twenty-six states limit regular sessions.

2. Remove constitutional restrictions on legislators' salaries and pay fixed annual salaries, "sufficient to permit competent persons to serve in the legislature without financial sacrifice."

3. Consider the lengthening and staggering of legislators' terms to "strengthen legislatures by increasing continuity of membership."

4. Appoint skilled and essential full-time legislative employees on the basis of merit and competence. "The tenure of key legislative personnel should be unaffected by changes in party control."

5. Reduce the number of legislative committees through consolidation and reorganization on the basis of subject matter and cooperation between houses.

6. Provide for public hearings on all major bills and publish notice of such hearings well in advance.

7. Provide for legislative councils or interim committees with adequate clerical and research facilities.

8. Review and, where necessary, strengthen legislative reference, research, bill-drafting and statutory revision services.

9. Limit by rule the period of time during a legislative session when new bills may be introduced and provide for the drafting, filing and printing of the bills before the session opens.

10. Review and revise legislative rules "wherever necessary to expedite legislative procedure with due regard for adequate deliberation on measures and fairness to minority parties."

11. Provide for a budget "adequate to meet all probable expenditures during a fiscal period" and consider further centralization of legislative fiscal responsibility.

12. Provide for general, optional or home rule legislation as a substitute for special legislation affecting individual cities.

Legislative Service Conference

Following a report of an interim committee established at a national meeting of representatives of legislative councils, reference bureaus, state libraries and statutory revision agencies in 1947, the Legislative Service Conference was organized at a further meeting last October, in Chicago. Its chief purpose is "to cooperate for more effective service to the legislatures and to aid in improving legislative processes and procedures." The president of the conference is Howard F. Ohm, chief of the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library. The Council of State Governments acts as secretariat for the conference.

The Council of State Governments reports that eight states—Arkansas, Minnesota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin and Wyoming—have created or activated permanent legislative councils since 1946. Twenty-three states now provide such agencies for legislative planning and leadership, to study subjects of importance to the legislature, and serve in an interim capacity between sessions. Usually consisting of members of the legislature, they have power, as a rule, to appoint research staffs, utilize other state and legislative agencies, subpoena witnesses and records, hold hearings, establish subcommittees and recommend legislation to their legislatures.

Legislative reference bureaus have been established in some form in 35 states while several others provide similar services through the state library or state law library. Various reference agencies provide legislatures with research, bill-drafting and statutory revision services.

A number of legislatures have made improvements in other important respects during the last two years. Those of Alabama, Illinois and North Dakota extensively revised their legislative rules. These states, as well as Indiana, New Jersey, Oklahoma and South Carolina, reduced the number of standing committees.

New Jersey's new constitution increased the length of the legislative term and provided for the setting of salaries by statute rather than by constitution. Legislative pay was increased there as in Arkansas, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New York, Oklahoma and South Dakota. Several states raised the salaries of legislative employees.

Constitutional revision and studies looking to such revisions promise better organization and operation of the legislatures in a number of states, including California, Florida, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Minnesota, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Tennessee.

Single Civil Service Head Urged in New York

Governor Thomas E. Dewey proposes that the New York State Department of Civil Service be headed by a single civil service director instead of by the present three-member Civil Service Commission. There would also be a bipartisan board or commission of advisory and quasi-judicial character.

On January 2 Governor Dewey announced appointment of a bipartisan committee to draft legislation for a reorganized civil service department. The committee is headed by J. Edward Conway, president of the present commission, and includes H. Eliot Kaplan, deputy state comptroller and former executive director of the Civil Service Reform Association and the National Civil Service League; A. A. Falk, Democratic member of the present commission; John T. Degraff, counsel of the Civil Service Employees Association; and L. E. Walsh, assistant counsel to the governor.

The Civil Service Reform Association states: "This association fully endorses the enactment of such legislation and heartily compliments Governor Dewey for espousing this very desirable measure for the improvement of the administration of the merit system. It will undoubtedly result in a more satisfactory, efficient and economical administration of state government and attract and hold the services of those who make civil service a career."

Upper Colorado River Compact Signed

Representatives of five states—Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming—and the federal government have signed the Upper Colorado River Compact, subject to approval of the states' legislatures and of Congress. A commission of five state members and one federal member is specified. The purposes of the compact are to provide for the equitable apportionment of the water of the upper basin, to establish obligations of the interested states as to water deliveries, to remove causes for present or future controversies, and to aid in the development of the region.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

According to reports received by the National Municipal League, 95 cities, counties and other local governments were added in 1948 to the list of those using the council-manager plan, exceeding last year's total of 91—the record year to that time—by four. This brings the world total of council-manager communities up to 893, of which 852 are in the United States, including Alaska and Puerto Rico.

At a special election on January 5 at **Redondo Beach, California,** (population 13,092) a council-manager charter was adopted by a two to one vote. Election of the council by wards is retained.

At a special town meeting on December 16, 1948, the town manager plan was adopted in **Wells, Maine,** by a vote of 317 to 110 (see page 101).

El Cerrito, California, is reported to have adopted the manager plan in 1948; **Shelbyville, Tennessee,** did likewise previously.

At a special town meeting in **Kennebunk, Maine,** on January 5, called on petition of 268 voters to consider repeal of last year's adoption of the town manager plan, the latter was retained by a vote of 410 to 205. Despite rain the town meeting was one of the largest ever held in Kennebunk. The town of **Brunswick** also decided recently by overwhelming vote to retain the manager plan. A special town meeting in **South Berwick** defeated an effort to prevent the manager plan, approved at the regular town meeting last March, from going into effect in March 1949.

In **Lisbon Falls, Maine,** a Community Development Association has been formed and is advocating the town manager plan. Town affairs are now administered by three selectmen, an elected water commission of three members, town clerk, treasurer, road commissioner and fire chief. Lisbon Falls is largely an industrial community.

The Boothbay Region Chamber of Commerce has pledged its support for adoption of the town manager plan in **Boothbay Harbor, Maine.**

A proposed council-manager charter for the city of **Nashua, New Hampshire,** will, if the state legislature approves, be submitted to Nashua voters on October 4, 1949, and, if adopted, go into effect January 1, 1950. It provides for a city council of nine to be elected at large in November. The council would appoint a city manager and choose one of its members as mayor.

The city council of **Keene, New Hampshire,** voted thirteen to two on January 6 to present a council-manager charter to the state legislature for its approval, preliminary to a local referendum in September. The proposed charter provides for a council of nine members elected at large.

At a public meeting in **Laconia, New Hampshire,** called by the League of Women Voters in December, the city manager plan was discussed and was approved by nearly all present.

A meeting of the **New Hampshire** Municipal Managers' Association was held in Laconia, New Hampshire, on December 21. It was reported that bills for the establishment of the council-manager plan in four New Hampshire cities — **Manchester, Concord** and **Rochester,** as well as **Nashua** —were expected to be introduced in the 1949 session of the legislature. The association now includes ten cities and towns: Keene, Dover, Claremont, Portsmouth, Franklin, Lancaster, Littleton, Meredith, Conway and Newport.

A comprehensive committee report favoring the council-manager plan was approved early in December by the board of directors of the **Barre, Vermont,** Chamber of Commerce. On December 28 the city's board of aldermen voted to appoint a commission to draft a council-manager charter amendment, but on December 30 at a special session the board reversed its action. Such an amendment, if drafted, would require the voters' approval after permissive action by the state legislature.

A board composed of aldermen and citizen representatives in **Rutland, Vermont,** is revising the city's charter along the lines of the *Model City Charter* of the National Municipal League, reports the Rutland *Herald.* The question of adopting the manager plan is expected to be submitted to the voters in March.

A revival of interest in the manager plan is reported in the city of **St. Albans, Vermont,** where such a plan was discarded about twenty years ago as a result of political opposition.

By a referendum vote of 1,569 to 983 the people of **Danvers, Massachusetts,** on January 5 approved the proposal to petition the legislature for legislation authorizing the town manager plan for Danvers, any such legislation to be placed before the voters at the annual election in March. Despite heavy rain one-third of the registered voters participated.

Two members of the **Newburyport, Massachusetts,** city council have expressed themselves as in favor of the council-manager plan.

A bill to authorize the plan in **Ipswich, Massachusetts,** has been introduced in the state legislature.

A special committee appointed at the last annual town meeting in **Agawam, Massachusetts,** is making a study of the town manager plan and has sponsored a public discussion on the subject. It is to make a formal report at the next annual town meeting in February.

A special committee of the **Marblehead, Massachusetts,** board of selectmen has reported against the town manager plan.

A final report of the Committee on Reorganization of Town Government in **Stoneham, Massachusetts,** unanimously advocates the town manager plan in conjunction with town meeting government.

By a four to one vote on December 20 the **Brookline, Massachusetts,** board of selectmen rejected a suggestion that the annual town meeting in March vote on appointment of a committee to consider petitioning the state legislature for special legislation providing a town manager plan for Brookline.

The **Cambridge, Massachusetts,** Civic Association, mindful of long deadlocks over selection of the mayor by the city council, favors a bill before the state legislature providing that if the council fails to select one of its members as mayor after two weeks, or 50 ballots, whichever occurs first, the councilman who was first declared elected in the proportional representation electoral count would become mayor.

A bill to authorize town manager government for **Jamestown, Rhode Island,** was introduced on January 6 in the state legislature by the town's representative. A few days later the town's council formally requested its passage. An identical measure introduced last year, following approval of the plan by a one-vote margin at a local election, passed the senate but died in the house.

The **East Providence, Rhode Island,** town government study committee has recommended continuation of town government, with councilmen elected by districts, and appointment of a town manager or administrator.

A town manager committee is investigating the feasibility of that plan for **North Kingston, Rhode Island.**

At a special town meeting in **East Hampton, Connecticut,** in December, a fifteen-member committee was appointed to study the question of adopting the town manager plan.

The **East Hartford, Connecticut,** League of Women Voters is sponsoring a charter amendment for the town manager plan.

The League of Women Voters of **Geneva, New York,** is studying the council-manager plan.

Mayor Charles A. Earl of **Oneida, New York,** recommended in his New Year's message to the commission council that a full-time city manager be employed and that the mayor and council receive no compensation. He suggested that a committee be appointed to study various city manager types of government.

Mayor William Huck of **Bloomfield, New Jersey,** has declared that either the manager plan or a strong-mayor type of government should be adopted in that city.

The draft of a bill to enable **Columbia, South Carolina,** to adopt the council-manager plan has been approved for submission to the legislature by the steering committee of the City Manager Adoption Committee.

The town council of **North Miami, Florida,** has adopted a resolution favoring the council-manager plan. The North Miami Civic League has appointed a committee to study the plan.

In **Ann Arbor, Michigan,** a Citizens Committee for Charter Revision has been organized on a permanent basis and is planning to present the question of charter revision to the voters, probably in November 1949.

A committee has been appointed in **Monroe, Wisconsin,** for the purpose of drafting a referendum proposal for council-manager government to be voted on at the spring election. The committee was formed as a result of a meeting of representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, Kiwanis Club, Farm Bureau and other civic organizations.

The city council of **Athens, Tennessee,** on December 23 approved the principle of council-manager government. Three months ago it had directed the city attorney to make a study of the plan. Mayor Rhea Hammer is also reported in favor of it. The Chamber of Commerce recently supported the idea overwhelmingly after receiving a favorable report of its legislative committee and the American Legion has also gone on record as favoring it.

The **Memphis, Tennessee,** *Press-Scimitar* reports that it has received many inquiries about the council-manager plan and how it could be obtained for Memphis. It has announced that a uniform city manager charter is available for Tennessee cities if the voters decide in its favor, and that a petition signed by a number of voters equal to 20 per cent of the votes cast at the last general election could force a popular vote on the manager plan.

Renewed interest in the manager plan is reported in **Mankato, Minnesota,** despite two defeats over a period of years.

A proposed amendment to the charter of **Bemidji, Minnesota,** for establishment of the council-manager plan, failed to receive the necessary 60 per cent of the votes, although it received a majority—881 to 761.

Voters of **Beatrice, Nebraska,** are to elect delegates to a home rule charter convention. The Junior Chamber of Commerce has asked Dr. A. C. Breckenridge of the University of Nebraska to make a study to help voters decide which form of government they want — council-manager, mayor-council or commission.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Wellington, Kansas,** is studying the manager plan, with a possibility that the question of its adoption will be put to popular vote at the city election in April.

Colorado City, Texas, reported last month as adopting the manager plan, did so by a vote of 449 to 133 at the municipal election on December 3. The new charter increases the city council from five to seven members.

A charter revision committee has been appointed by Mayor James E. Cunningham of **San Bernardino, California**; it will investigate the feasibility of the manager plan.

Mayor Hollis Smith of **Dallas, Oregon,** in his annual message to the city council, urged a study of the manager plan.

Meridian Celebrates Manager Plan Installation

Installation of council-manager government in Meridian—the first city in Mississippi to adopt the plan — was made a gala occasion on January 3. A parade, witnessed by a crowd said by the chief of police to be the largest in the city's history, was followed by inauguration of the new city council, which then held an organizational meeting and appointed the city manager. A "Banquet of Smiles" was started at 6 P.M. with the singing of "Happy Days Are Here Again." In the evening Walter J. Millard, who had come from Cincinnati for the occasion, spoke at the Junior College auditorium concerning Meridian's new plan of government.

Plans Afoot for Detroit Charter Changes

In Detroit, Michigan, the Mayor's Charter Study Committee has submitted recommendations for charter changes to the city council, which must act on them by February 3 if they are to go on the April 4 election ballot.

The recommendations include four-year instead of two-year terms for mayor, city clerk and treasurer, with retention of the nonpartisan ballot; creation of a department of administration, with a director appointed by the mayor and with division heads for budgetary, purchasing, accounting, motor transportation, public building maintenance and office service matters; increase in councilmen's salaries from $5,000 to $10,000 a year; and relieving the mayor of all responsibility for actions of the board of street railway commissioners—members of the latter, now unpaid, to receive $10,000 a year, with $5,000 extra for the chairman.

Recent Attacks On Blighted Areas

Among new efforts on the part of large cities to clear slums and build better neighborhoods, the American Municipal Association reports that Los Angeles is undertaking a program to condemn and purchase blighted areas, clear the land and turn it over to private enterprise for development. In preparation for the program, city planning officials made a study of 70 square miles in the heart of the city, reporting findings on slum conditions, crime, juvenile delinquency, municipal costs and tax receipts.

The Michigan Supreme Court recently dismissed an injunction brought by Detroit property owners challenging municipal authority to clear one of the worst slum areas in the city. The city plans to condemn the section, clear the land gradually, replot it to provide for adequate parks and other recreational facilities, and resell to private bidders.

A Missouri circuit court removed the only legal obstacle to construction of additional low-rent housing by the St. Louis housing authority when it upheld the tax-exempt status of the authority.

Minneapolis' first blighted area survey has attempted to establish a precise "livability" index. City health inspectors graded average, above average and substandard homes on plumbing facilities, crowding, presence of rats and other living conditions in determining the index.

Toledo's newly created slum rehabilitation board will coordinate activities of the various municipal agencies in the city's blighted areas and will deal with problems which arise during a current inspection drive to bring substandard housing areas in line with existing sanitation and safety regulations.

As noted last month (page 41), New Orleans is now empowered to contract with urban redevelopment corporations for slum elimination.

Municipal Housing Policy Proposed by AMA

As one important aspect of a "national municipal policy" fostered by the American Municipal Association[1] —the home-rule features of which, as approved at the AMA convention, were given in last month's issue (page 40)—the following statement on municipal responsibilities concerning housing was adopted at the convention:

"Municipalities are vitally concerned about the housing needs of their citizens. To date those needs have not been adequately met. Inadequate housing creates additional municipal problems and increases municipal expenditures.

"We believe a solution can be found within the framework of our democratic institutions. The responsibility of the municipality in that solution lies:

"1. In adequate planning of our cities and neighborhoods.

"2. Through urban redevelopment statutes including exercise of power of eminent domain to assist in acquiring proper sites and regulations for construction of adequate housing.

"3. In the elimination of slums after provision has been made for rehousing occupants of the slums.

"4. In doing our reasonable share by way of subsidies or otherwise to make such housing possible.

"5. That the American Municipal Association urge federal and state governments to undertake an intelligent and complete program of housing, in-

(Continued on page 94)

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[1] See the REVIEW, September 1948, page 435.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

County-State-Federal Research Continues

Citizen Group Stresses Eleven-point Program

THE Henry County, Indiana, Council on Intergovernmental Relations is functioning as a local citizens' committee although the funds originally provided by the Spelman Foundation are now exhausted. It will continue to study local, state and federal government operations within the community and to suggest possible improvements in governmental organization and procedures.[1] Its dual purpose is to raise the stature of local government and secure smoother coordination among all units of government at the community level.

The program of the council includes:

(1) Home rule and general enabling legislation to replace present special legislation;

(2) More pre-induction and on the job training for public officials;

(3) New methods of revenue-sharing among the three levels of government as a substitute for centralization;

(4) Stronger county administrative and legislative bodies;

(5) Improved procedures in the revenue system;

(6) One-stop public service centers based on major functions irrespective of the level of government providing the service;

(7) Coordination of commissions of all units of government and rotation of administrative employees among the several levels of government;

(8) New courses in schools emphasizing the importance of local government;

(9) The county planning commission to serve as coordinator of all public services in the community;

(10) Better understanding and wider participation on the part of all citizens in their local governments;

(11) Encouraging research and discussion on all problems affecting government in the community.

City-County Consolidation in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh

The Joint State Government Commission of the Pennsylvania state legislature has received a recommendation for a constitutional amendment that would effect complete consolidation of city and county governments in Philadelphia. Various groups testifying before the commission approached the problem from different points of view, but all agreed on the necessity for city-county consolidation and additional home rule for the new unit. Republican, Democratic and civic leaders are giving their support to the movement.

Some of the proposals presented to the commission include:

(1) Consolidation of the offices of receiver of taxes and city treasurer;

(2) Consolidation of the offices of recorder of deeds and register of wills;

(3) Consolidation of the offices of coroner and sheriff;

(4) Consolidation of the offices of clerk of quarter sessions court, clerk of municipal court, clerk of orphans court and the prothonotary;

(5) Consolidation of the registration commission and the county commissioners.

One witness appearing before the

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[1] See "What Is There to Coordinate?", by Clifford F. Payne, the REVIEW, April 1947, page 194.

joint commission pointed out, "It is ridiculous for a great city like Philadelphia to have to run to the legislature every time it wants to raise councilmen's salaries." He favored legislative implementation of a 1922 constitutional amendment giving Philadelphia the right to draft its own charter.

A consolidation amendment was one of the major recommendations in the final report of the Philadelphia Committee of Fifteen, in which the committee summarizes its thirteen months' investigation of city departments.

The proposed constitutional amendment must be approved by two successive sessions of the legislature and then secure final approval of the voters.

A consolidated government for Allegheny County, Pittsburgh and numerous smaller units within the county is also being discussed as the Pennsylvania legislative session opens. Such a plan was defeated in 1929 at the polls by a narrow margin. It was revived in 1939 but no action was taken. The 1939 proposal suggested a federation in which local units would continue to have charge of purely local functions, with through streets and other matters affecting the entire areas undertaken by a greater Pittsburgh government.

City-County Cooperation Grows in North Carolina

Stanly County, North Carolina, and the city of Albemarle have entered a joint agreement to solve their problem of fire protection throughout the county. The county has purchased a new fire truck and will employ two full-time fire-fighters. This equipment and personnel will be integrated into the Albemarle city fire system, and the county will share the cost of repairs, fuel and operation of the truck.

Guilford County, North Carolina, and the cities of Greensboro and High Point are planning establishment of a consolidated health department with eventual complete transfer of financial responsibility to the county. The proposed legislation would establish a governing board of seven members consisting of the chairman of the county board, two persons recommended by the county commissioners and two recommended by each of the two city councils.

Jackson County Manager Proposal Defeated at Polls

Voters in Jackson County, Missouri, famed as the home of President Truman and containing Kansas City, have turned thumbs down on a proposed manager plan charter, 33,649 to 20,673, at a special election January 11. The total vote cast was only a fourth of those registered and some 1,300 less than the 61,345 names signed to petitions in 1947 asking appointment of a charter drafting committee.

There are several reasons for defeat: (1) Never given too strong a chance for passage, possibility of adoption became zero when election day brought with it one of the worst ice and sleet storms the middle west has ever had. Greatest opposing majorities came from Kansas City districts where the "deliverable" vote is located while the vote in pro-charter districts was light.

(2) The commission lacked unanimity. Two members refused to sign the new charter. Differences were aired in public, creating doubts for the voter and providing ammunition for the opposition.

(3) The time sequence was bad. Appointed on January 19, 1948, the commission submitted its document December 9, placing the election, according to constitutional requirements, between January 9 and 19. Campaign-

ing was restricted to a short period after the holidays.

(4) The enthusiasm and wide organization participation of the 1947 petition drive had been dissipated. The charter campaign was limited to a few civic groups and the Kansas City *Star*.

Since the constitution prohibits further action for at least two years, Jackson County will continue to be governed by antiquated organization and procedures.

Robert A. McGrath, *Director*
Kansas City Civic Research Institute

Texas Group Advocates Additional County Home Rule

A recent meeting of the Dallas County Citizens Association recently expressed itself in favor of a new county home rule amendment for Texas. The present provision, adopted in 1933, permits counties with populations of 62,000 and above to draft and adopt their own charters, but charters drafted by smaller counties must secure approval by a two-thirds vote in the state legislature. A favorable referendum vote must then be secured in both the incorporated and the unincorporated areas. The current proposal would simplify and liberalize the constitution by permitting all counties of 10,000 population and more to draft their own charters.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 91)

cluding provision for research into lower cost production techniques, using to the fullest extent the machinery of private enterprise, and using federal credit for extension of mortgage loans and reducing interest payments, thereby expanding opportunities for private ownership.

"6. We urge the 81st Congress to immediately pass housing legislation similar to the original TEW bill to begin again the basic urban task of our nation's slum clearance. We feel that this legislation should provide sufficient funds for long-term federal loans and subsidy contracts for slum clearance and construction of low-rent public housing for low-income groups including the construction of permanent low-rent housing projects to replace temporary war and veterans housing projects.

"We urge legislation to permit completion of previously authorized war-frozen housing projects by granting additional loans and raising per room limits in accordance with inflation trends.

"7. That any federal action for disposal of temporary wartime housing should be carried out only after mutual understanding with local officials of the community where such units are situated, and that none of the temporary housing ever be sold to private interests except for the purpose of demolition."

Mayors Convene at Washington in March

The United States Conference of Mayors holds its 1949 annual meeting at the Statler Hotel in Washington, March 21-23.

Fellowships in Public Administration at Harvard

The Graduate School of Public Administration of Harvard University announces the prospective award of a limited number of fellowships for persons who seek further training for governmental work—the Lucius N. Littauer fellowships for those who have already had some experience in public service and administration fellowships for recent college graduates intending to enter the public service. Applications are accepted up to April 1 at 118 Littauer Center, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Two Irish Counties Hold P. R. Elections

Government Coalition Is Strong in Dublin and Kerry

THE counties of Dublin and Kerry elected county councils by P. R. on October 6. These were the first elections in Eire since the general election of February 1948.[1]

County Dublin was divided into five areas, choosing respectively five, four, three, five and eight members of the council of 25. Of the eligible voters 46.6 per cent voted and only 0.9 per cent of the ballots cast were invalid.

In County Kerry there were four constituencies, three returning six members and the other returning eight, for a total of 26. Seventy per cent of the eligible voters participated and only 1 per cent of the ballots cast were invalid.

In each district the election is by the Hare system of P. R. In Dublin the districting and apportionment among districts interfered somewhat with the complete proportionality of the results. The quota of votes needed to elect a candidate varied from 904 in one district to 1,515 in another. In Kerry the apportionment was more fortunate, the quota varying from 1,383 to 1,832.

In both elections the results in terms of seats obtained by candidates of various parties followed generally the distribution of first choice votes, as will be seen from the following tabulation:

DUBLIN COUNTY COUNCIL[a]

Party	*First Choice Votes*	*Seats*
Fine Gael	13,023(35%)	10(40%)
Fianna Fail	12,302(34%)	9(36%)
Labour	4,280(12%)	2(8%)
Clann-na-Poblachta	3,740(10%)	2(8%)
Ratepayers	1,152(3%)	1(4%)
Independents	1,691(5%)	1(4%)

KERRY COUNTY COUNCIL[a]

Fianna Fail	16,477(32%)	10(38%)
Fine Gael	11,102(22%)	5(19%)
Clann-na-Poblachta	7,080(14%)	4(15%)
Clann-na-Talmhan	6,320(12%)	3(12%)
National Labour	3,398(7%)	1(4%)
Independent Republican	2,362(4%)	1(4%)
Labour	1,509(3%)	— —
Independents	2,936(6%)	2(8%)

[a] Figures supplied by Alderman John Fitzgerald, secretary of the British Proportional Representation Society.

A comparison of these results with those of the last general election in the corresponding districts, prepared by the British Proportional Representation Society, leads to the conclusion that there has been little change in political preferences; that the claims of the Fianna Fail party, which ruled Eire for many years under Mr. De Valera, that establishment of a coalition of all the other parties led by Fine Gael after the general election would be followed by a change of sentiment against the coalition, seem to have been unfounded. In this connection the views of an election day article in the *Irish Times*, as follows, are of interest:

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[1] See the REVIEW, March 1948, page 169.

> P. R. has gone far to get rid of any necessity for party managers to seek for pre-election agreements. By an automatic process it sets each minority party free to select, and seek support of, its own candidates, while they are also free to recommend that preferences should be given to candidates who, for various reasons, wish to give their support to the principles and institutions of interparty government. In other words, P. R. sets every constituent party free to advocate its own views within a broad and flexible framework of common aims and major purposes.
>
> Above all else, P. R. goes a long way to discourage the tendency to reach agreements "behind the scenes," and thereby to ensure that electors may enjoy the greatest possible measure of freedom to record their preferences without undue regard to the influence of party managers and conclaves.

The Proportional Representation Society study of last February's election revealed an unusual situation. Clann-na-Poblachta, the party obtaining the second largest number of first preferences in each of the districts into which Kerry County was divided, obtained no seats, while four seats went to candidates of smaller groups.

Only seven were to be elected, three from one district and four from another, and the party's first choices, amounting to 18 per cent of the poll, could only have elected one member unaided even if the whole county had been one district. These votes were almost evenly divided between the districts, being therefore substantially less than a quota in each case.

On the successive transfers of the ballots of the lowest candidates according to subsequent preferences marked on them, not enough of them went to the four Clann-na-Poblachta candidates to bring any of them up to the quota, while other candidates did receive sufficient independent support to win.

This result emphasizes the fact that first choices do not tell the whole story under P. R. and that the more significant final standing, which shows the preferences of the voters among the candidates with a chance of election, may bring surprises.

Private Groups Using P. R.

A wide range of private groups and associations in this country and abroad, notably the faculties and student bodies of a number of colleges and universities, have made use of P. R. for their own elections. A collection of recent reports shows a lively contemporary interest in applying improved election methods in the field of private associations.

The American Veterans' Committee adopted P. R. for future elections at its national convention last fall. A number of local units of the organization had used the plan previously.

From East Central State College at Ada, Oklahoma, Acting President Charles F. Spencer writes:

> You will probably be interested to know that we have recently set up a faculty senate here in the college to pass on matters of policy relating to the college, and that the faculty senate has been elected by the Hare system of proportional representation. This system of election has produced a very fine faculty senate.

Mr. Spencer, a former mayor of the city of Ada, enclosed a copy of the result sheet, showing the election of seven from a field of fourteen candidates on a poll of 82 valid ballots (and three invalid).

In 1948 faculty and students elected the officers and council of the Hood College Cooperative Government Association by the Hare system of P. R. Vassar College has been using the system for student elections for a number of years.

Mount Holyoke College has used the Hare system of P. R. for many years for the election of faculty committees. Smith College has made a similar use of the system. A recent communication from the Alumnae Association of Smith College states that the system is still in use for electing alumnae trustees. In recent years P. R. has been introduced for elections at William Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa.

Antioch College, at Yellow Springs, Ohio, has used P. R. for many years in the college community organization, which includes faculty as well as students. It is combined there with a system of weighted voting, with more votes for those who have been at the college longer.

Most of the colleges and universities in New York City make some use of P. R. for faculty or student elections or both.

During the Christmas holidays the Pennsylvania State Education Association, representing most of the public school teachers of the state, elected its committees by P. R. at the annual session of the House of Delegates in Harrisburg, as it has for some 25 years past. The president is elected by the corresponding Hare system of majority preferential voting. The Philadelphia delegates in the House of Delegates are themselves chosen by P. R.

The Hare system of P. R. is also used by many private associations in other English-speaking countries. The Royal Arsenal Cooperative Society of Great Britain elects its general committee of seven members in that manner.

At a general meeting of P. R. supporters in Sydney, Australia, on September 27, 1948, a report was given on the election by P. R. of two wardens and a committee of seven by the Irish National Association in that locality and also on another election by the Hare system at the Bank Officers' Club.

The Proportional Representation League

Ever since 1893 the movement for P. R. in this country has found expression and leadership in the Proportional Representation League. Since 1932 the League has been operating as a part of the National Municipal League, with this department, successor to the *Proportional Representation Review,* as its mouthpiece. The P. R. League maintains its separate corporate existence, however, and holds a meeting once a year at the time and place of the National Municipal League convention.

Any member of the National Municipal League may be enrolled without extra dues as a voting member of the P. R. League simply by sending in a request to be so considered to Elsie S. Parker, the League's treasurer and assistant secretary, at the National Municipal League's office, 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

The present roster of the P. R. League's officers is as follows:

President: Albert D. Cash, mayor of Cincinnati

Vice-Presidents: Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia, Mrs. Alice Thacher Post, Washington, D. C.

Honorary Secretary: C. G. Hoag, Haverford, Pa.

Executive Secretary: George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary of the New York Citizens Union and associate secretary of the National Municipal League

Field Secretary: Walter J. Millard, Cincinnati

Treasurer and Assistant Secretary: Elsie S. Parker, assistant editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

Trustees: Mr. Cash, Mr. White, Mr. Hoag and

Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Council of the National Municipal League and chairman of the New York Citizens Union

U. S. Senator Paul H. Douglas, Chicago

C. A. Dykstra, chancellor of the University of California at Los Angeles, former president of the University of Wisconsin and former city manager of Cincinnati

J. Henry Scattergood, former commissioner of Indian Affairs of the U. S. Department of the Interior, Villa Nova, Pa.

Advisory Council: The trustees and

Albert S. Bard, New York

Ex-Governor Robert P. Bass, Peterboro, N. H.

Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of *The American City*, Madison, N. J.

Rev. Edward Dowling, S. J., *The Queen's Work*, St. Louis

Harold W. Dodds, president of Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

Ex-Governor Charles Edison, president of the National Municipal League, West Orange, N. J.

Oliver T. Erickson, Seattle, Wash.

Professor Charles G. Fenwick, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Cyrus J. Fitton, Hamilton, Ohio

Mrs. George Gellhorn, St. Louis, Mo.

Col. Julian S. Hearne, Jr., Arlington, Va.

William Hoag, Boston

Professor Arthur N. Holcombe, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Lewis C. Hunter, San Francisco

Lewis Jerome Johnson, professor emeritus, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Judge William C. Keough, Cleveland

Cameron H. King, San Francisco

Congressman Clarence F. Lea, Santa Rosa, Calif.

Samuel McCune Lindsay, professor emeritus, Columbia University, New York

Ex-congressman Herbert Pell, former minister to Portugal and Hungary, Hopewell Junction, N. Y.

Ex-Senator George Wharton Pepper, Philadelphia

Professor Charles H. Porter, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, New York

Thomas H. Reed, Wethersfield, Conn.

Oxie Reichler, editor of the *Herald Statesman*, Yonkers, N. Y.

Mrs. Raymond Robins, Washington, D. C.

William Jay Schieffelin, New York

Ex-mayor Murray Seasongood of Cincinnati

Ex-judge Samuel Seabury, New York

Henry L. Shattuck, chairman of the Municipal Research Bureau, Boston

Miss Belle Sherwin, former president of the National League of Women Voters, Willoughby, Ohio

City Councilman Charles P. Taft, president of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Cincinnati

Carl D. Thompson, director of the Public Ownership League of America, Chicago

Lent D. Upson, dean of the School of Public Affairs, Wayne University, Detroit

Charles H. Woodward, Philadelphia

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

State-Local Debt Rises in 1948

Census Study Shows 25 Per Cent State Increase in Year

As might be expected in view of large scale borrowing for post-war public improvements and issuance of state bonds for soldiers' bonuses, state and local public debt rose sharply during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1948. According to a summary of governmental debt recently published by the Bureau of the Census[1] state debt rose 25 per cent during the year, while local debt increased 8 per cent.

State and local debt had reached its peak in 1940. State debt declined nearly a third to 1946, but with last year's additions was up at June 30, 1948, to nearly 6 per cent above 1940. Local debt, on the other hand, dropped less sharply and for 1948 was still below 1940. The local debt decrease, 1940-46, was 19 per cent, while the 1948 figure was 10 per cent below 1940. The bureau's estimates for state, local and combined state-local debt from 1940 are summarized in the accompanying table.

Gross Debt of State & Local Governments
(Amounts in millions)

June 30	*State*	*Local*	*State-Local*
1940	$3,526	$16,720	$20,209
1942	3,211	16,479	19,642
1944	2,768	14,703	17,426
1945	2,425	14,164	16,552
1946	2,358	13,564	15,887
1947	2,978	13,847	16,795
1948	3,722	14,980	18,644

The gross debt figures, it is to be noted, include debt incurred for public service enterprises, such as that of self-supporting city water, light and transit systems, toll bridges and highways, etc. Of the local debt, 59.1 per cent was the obligation of cities and towns, 10.4 per cent was school district debt (in some jurisdictions, of course, school debt is a city rather than a special district obligation, so this figure does not indicate the proportion of the total incurred for schools), 9.4 per cent was county debt, and the remaining 19.2 per cent was special district debt (other than school districts).

U. S. Refuses to Withhold City Income Tax

Tax reciprocity does not extend to the federal government's withholding a city income tax on federal employees employed in the city, the Comptroller General of the United States has held. Ruling in the case of the city of Louisville, which enacted an income tax ordinance requiring any governmental body or agency to withhold the tax from its employees, the federal official ruled that the withholding would be an unconstitutional burden on the federal government in the exercise of its functions. Previously, he had refused on the same ground to withhold a state income tax levied on federal employees.

Although the federal government will not withhold state and local income taxes, it continues to exchange information on taxable income with the state and local units. According to a Bureau of the Budget circular (No. A-38), there were at the close of 1948 some 30 states and seven other units to which the federal government was providing information similar to that other employers provide to the federal government on the well known Form W-2.

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[1] *Summary of Governmental Debt in* 1948. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., December 1948.

The seven special units were the District of Columbia, the Territory of Hawaii, and the cities of Louisville, St. Louis, Springfield (Ohio), Toledo and Philadelphia. Any state or local government levying an income tax may on request receive the information on federal employees subject to the levy.

States Save on Auto Plates

The war-born experiment of using auto license plates for more than a single year to save steel is being continued in peacetime to save both steel and money.

In New York State drivers will continue in 1949 to use their 1948 plates, but will attach to the rear plate a small tab bearing the numerals for the new year. Serial numbers stamped on the tabs will be reproduced on the 1949 registration forms, to provide a check for law enforcement. It is expected that about 2,500 tons of steel will be saved by the device.

Beginning in 1950 Oregon motorists will receive aluminum plates with a life expectancy of five years. After the first year of use lost or damaged plates will be replaced without charge, but when a vehicle is sold new plates must be secured.

Issuance of permanent plates is expected to save the state about $200,000 annually. The secretary of state will ask the 1949 legislature to authorize him to stagger the issuance of the plates over a twelve-month period, reports the Federation of Tax Administrators.

Mayors Urge Federal Aid for Cities

Housing, schools and highway improvements were selected by the United States Conference of Mayors as the most important subjects for action by the 81st Congress when conference representatives in December presented to President Truman their recommendations for federal aid.

Three of the five specific recommendations dealt with housing. Requested were 800,000 public housing units, at an estimated cost per room of $2,600. The dormant Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill had provided for 500,000 units. The conference also asked that the mortgage limit per unit financed by the Federal Housing Administration be raised to $9,500 from the present $8,100, and that rent controls be continued until the housing shortage is relieved.

Expansion of a federal school aid program was also recommended, with special emphasis on aid for construction of school buildings in urban localities. Finally, it was asked that half the federal aid highway funds be earmarked for city projects instead of the present one-fourth.

Televiewers May Pay Admissions Tax

Patrons of night spots may soon be paying an admissions tax to get a look at the television screen, according to the Municipal Finance Officers Association.

A recent Kentucky revenue department regulation requires that operators providing television entertainment pay the regular state admission tax if admission fees of more than ten cents are charged.

If television is used for entertainment in clubs that have minimum charges the operators are also affected

(Continued on page 112)

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Self Government in Maine

Wells Yells, Ponders, Votes in Town Manager

Editor's Note.—The article below, by Ernest Tidyman, on a town meeting held in Wells, Maine, December 16, appeared in the Portsmouth, New Hampshire, *Herald* of December 17.

TWO men came on crutches, three teen-agers set up a stand in the hall to sell raffle tickets on a pressure cooker and Wells Town Clerk Alma L. Parker nervously fingered the town warrant as she commented, "I've never seen so many people in my life."

It was a special town meeting that drew the aggregation through the start of a snowstorm to dangerously crowded and uncomfortably hot Wells town hall.

The main attraction was a proposal to institute the town manager system of municipal government in the much divided, politically hectic Maine community.

"What time is it," Mrs. Parker asked druggist Herbert Farley, one of four individuals on the stage of the town hall into which 600 persons had jammed.

"You've got half a minute," he said and the Reverend W. J. McCullough of the First and Second Congregational churches hovered in the wings. The minister then opened the session with a prayer.

Mrs. Parker borrowed Mr. Farley's watch, was cautioned "don't drop it," and got up to read the controversial, twelve article warrant.

First came the appointment of a moderator and scattered applause followed the written ballot selection of Roby P. Littlefield. . . .

He announced meeting rules and said, "We'll have to have it quiet. I know its hard for you people standing, but be as quiet as possible and don't interrupt the speakers."

"There are many people standing all the way out in the street," said Walter E. Hatch, chairman of the committee appointed at the regular town meeting last March to investigate systems of municipal government. "May I suggest adjourning to the high school?"

A counter-proposal that the standing spectators move down the side aisles and one in the center won physical approval when the group surged toward the stage and completely congested the auditorium.

Richard E. Farnsworth, secretary of Mr. Hatch's committee, won the floor and read from a piece of paper in his hand a motion that if the manager plan is approved the man hired for the job must not be a resident or taxpayer of Wells and that the vote be taken by written ballot.

Both eventually won approval.

Debate Limited

Clark Newcomb, also armed with a piece of paper, took the floor and proposed that all debates be limited to five minutes per person "with no exceptions."

The motion was carried by a hand vote.

He then suggested that voting be done on "yes or no" ballots and with the town checklist.

That, too, was approved.

Then Mr. Hatch explained that he wasn't sure whether the special committee ever did function, but that he had a report from it, anyhow.

He read the report over protest.

He said if the town manager system is approved, it should be done under an enabling act so that it can be changed with a vote at a town meeting.

"I'd like to ask if this is a report," said Mr. Newcomb. Mr. Littlefield banged the gavel and Mr. Hatch said he thought so.

"I'm not sure at all," said Mr. Hatch, who came to the meeting on crutches.

A hand vote of approval backed Mr. Hatch's intention of reading his notes.

The town manager couldn't administer any of the tax money from Ogunquit, Mr. Hatch explained, because it is an incorporated village. And Ogunquit, one of the six separate community elements that make up the township, paid in 46 per cent of the taxes in 1947, he said.

A Loud Protest

He had just finished the report when Raymond Brewster, connected with the town as an official with 40 years service prior to his retirement, got up to decry, "This is the first time I ever saw anything so cut and dried in Wells.

"There are times when you can't limit debate to five minutes," he continued. "I don't know who these fellows are, they must be new, but it seems they came here all cut and dried.

"You know I've never lied to you or doubled-crossed you. You even elected me, a Democrat, to the state legislature from Wells. Something's being railroaded."

There was an organization working at the meeting, he charged, and "I don't think it's fair."

Special committeeman Farnsworth shouted "maybe there is an organization, but perhaps we beat him (Mr. Brewster) to the punch."

Loud cheers shook the hall and Mr. Littlefield banged the gavel.

"Did you vote for the motion limiting the debate to five minutes," the harried moderator asked Mr. Brewster.

"I can't remember," said Mr. Brewster.

The issue was passed.

An unidentified speaker took the floor to announce "I've been a taxpayer in Wells 50 years and I oppose the town manager because the fixed charges are too high."

(Fixed charges include the money directed for spending by the town voters and can not be touched by the town manager. For example, if the voters direct $1,000 to be used in repairing a certain road, then $1,000 must be used, no more no less.)

Out of $300,000 in money to be spent, he contended, only $53,000 would be left for the town manager to work with.

"I'm against it," he maintained.

But Kenneth Moulton—he, too, armed with little slips of paper—argued that "if $53,000 is spent right we can get a lot for it."

Mr. Newcomb, however, thereupon brought the main element of friction into the discussion by attacking those who had alluded to "carpet-baggers" and "new folks trying to run the town."

Let's Have Action

"I haven't lived here 25 years," he admonished, "but I didn't think that made any difference in your citizenship. I'd offer, if I didn't have principles, to take myself out of public life if you'll cut my taxes accordingly.

"It's simple arithmetic. In Wells we spend $260 per road mile for snow removal and in Kennebunk, just five miles down the road, they pay $130 a mile."

An unidentified young man in the back of the stuffy auditorium got up on a bench and calmly voiced his annoyance with the proverbial town meeting debate.

"Instead of all this talk," he said,

"I think we ought to have a vote and quit the horsing around."

A motion to that effect was carried, Mr. Littlefield ripped the paper covering off a table on the stage so that it could be torn up for use as ballots and 427 persons trooped to the stage to exercise a foremost right in their democratic way of life. Mr. Newcomb and his friends simultaneously began circulating ballots marked yes while Selectman James E. Brewster and several friends circulated ballots marked no.

The town manager system?

Oh, that went over 317 to 110 and goes into effect next March, the manager to get a salary not exceeding $4,600.

Legislative Sessions Give Citizens Pause

Forty-four state legislatures are meeting this year and in most of them citizen groups have been laying plans for possible solution to many problems, both state and local.

"The heart of democracy is in the legislative function," quotes the **Civic Federation of Chicago** in its December bulletin describing "How the Illinois Legislature Operates—Its Vital Relation to Citizens." The story gives a "concise explanation of the process by which our state laws are enacted and the points during the legislative history of a bill at which citizen action is effective."

The federation plans to cover this year's legislative sessions and thus "be prepared to give timely information to citizens and answer questions usually asked of us by many legislators as to effects of pending legislation." Bulletins will report on bills introduced, committee hearings and the progress of legislation on administration, finance and taxation.

In **New York City the Citizens Union**, whose secretary covers state legislative sessions, has issued a report on an ambitious program including reforms in legislative procedure and election law, more state aid for schools and libraries, housing program, city taxes and borrowing powers, state planning, constitutional initiative, reapportionment, court changes, county improvement, and many others.

Cincinnati—as well as other Ohio cities—is in desperate need of legislation to enable it to take constructive action on urban redevelopment, housing, metropolitan cooperation, says the **Cincinnati City Charter Committee's** *News Letter*. Legislation also should be enacted, says the committee, to extend the state's policy on highway construction and to provide more equitable distribution of state-collected taxes for local government purposes.

The board of directors of the **Hamilton County Good Government League** (Cincinnati) has made twelve legislative recommendations to Ohio's Governor Lausche. They cover revision of election laws including provision for a central count of ballots under supervision of local boards of elections, repeal of restrictions on use of the initiative and referendum, reduction of the 65 per cent requirement for passage of bond measures, use of a Massachusetts-type ballot for state and county elections, and revision of the state tax structure.

Huge problems face the 1949 Oregon legislature according to the *Oregon Voter*. A serious problem has been made by adoption of the so-called Joe Dunn old age pension act at the polls in November and the failure of the voters also to approve another initiative measure calling for transfer of funds to meet the huge state deficit it creates. Financing a state highway program, as well as increasing costs of higher education and of state-supported institutions, poses another problem for the legislature, says the *Voter.*

The **Seattle Municipal League** plans to work for passage of a bill enabling King and other counties to establish park boards. Another legislative proposal which it has endorsed would permit school districts to cooperate with cities and counties in providing recreation facilities.

The **Minnesota Taxpayers Association** plans to issue bulletins "reporting on all bills introduced dealing in any way with taxation." They will go to legislators and the press as well as to members and others requesting them.

Solutions to basic problems are on the legislative agenda of leagues of women voters. The **Illinois league** asks, "What are the chances on the calling of a constitutional convention?" "What will the strategy be?" The league's *Illinois Voter* lists nine statewide organizations which have gone on record in favor of revision.

The **League of Women Voters of New York City** is working for passage of legislation to provide permanent registration for the city. This month it is conducting an every member campaign for support of its measure.

Representatives of nineteen local leagues met in **Indiana** for a state legislative conference. Home rule for cities, merit system expansion, improvement of the state penal and correctional systems are among the legislative items on its agenda.

Recent Conferences

The **Citizen Conference on Government Management,** commemorating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Department of Government Management at the University of Denver, was held November 18 and 19. The department was established to train outstanding young men and women in practical government. General theme was "Citizenship and Leadership Responsibilities in Government." Guest speakers included City Manager L. P. Cookingham of Kansas City, Dr. A. D. H. Kaplan of Brookings Institution, and Dr. E. M. Kirkpatrick of the State Department.

Highlights of the National Conference on Family Life, held May 5-8 at Washington, may be secured from that organization (New York) at fifteen cents; 100 or more at ten cents.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Norman J. Walsh has been appointed executive director of the Woonsocket Taxpayers Association, succeeding **William H. Cunningham,** who has resigned to do graduate work at the University of Southern California.

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association has appointed **Carlton W. Tillinghast,** formerly director of the Southeastern Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League, as its managing director. Mr. Tillinghast succeeds **A. R. Everson** who died several months ago.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Universities Cooperate on Resources Studies

Surveys in Southern States Urge Unified Administration

RECENT studies of the administration of natural resources in Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee are the result of an effective program of inter-institutional cooperation in research. Six universities and the Tennessee Valley Authority have cooperated on the reports. The study was conducted on a state-by-state basis but in general accordance with an over-all outline, and the TVA has agreed to prepare a summary memorandum to be synthesized from the six reports.

Emphasis was placed not on inventories of natural resources, but on the legal substructure of resources management, especially the organization, operation and interrelationships of administrative machinery relating to resources.

A series of two-day work conferences of the research staffs engaged in the studies and the creation of a planning committee which worked out a general outline to insure reasonable uniformity in approach were the methods employed to coordinate the state studies. Thus central planning was combined with local execution. The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama,** Roscoe C. Martin, director, undertook the editing and publishing of the studies.

The resulting reports are as follows: *Alabama's Heritage,* by Joseph M. Ray and Lillian Worley, **University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration** (186 pages); *Safeguarding Kentucky's Natural Resources,* by Vera Briscoe, James W. Martin and J. E. Reeves, **University of Kentucky, Bureaus of Business and Government Research** (224 pages); *Mississippi's Wealth,* by Robert Baker Highsaw, **University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration** (190 pages); *Resource Management in North Carolina,* by Paul W. Wager and Donald B. Hayman, **University of North Carolina, Institute for Research in Social Science** (192 pages); *South Carolina's Natural Resources,* by Christian L. Larsen, **University of South Carolina, Bureau of Public Administration** (211 pages); and *Rescued Earth,* by Lee S. Greene, Virginia Holmes Brown and Evan A. Iverson, **University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration** (204 pages).

Each of the six volumes contains tables, charts, maps, and an index. As might be expected, they show an over-all uniformity in approach: introductory material on the emergence of governmental resources administration, a description of current activities and programs, an exposition of the mechanics of the actual administration of the programs and a final section containing an appraisal of the conservation situation in the state concerned and a series of recommendations for improvement.

All the authors urge, in their conclusions, a greater degree of uniformity and centralization in the administration by state governments of natural resources. "It is no escape from political domination or irresponsibility to atomize powers among so many different agencies that no one executive can act in accordance with a common plan for over-all action," concludes the Mississippi study, stressing, as do the other five, the fact that each special resources area must be recognized as part of the larger field of natural resources.

Another report on resources comes from Hawaii, *Oahu Ground Water Control* (67-pages mimeographed), published by the **University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau,** Norman Meller, director. The report, which contains a number of diagrams and tables, discusses the nature of ground water, Oahu water resources and consumption, ground water law in the western states and the Hawaiian system of ground water rights. It contains an analysis of the proposed Oahu ground water control act.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Administration

The Mayor's Proposed Department of Administration. Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bureau Notes,* October 11, 1948. 4 pp. chart.

Budgets

Bad Budget Setup. Next Year's Tax Rates and Budgets. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* October 26 and December 28, 1948. 3 pp. each.

Can the City Balance Its Budget? St. Louis, Governmental Research Institute, *Mind Your Business,* October 12, 1948. 4 pp.

The 1949 County Budget. (And trends since 1939.) Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* September 30, October 14, November 18, December 9, 1948. 4 pp. each.

The Reflection of Mounting Costs. A Review of Pittsburgh's Budget for the New Year. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* December 1948. 9 pp.

Statements Made at Chicago Budget Hearings. [Public budget (7 pp.), sanitary district (5 pp.), board of education (8 pp.), Cook County board of commissioners (7 pp)] Chicago Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* December 1948.

City-County Consolidation

City-County Consolidation — Some Major Objectives. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 2, 1948. 2 pp.

Proceedings of the Section on County-City Consolidation. Thirteenth Annual Institute of Government, 1948. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1948. 43 pp.

Constitutional Revision

Amendment and Revision of the Constitution. By Jack W. Strain. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma State Legislative Council, 1948. 38 pp.

Constitutional Revision. (A review of methods and reasons for revision in Kansas.) Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* December 15, 1948. 4 pp.

Legislative Organization and Procedures. Annual Session, Committee Organization, Gubernatorial Leadership, etc. By H. V. Thornton and William Ingler. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma State Legislative Council, Constitutional Survey Committee, 1948. 41 pp.

Debt

Bonded Indebtedness of the State of New Mexico, June 30, 1948. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *Tax Bulletin,* December 1948. 7 pp.

The Bond Manual for Kansas Municipals. By Albert B. Martin. Topeka, League of Kansas Municipalities, 1948. 146 pp. $5.

Borrowing Among Missouri Counties. (With recommendations to improve county government through cooperation, special charters and simplified forms.) Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, 1948. 8 pp.

Control of Departmental Deficits in Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, October 1948. 4 pp.

A More Stable Debt Limit for Philadelphia. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 16, 1948. 11 pp.

Sources of Budgetary Cash for Debt Reduction. By Harley L. Lutz. New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Review,* September 1948. 5 pp.

Education

Hewing to the Line. The Pittsburgh School Budget for 1949. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* November 1948. 6 pp.

Increased State Aid for Local Schools. Taunton, Mass., Association of Commerce, *Research Brevities,* November 18, 1948. 3 pp.

Lining Up the School Districts — A Comparative Statistical Review. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* October 1948. 25 pp. tables.

Public School Expenditures in Hawaii. By Robert M. Kamins. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1948. 28 pp. graphs, tables.

School Costs. School Districts Tax Rates. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* November 4 and 11, 1948. 3 pp. each.

School Finance Fundamentals Obscured by Money Demands. (Is education a local or a state function?) Rochester, N. Y., Bureau of Municipal Research, *Municipal Research,* September 1948. 1 p.

Elections and Voting

Board of Control Candidates — the Key Question. (About Toronto's real chief executive, the elected five-man Board of Control.) Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* December 29, 1948. 3 pp.

The Case of the Non-Voting Citizen. Woonsocket, R. I., Taxpayers Association, *Your Business,* October 1948. 2 pp.

The Declaration of Intentions Act. (Discussion of an act requiring any person moving into the state to record formally with a clerk of court or with election officials his intention to become a citizen and resident of Maryland, at least one year before he is to be entitled to registration as a voter.) By Carl N. Everstine. Baltimore, Maryland Legislative Council, Research Division, 1948. 44 pp.

The Voiceless Minority. ("Should minority representation be made easier?") Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 23, 1948. 2 pp.

Fire Protection

The Firemen's Work Week—A Problem for St. Louis Voters. St. Louis, Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government,* October 19, 1948. 4 pp.

Fire Protection in San Francisco. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* December 1, 1948. 2 pp.

Forms of Local Government

Forms of Local Government. Revised. (Including county government.) By Stuart A. MacCorkle and Wilfred D. Webb. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1948. 66 pp. $1.

Metropolitan Areas

Amalgamation Seen Only Solution to Capital Problem. Expert Advises Five Ontario Municipalities Here (Ottawa Area) to Unite. By Hugh R. Pomeroy. Ottawa, *Evening Citizen,* May 17, 1948. 2 pp. map.

Municipal Government

Columbia City Government. (Considers organization, finance, personnel, police and fire departments, public welfare and public works. Recommends "abandonment of commission form as fundamentally unsound.") By Christian L. Larsen and Robert H. Stoudemire. Columbia, University of South Carolina, Bureau of Public Administration, 1948. 97 pp.

Improving the Government of Pocomoke (Maryland). ("The government's principal need is management.") By Joseph M. Ray. College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Public Administration, 1948. 35 pp. charts.

The Incorporation of Cities under California Law. By James D. Kitchen. Los Angeles, University of California, Bureau of Governmental Research, November 1948. 8 pp.

Museums

Public Museum Should Be Transferred to County Board. Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* October 23, 1948. 2 pp.

Personnel

Civil Service in the Territory of Hawaii. By Ada Mae Rich. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1948. 21 pp.

Erie County's Employees. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* December 2, 1948. 3 pp.

Improving Personnel Practices. A Personnel Director Proposed. Summarized from a report to the Committee of Fifteen. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* December 7 and 21, 1948. 2 pp. each.

Salary Rate Structure of the Local Governments of Chicago for 1948. Chicago, Civic Federation, 1948. 41 pp. tables, graphs.

State Payrolls. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *Tax Bulletin,* November 1948. 5 pp.

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Coordinated Public Planning in the Los Angeles Region. By Judith Norvell Jamison. Los Angeles, University of California, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1948. 198 pp. tables, map, bibliography. $1.

Some Important Items in Rochester's Planning. (Four major objectives, including tax reduction and some development toward metropolitan government.) Rochester, N. Y., Bureau of Municipal Research, *Municipal Research,* November 1948. 2 pp.

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Buffalo Precinct System. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* December 16, 1948. 3 pp.

Does the Police Department Need More Men? Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bureau Notes,* December 16, 1948. 2 pp.

Massachusetts Participation in the FBI Police Training Program. Taunton, Association of Commerce, November 3, 1948. 8 pp.

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Operating the County Building. Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* December 15, 1948. 4 pp.

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The Mentally Ill: Their Care and

Treatment in Missouri. Jefferson City, Missouri General Assembly, Committee on Legislative Research, 1948. 92 pp. tables.

Missouri Faces a Critical Old Age Assistance Problem. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, November 1948. 8 pp. graphs.

Please — Not Two Public Welfare Boards! Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* November 19, 1948. 2 pp.

Public Assistance Trends. (Summary of report *Public Assistance in the City of New Haven, Conn.,*) New Haven, Conn., Taxpayers Research Council, *Council Comment,* November 22, 1948. 2 pp.

Public Welfare in Cambridge. (Many tables and graphs, all unusually clear and well planned.) By J. Douglas Carroll, Jr. Cambridge, Mass., Research Association, 1948. 79 pp.

Report on Old Age Security and Security for the Blind Law. (Financial and administrative problems in carrying out a fantastic California law adopted by the initiative.) San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* November 17, 1948. 2 pp.

Some Questions About Public Relief. Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bureau Notes,* October 4, 1948. 2 pp.

Ten Years of County Welfare, 1939-49. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* November 25, 1948. 3 pp.

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Kentucky State Purchasing. By Alva Marian Matherly. Lexington, University of Kentucky, Bureau of Business Research, 1948. 61 pp. 50 cents.

Purchasing by the State of Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1948. 4 pp.

Tax Dollar Savings Through Better Purchasing. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, *Your Report on Government,* December 1948. 4 pp.

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The Administrative Organization of Kansas. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* October 15, 1948. 4 pp. chart.

Listing of the Duties of Michigan's 102 Boards, Bureaus, Commissions and Departments. Detroit, Michigan Public Expenditure Survey, October 1, 1948. 4 pp.

The Organization of the Connecticut State Government. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, 1948. 39 pp. charts, tables.

Washington State Government. Administrative Organization and Functions. By Donald H. Webster, Ernest Howard Campbell and George Duncan Smith. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1948. 113 pp. charts, maps.

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Asphalt Resurfacing Costs. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* October 12, 1948. 4 pp.

Connecticut State Highways a $30,000,000 Operation. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *Taxpayers News,* December 1948. 2 pp.

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Arizona Property Tax Rates 1943 through 1948. Phoenix, Arizona Tax Research Association, 1948. 38 pp. tables.

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A Comparison of Local Government Finance in Five Oklahoma Counties. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, 1948. 29 pp. graphs.

County Spending Shows 24 Per Cent Increase. Madison, Wisconsin Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *Tax News,* September 29, 1948. 2 pp.

Departmental Maintenance Expenditures, 1947. Appropriations for Departmental Maintenance, 1948. (For 106 Massachusetts towns.) Boston, Boston University, Bureau of Public Administration, 1948. Charts. 25 cents each.

Facts and Figures on Government Finance, 1948-49. (Covers fiscal operations of federal, state and local governments.) New York, Tax Foundation, 1948. 143 pp. tables, graphs.

Financing Municipal Government in Denver. A Review of Revenue and Expenditure Trends of Municipal Government in Denver and a Description and Appraisal of Possible Measures for Increasing City Income. By E. T. Halaas and H. E. Hurst. Denver, University of Denver, Bureau of Business and Social Research, 1948. 84 pp. tables, charts.

A Half Billion Dollars in Estimated Capital Improvements. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* December 20, 1948. 3 pp.

Income and Expenditures of Government in California, 1910 to 1948. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* November 1948. 32 pp. tables.

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Personal Property Taxes. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* September 1948. 8 pp.

Property Taxes to Exceed Forty Millions. Helena, Montana Taxpayers' Association, *Montana Taxpayer,* September 1948. 2 pp.

Recent Trends in Local Taxes, 1942-47. (Indicates the relative productiveness of the various revenue sources.) New York, Tax Foundation, 1948. 21 pp.

Report on Apportionment of the Gasoline Tax. Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, September 1948. 33 pp. tables.

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The rights of unions of public employees as distinguished from those of private employees have attained growing importance to all administrators and have not been quieted by learned dissertations as to precedents in law. There is more of the problem ahead of us than behind us! Mr. Spero, with long experience in labor relations, sets forth narratively the story of the numerous struggles that have developed in the years since Calvin Coolidge, as governor of Massachusetts, crushed the Boston police strike with the dictum, "one cannot strike against the government." This author concludes, "The issue admits of no final solution but only of working arrangements which leave intact the basic claims of each party."

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(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

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Training for Public Service

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TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 100)

by the regulation. In these places, 25 per cent of the total charge made is deemed the charge of admission and the tax is computed on that basis. In most cases admission taxes are passed on to patrons.

All operators of places of amusement and entertainment that come under these regulations are required to post bond and secure an amusement tax permit.

Pennsylvania requires similar permits of operators of taverns. In 1947 the courts upheld the right of the state to require tavern operators to pay the state for an amusement permit if they used television sets to attract trade.

The court ruled to that effect in a decision which held that motion pictures and television were identical so far as the state liquor control act was concerned. The act specifies that drinking establishments must obtain amusement permits for dancing, theatricals, floor shows or moving picture exhibitions other than those operated by patrons.

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PERIODICAL DEPT.

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXVIII, No. 3 Total Number 386

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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Home Rule for Whom?

A FEW months ago the voters of Peoria rejected a proposal to adopt the commission form of government. A number of civic organizations, dissatisfied with their weak mayor form, campaigned vigorously for the change. Other equally civic-minded citizens fought it in a bitter, close contest. Holding no brief for the present system, they simply objected to jumping from the old frying pan into the fire of the thoroughly discredited commission plan.

Why this futile performance? The evidence of the campaign is that the people of Peoria are far from stupid. They are in a cage and the jailer is the Illinois legislature which for years has proved quite unsympathetic to fundamental needs of citizens of the larger cities. Peoria has no way of obtaining either of the two forms of government recognized as best for American cities—the council-manager plan or the strong mayor plan.

The American Municipal Association, the national parent organization of state leagues of municipalities, has defined home rule as the right of the people "to handle their own affairs," including their right "to choose their own form of government, not merely to operate a government given them by the state."

This right is violated most grievously when, as in Illinois, the only forms of government made available to most cities are forms which no competent authority would endorse. Unfortunately, Illinois is not the only state which forbids essential local self-government.

The real solution is, of course, full constitutional home rule; that is, a constitutional grant of power to the people of any municipality to frame their own charter and so to determine their own form of government and, within reasonable limits, the scope of its powers and activities.

So far, only a minority of the state constitutions provide this kind of home rule and some of those do not extend it to all municipalities. There is, however, a legislative route to substantial home rule. One of the best blueprints for this has been offered by the New Jersey Commission on Municipal Government, whose recommendations are now before the state legislature.

New Jersey municipalities are almost as badly off as Peoria. There is no strong mayor option generally available and the New Jersey city manager act has been impaired by an unsound provision for tenure for managers and other blemishes. Most New Jersey municipalities have some variation of commission or weak mayor forms.

The Commission on Municipal Government, headed by Bayard Faulkner, former town commissioner of Montclair, would extend to New Jersey municipalities the right to choose between the council-manager plan and variant forms of the strong mayor plan. The commission takes what it describes as "an adverse view" of the notorious commission form of government and recommends that it be no longer available for new adoptions.

The Faulkner commission would

also go as far as possible without constitutional amendment to meet another requirement of home rule defined by the American Municipal Association as the right of the people "to decide for themselves what services they require, without asking state permission for each new undertaking."

The Faulkner plan is to reward municipalities for modernizing their structure by relieving them of many mandatory requirements and giving them broad powers of local self-government rather than a strict list of powers. Under the new state constitution it would be the duty of the courts to construe these broad powers liberally and resolve all doubts in favor of the municipality.

Recognizing that citizen interest and participation are the basis of good government, the Faulkner report would encourage citizen study of existing governments and the possibility of improving them. In any municipality that has not, prior to 1955, adopted a new form or voted on the question of having a charter commission to advise on needed improvements, the question of electing a charter commission would be put on the ballot automatically.

The Faulkner report has been joyfully welcomed by an impressive cross-section of civic organizations, including the State Chamber of Commerce, the New Jersey Taxpayers Association, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the League of Women Voters and the CIO. Only opposition reported is from some municipal officials who feel hurt at the castigation of the commission form or who dislike provisions which encourage citizen inquiry, especially the provision for a vote not later than 1955.

Apparently, not all members of the New Jersey State League of Municipalities are in accord with the home rule plank of their national body, the American Municipal Association, which stresses the right of the *people* of a city to choose their own form of government.

Such official opposition explains one weakness which has always bedeviled the plea of cities for greater home rule. Too often, the plea is simply for more leeway for municipal officials, not greater opportunity for citizens to look into what is going on in city hall and to change the picture if they don't like what they see.

The battle now on in New Jersey is worth watching — by Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania and all other states where the citizens of cities and towns are still denied elementary rights of self-government.

Committee on Accounting Named

President Charles Edison has appointed the following National Municipal League Committee on Governmental Accounting to serve the recently reactivated National Committee on Municipal Accounting in an advisory capacity: A. E. Buck, Institute of Public Administration, chairman; Frederick L. Bird, director of municipal research, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc.; John S. Linen, vice president, Chase National Bank; Joseph D. McGoldrick, attorney; Russell McInnes attorney; and Sanders Shanks, Jr., editor, *The Bond Buyer*. Mr. Buck will serve as a member of the National Committee, which will consist of the chairmen of the committees of several national organizations.

Drama Gets Out the Vote

Richmond's 'Gold Feather Day' overcomes citizen apathy and brings ten times usual number of voters to the polls.

By CHARLES HENRY HAMILTON*

ED P. PHILLIPS, a sandy-haired, 200-pound Richmond businessman, does not look particularly dramatic. Yet, in fighting his way up to a position of prominence in Virginia's capital city, he has learned that success involves a certain amount of drama.

One of the fundamentals, he holds, is the art of being dramatic at the right time and in the right way. Because of his beliefs, the city of Richmond is the scene of something new in politics—something new in civic government. Equally important, it is an idea that can be carried out successfully anywhere.

It is the "Gold Feather" method of getting out a record-breaking vote. Richmond has used the plan twice—with the necessary drama—and each time has set a new mark at the polls.

Because an apathetic electorate nearly always means a diseased government, Phillips believes his plan will be of interest to many cities.

Few cities anywhere matched Richmond, a few years ago, in lack of interest at the polls. It had a cumbersome 32-man bicameral city council. Although there was no hint of corruption in city hall politics, it was generally believed that the "city hall vote" was enough to swing any local issue. For example, in one city election for mayor, in 1944, there were only 2,944 votes cast—and the number of employees on the city's payroll at that time was 2,987.

There were, of course, vague rumblings of discontent from time to time in this city of 238,000. The Richmond First Club, a civic group, was particularly active in studies of city government. As interest slowly mounted, Dr. Douglas S. Freeman, editor of *The News Leader,* put forward a suggestion that a citizens' association be formed. This spark kindled the fire that finally swept out the old form of government and brought in a new charter with a city manager and a nine-man council.

One of the leaders throughout the fight was dynamic Ed Phillips. His attention particularly was caught by statistics compiled on Richmonders' voting habits. He learned that in six elections prior to May 1945 only 3 per cent of residents of voting age had cast ballots. City employees voted in strength—an average of 78 per cent of them in the six elections. Firemen topped the employees; 98 per cent of them voted. Other groups took far less interest: only about half the city's doctors, bankers and school teachers cast ballots, 18.5 per cent of the ministers, and only two-fifths of one per cent of the nurses.

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*Mr. Hamilton has been with the Richmond *News Leader* since his graduation from college in 1926, ten years as a sports writer and sports editor and the last thirteen as city editor. He has written both fiction and articles for a number of publications, including the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Reader's Digest.*

In other words, the record showed that Richmonders had been alarmingly indifferent to municipal affairs. Yet it also was a matter of record that, once aroused as in the early stages of the charter fight, they would take an interest in their civic future.

"I was thinking about all this in the spring of last year before our councilmanic election," says Phillips. "It was most important to get out a big vote and elect a good council. I wondered why we couldn't pull together all the time at the polls. Why, we could get together and raise a million dollars for the Community Chest; in that movement, we had a way every year of reaching into every group and class. What was the difference? Why was one a failure and the other a dramatic success? One cost nothing but effort—and failed; the other cost money—and succeeded."

Gold Feather Emblem

It didn't add up for this student of business. The Community Chest movement quite evidently had something in large quantities that a get-out-the-vote endeavor sadly lacked. And then Phillips pounced on the answer.

"It was drama that the chest had and that we lacked," he says. "I saw the principle: you have to supply color, excitement, something to use as a symbol. You need a rallying point. For the Community Chest the symbol was a red feather. Why, all over America, the red feather is a symbol of sharing, of shouldering your part of the community's load."

And what did he do about it? It didn't take him long to come up with a plan.

"I decided that a gold feather should be used as an emblem. It would be handed out to every voter as he left the polls. It would be worn as a sign that he had done his civic duty; that he was taking an interest and a part in his government. And it also would serve still another purpose—folks who hadn't voted would be reminded to do their duty."

He paused and thought a moment.

"That was what was in the back of my head—make the gold feather mean to voting what the red feather means to the Community Chest. Something you wear with pride! Something you share with the other fellow! In short, that was the drama we needed, I thought. That was the rallying point."

That also was just the beginning of his troubles, as he soon found. For one thing, it was decided early that the Richmond Citizens Association should not sponsor the movement because it had a slate of candidates in the 1948 councilmanic election. Phillips knew that a get-out-the-vote movement had to be impartial to succeed. The idea for everyone was "Vote! No matter how you vote, be sure you vote!"

"We knew we simply had to get the folks to the polls," says Phillips. "We finally had battered our way through to a new form of government—and yet, we might lose everything we had gained if we didn't elect alert, progressive councilmen. That's why the Richmond Citizens Association had decided, somewhat belatedly and reluctantly, that it had to sponsor a slate of nine men. We didn't want the 'city hall vote,' at the last minute, to wreck all that we had done."

Because Gold Feather Day had to be a city-wide project rather than a Richmond Citizens Association undertaking, Phillips saw that as an association officer he would have to step from the spotlight. So he went to Mayor Horace H. Edwards of the expiring city government and asked his help. Edwards, thoroughly sympathetic to the new movement, promptly officially proclaimed the forthcoming municipal election as Richmond Day—Gold Feather Day.

Finding a Leader

The mayor also named Henry S. Holland, III, an aggressive, vigorous young businessman, as Gold Feather chairman. Then came a period of intensive work.

Under the leadership of Holland, the movement was "sold" to Democrats, to Republicans, to labor and to management.

"You see," says Phillips, with a twinkle in his eye, "it simply wouldn't do for any political party to frown on a big vote; you can get politicians' help because they can't afford to turn you down."

The Inter-Club Council, made up of representatives from Rotary, Kiwanis and all the other civic clubs, was an invaluable aid at this juncture. It provided a quick way of carrying messages to that important field. Because Gold Feather Day was nonpartisan, it also could be introduced into the schools.

"If you want to start something like this, don't overlook the kids," warns Phillips. "They become intensely interested. We found those high school boys and girls more than just a help. Why, the way they chipped in and helped was a real inspiration to everybody else."

"Yes, and don't forget the women," adds Holland, while Phillips nods agreement. "We went to all the women's clubs and let me tell you we were amazed. Sometimes we found some men's group lagging; that was never true of the women. Our motto became: 'If you want the job done, give it to the women.' I'd say that they easily did 60 per cent of all our work."

"Don't overlook the churches, either," says Phillips. "We found that ministers were glad to mention Gold Feather Day from the pulpit. We contacted them all, and they called attention of their congregations to this civic undertaking. They could do it, you see, because we had purposely made the whole thing nonpartisan."

Work also had to be done on other angles of the Gold Feather Day. Phillips, as a thorough student of the American scene, knew that giveaway programs carry an irresistible allure. He had pondered how to link that up with getting out the vote. He had an idea and he got in touch with lawyers and then wrote federal authorities in Washington.

Approval was given to his plan, which combined features of door prizes and quiz prizes.

Richmonders were told that merely by voting they would be given a gold feather. This feather in turn would be the only requirement for attendance at a citizens' rally, where a long list of prizes would be given away.

Anyone could attend the rally, in company with a feather-wearer, but only the wearer would be eligible for prizes. Richmond merchants approved the idea and donated prizes of every description worth nearly $4,000. The plan called for each feather-wearer to be given a program bearing two numbers, one of these numbers to be torn off and dropped into a barrel. From time to time, during the rally, numbers would be drawn. Then the holder of the corresponding number would advance to the platform, answer an easy quiz question, and get his prize.

Grand Prize Quiz

"For the grand prize, of course, it was to be a little different," says Phillips. "Several numbers would be drawn and there would be some really interesting civic questions used in the quiz, with persons dropping out as they missed."

At this stage of proceedings, it might be well to call attention to the fact that Phillips' early dream of a bit of drama in elections really had worked into something. The original idea of the Community Chest feather had grown into extensive plumage. It also had grown into a terrific promotional job—but Henry Holland and his associates loved it.

Gold Feather Day was plugged in the press, on the radio, from the pulpit, in schools—everywhere in Richmond.

The women's organizations made 60,000 telephone calls; they mailed out 7,000 more appeals to vote.

The Richmond Citizens Association volunteered to furnish "baby sitters" for home-bound mothers; further, transportation was offered if needed.

The promotional organization was perfected to the point where it reached into every city block.

When the municipal election rolled around, last June 8, citizens went to the polls as they never had done before in a city election. It will be remembered that just four years earlier, fewer than 3,000 voted; this time, there was a record vote in the neighborhood of 29,000.

Nothing like it ever had been experienced in a Richmond city election. There were 29 candidates, including the nine-man slate of the Richmond Citizens Association. When returns finally were tabulated, eight of the association men were victorious, along with Oliver W. Hill, a Negro candidate who had the backing of his people.

The Negroes, incidentally, were sympathetic to the Gold Feather campaign, but did not take part because of segregation laws.

"We believe in your idea," one of the Negro leaders told Phillips, "but we cannot endorse anything which calls for a segregated audience. That means we cannot attend your Gold Feather celebration in the city stadium."

As the election returns proved, many white voters backed Hill, too, because they believed that the large Negro population should have a voice in council.

The night of June 8 saw the finale of the first Gold Feather Day at the city stadium, where some 6,500 gathered — admission, one Gold Feather each. The local radio stations provided talent for a stage show; other organizations also offered entertainment; experienced commentators gave election returns as they were available; in between, drawings brought out lucky numbers and quizzes on the stage provided thrills and fun for the crowd.

The "grand prize winner" was Marshall Bowles, of 2402 Third Avenue. He won everything from an all-expense trip to New York to an aluminum boat, assorted radios, quantities of tobacco, coffee, several tons of coal. The list seemed endless, even a complete steak dinner!

Symbol Proves Itself

There was no doubt, of course, as to the success of Phillips' Gold Feather method of getting out the vote. In the final analysis, it was not simply the give-away idea that attracted the citizens; only about one voter in five attended the give-away show. Phillips figured he had been right from the start; what was needed was a symbol, a rallying point, and all other things were incidental.

The cost of the whole affair, including stadium expense, gold feathers and all promotion, was only $1,000, says Phillips; he thriftily adds that the entire sum was donated by various civic clubs.

Organizations all over the city poured congratulations on Holland and Phillips. They, in turn, already were asking themselves: "So far, so good; but what next?"

The answer came when the Richmond Citizens Association decided it could not afford to retire from the voting scene. Continual interest at the polls, said the association, is the only answer to continued good government.

So, as the general election of last November approached, the association again offered the Gold Feather plan to the electorate. This time the association did not have any candidates, so it could take a leading part. Holland again was chairman, after another proclamation by the mayor. This time it was Mayor Stirling King—an association member—a new mayor under a new form of government.

Phillips, head of the association, and Holland worked tirelessly, just as they had done before. And the vote? Why, this time it was 35,214!

The biggest vote previously recorded in the city had been in 1944, in the general election, when 31,387 votes were cast.

In other words, in two elections—one municipal and one general—the Gold Feather method broke records each time.

Because of bad November weather, coupled with candidates' celebrations, attendance at the second Gold Feather rally did not exceed 3,000. The weather had not kept voters from the polls, it will be noted, but only from the give-away part of the program. Again, the radio stations took the lead in providing entertainment, which this time had to be indoors.

"Somehow or other," said Phillips, in a recent interview, "this second show meant a lot to me.

(Continued on page 129)

Demands on States Grow

Housing, education, institutions, highways seen among major needs calling for unprecedented financial assistance.

By JOHN S. LINEN*

INCREASED services and expanded public improvement programs are to be expected of state and local governments during the next few years. Some of the accumulated backlog of projects deferred by depression, war and postwar inflation can wait no longer. Certain types of public construction, like housing, and the expanding of public services in various fields, like better hospitalization, better sewage disposal, disease control and health protection programs, are the result of new concepts and of changes in our economy which affect the relative availability of public and private financing for certain needed or desirable activities.

These developments have already begun to show in increased sales of state and local bonds. They have immense future significance for investors and for all our citizens.

Because the year 1948 established some noteworthy records in state and municipal finance it is appropriate to review a few of the most interesting events.

An all time high was reached in total amount of state and municipal bonds sold, the *Bond Buyer* reporting the figure at $2,983,427,653. This compares with totals for 1943, $507,566,466; 1946, $1,203,557,909; 1947, $2,353,771,562.

There were special reasons for this large volume, the most important being bonus financing by some of the large states, notably New York, Illinois and Ohio. There was also an increasing volume of public revenue financing which included $134,000,000 Pennsylvania Turnpike bonds and a growing volume of bonds in support of federal, state or locally aided housing projects.

Short term loans of housing authority issues amounting to nearly $500,000,000 in 1948 are not included in the total. The amount of short term financing, including these housing issues, was just over a billion dollars. Thus, the total of all tax-exempt financing was nearly four billions.

Persons actively interested in the municipal bond market have been amazed at the ability of the market to absorb this extraordinary volume of new issues without affecting the price level more adversely than has been the case.

The benefits of tax exemption are becoming more widely understood and appreciated, although there doubtless are still large numbers of individual and corporate investors to whom tax exemption would mean a great deal in improving net income but who don't even suspect that there is such a thing as a bond

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PERIODICAL DEPT.

the income from which is free from federal income taxes.

Buyers of equity securities are frequently seeking capital gains. If these are realized, a good slice goes for taxes. A well balanced investment position should include some tax-exempt municipal bonds in many cases where they are not given a moment's consideration.

The fact that many municipal bonds are non-callable has in years past paid extraordinary benefits to holders of such securities. While the rates prevailing today do not hold great promise of substantial profits, I recall very well a sale to an institutional customer of a sizable block of city of Louisville, Kentucky, 4½s of 1969 at 102½ in 1932. We bought these same bonds back in 1941 at a price of 159⅛. Here was a 50 per cent profit in practically a riskless investment so far as security of principal was concerned.

A substantial change in interest rates can, of course, result in a material change in the market value of any long term bonds, but the risk of any loss of principal or interest in the case of any reasonably well selected municipal obligation is small. The experience in equities in poor markets has been less favorable and this may also be said of corporate bonds.

In pointing out the merits of tax exempt securities, I do not, of course, wish to disparage stock purchases on appropriate occasions nor would I deprecate the value of corporate bonds. One of the serious shortcomings in our present national economy is the difficulty which surrounds desirable equity financing. There are many reasons for this, one of the most important being the high level of federal income taxes on individuals and corporations. It is because of these taxes that much money that should and under other circumstances would go into equities is seeking the shelter of tax-exempt securities.

Effect of New Issues

I am not persuaded that the prospective volume of municipal bond issues will of itself force the price level much below present rates during the year, although there promises to be an abundant supply of new issues. The accumulation of needs for public improvements during the past decade, in spite of substantial federal grants and assistance, is tremendous. Added to these are newly conceived purposes, such as slum clearing and low cost housing and bonus financing, full authorization of which is in some instances still pending.

A federal housing bill will probably be passed by Congress. The bill under consideration, if passed, may have an important effect upon municipal bond prices as it contemplates the sale, over a period of years, of about nine billion dollars' worth of bonds, interest on which, it is expected, will be exempt from the federal income tax. If and when this program gets under way it may conceivably increase the annual volume of tax-exempt financing by as much as a billion and a half dollars. This added volume would without question adversely affect the price level and if the program is expedited, so that long term financing is inaugurated in any volume later this year, I would expect the market to give ground.

The related volume of corporate financing and the market support or non-support of present day values will, in my judgment, also have an important bearing on the ultimate trend of municipal bond prices.

The increasing demands being made particularly upon state governments and the obligations they have been willing to assume deserve study.

The housing problem is acute in many areas and the large amount of public funds directed by both the federal and state governments to alleviate this need has brought great assistance and long range relief. Anyone who has seen some of these larger projects in operation must be impressed with the constructive health and social gains they make possible. Veterans and their families have appropriately received preferential treatment.

Large new housing projects in turn create needs for relocated school facilities, water and sewer extensions, new roads and parking accommodations.

School capital and operating needs and costs have made unprecedented claims upon state revenues. Local governments cannot in many cases support the higher costs prevailing today without a greater share of state aid. The increasing difficulty of the higher educational institutions, which until now have been privately supported and operated, is likely ultimately to place heavier responsibilities upon state or local municipal colleges and universities. The possibility exists, whether we like it or not, that some public assistance to private institutions may have to be given if our educational standards and facilities are to be maintained.

Educational Program

A public policy is short-sighted indeed that provides acceptable physical properties for education but fails to support a teaching staff that assures a character of personnel suitable to direct the reasoning processes and thinking of our youth. Some of the social problems that plague us are doubtless due to lack of suitable leadership and instruction in our educational institutions.

The individual freedoms and the independent thinking which have helped make this nation great in opportunities and privilege require both individual restraints and a measure of wisdom and consideration for others if we are to deserve the benefits of these blessings and continue to enjoy them. With the protection given to the personal and civic liberties we enjoy there should go instruction that will emphasize the extent of these benefits and privileges as compared with those available to citizens of other countries. With all of our shortcomings and the costliness of political maneuvering in our democratic form of government, which we are so free to criticize, we belittle and forget the priceless and hard won possessions which are our heritage.

It is a human failing to accept the good things of life as our natural right and to raise our voices only to complain or criticize. It is especially desirable, therefore, that our educational program develop in young people respect, understanding and appreciation of the unusual liberties and privileges we have as citizens of the U. S. A., as well as an ability to distinguish our imperfections and constructively to criticize our errors and wrongdoings.

Little need be said about state institutional care, including hospitalization for the mentally ill and penal institutions, beyond the fact that not much was done during the war to improve facilities, if indeed adequate provision was made for maintenance and replacements. Attention to many such needs must not be longer delayed.

A related subject vital to our national health is local hospital operation. This problem is increasingly difficult because of greatly stepped up costs and an inability to make charges that will cover the costs for all patients. Patients in private and semi-private rooms are now charged as much as can be reasonably asked, but substantial deficits are plaguing both public and privately supported hospitals, with no relief in sight except from the state government. Local governments are unable to meet the increased costs in their already crowded budgets.

This tendency of essential local service agencies to lean more and more on state, and in some cases on federal, assistance should be recognized as unfortunate and away from the fundamental concepts of our democracy in action. A more wholesome local support is engendered both financially and in volunteer service when a community feels that the hospital and other social service agencies are its own projects and they must in some way succeed. Constructive and systematic encouragement for joint employer and employee insurance against hospital and medical costs is one means of giving effective assistance.

The cost of a long and protracted illness requiring hospitalization and special nursing is a frightening thing to families even in a fairly liberal income bracket. Where protections can be availed of, it is desirable that this be done.

Bonuses for Veterans

Because of a natural desire to express appreciation to the returned veterans by a specific act, there has been a reluctance on the part both of the public and public officials to balance the essential need of bonus payments against other demands, such as those already discussed, which serve the veterans and the public as well.

When all the various public needs that are pressing for attention are listed in their appropriate order, depending upon the circumstances and the state involved, one cannot but admire the realistic and forthright position taken by the newly elected governor of North Carolina, Hon. William Kerr Scott. On the subject of a state bond issue to pay a cash bonus to the veterans of World War II, he said:

> These men and women merit every consideration the state can show them in gratitude for their sacrifice,

> but I am convinced that the majority of veterans do not desire to be set apart as a special class. A great many of them have told me that, and also that the best bonus their state can grant them is better government and improved public services that will bring about better living conditions and open greater avenues of opportunity. That, also, is my belief.

California has dealt with veterans' needs in an interesting way. Recognizing the acute situation in housing and the establishment of returned veterans in productive occupations, a veterans' loan plan, under the title of Veterans' Farm and Home Purchase Plan, was financed by the sale of general obligation bonds of the state. This plan was inaugurated in 1921 and was simply expanded to meet present day needs. Through 1947 approximately 7,500 veterans of World War II had purchased properties with this assistance. This plan has functioned very successfully. It has aided veterans constructively by helping them secure both homes and farms, thereby meeting the problems of housing and occupation. Furthermore, the loans are reported as being maintained in satisfactory form, thus placing the operation on a sound business basis.

While discussing California it is appropriate to speak of a less laudable development, the old age pension constitutional amendment proposition initiated by petition and approved by a majority of the voters last November.

The dangers in this enactment have developed a good deal of consternation and apprehension. Briefly, it provides for an increase in pension allowances which will add an undetermined annual charge on the state treasury estimated to run from $110,000,000 to $163,000,000. No specific provisions were made for these additional revenues in the initiative act, but more important still is the fact that the language was so vague as to raise some doubt as to whether this claim against the state treasury may not rank ahead of the state's allocation of school aid to local governmental units, the payment of wages to state employees or state debt service.

Unsound Initiative Measures

This sounds too fantastic to deserve any credence, which makes it all the more important that the country understand the threat of unsound measures initiated by self-interest groups without appropriate checking as to practicability, language used and simultaneous provision for adequate revenues. Happily there is some possibility of the whole proposition being repealed by another referendum. The very fact that the amendment is so bad gives reason to hope the need for its repeal or substantial modification will be better understood and acted upon.

In conclusion, the financial demands on state governments will be more varied than in times past and more significant in their effect upon our economic and social life than may be fully recognized at present.

Rhode Island Tries Primary

New law gives advantage to party committee designees but opens door to opponents, few of whom win in first election.

By **RICHARD S. CHILDS***

TRAILING in the 60-year procession, Rhode Island in 1948 adopted direct primary in place of the discredited caucus and convention system. It held its first official party primary for state and municipal elections in September. There are no county or judicial elections in Rhode Island and the idea of separation of state and municipal elections has not yet reached it.

The new law is in general a good one. It provides for a closed primary; official ward, district and state committees with a simple and fixed structure; official ballots; official count and simple procedure for securing a place on the primary ballot. The deadline for filing is the same for candidates endorsed by the official party committees as for others.

One feature is novel and provides the justification for this examination. The provision reads, "The names of candidates having the endorsement of their party committees shall be printed in the first column at the right of the title of the offices they seek and shall be marked with an asterisk."

Charles Evans Hughes, if he knew of this feature of the law before he died, would have been interested, for it was a feature of the Hinman-Green bill which he valiantly and unavailingly supported as governor of New York in 1907-1911. His idea was novel at the time and its acceptance in the Rhode Island law is apparently the first in any of the direct primary laws.

His proposal provided for identification of the official committee designees and a three weeks' waiting period after the designations were made so that voters could examine the irrevocable lists submitted by party committees and have the remaining period of three weeks in which to file petitions for opposing candidates.

Governor Hughes expounded his theory in a famous speech in Buffalo in 1909:

"In the case of candidates for public office, as the committee designation is first presented it receives first place on the ballot under the title of the office. Other candidates appear in the order in which the petitions designating them are filed. There can be no objection to this, as necessarily the name presented as the designation of the committee which has been chosen in the manner stated is presented to be approved or disapproved. But to avoid any improper advantage being derived from giving it this logical place, all the names on the ballot are consecutively numbered so that each candidate has his own identifying number. . . .

"The bill also allows proper time for the designation of candidates by petition after the designations by party committees are filed. Thus party committee designations are to be filed on or before the seventh Tuesday before the primary and those by petition on or before the fourth Tuesday before the primary.

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"Meetings of party committees to designate candidates are to be public and the procedure is regulated. The roll is called and each committeeman desiring to present a candidate must in his turn arise and announce the name he wishes to propose. Then there is a second roll call for a vote upon the names so presented. If there is no choice, there is another roll call for the presentation of names and then another one for the vote upon the names.

"The candidate selected for the committee designation must receive a majority of all the votes entitled to be cast by all the members of the committee whether present or not. Each committeeman therefore must go on record openly before his constituents. Whatever secret consultations or meetings may have been had, the time comes when each one must declare himself responsible. . . .

"Opportunity will be afforded for investigating the genesis of candidacies, the relationships of the men proposed as candidates and all objections to their character and qualifications. The fact that this opportunity exists will be a powerful deterrent from the suggestion of men who will not bear investigation. . . .

"Each candidate may be subjected to scrutiny and if the party voters are dissatisfied with anyone on the list, they will have opportunity to express their opposition."

Governor Hughes glossed over the question of having official designees identified as such by first position on the ballot for this was at the time opposed by local civic groups such as the Citizens' Union of New York City and, in later years, the Progressive party, which presented what it regarded as an improved measure in 1913. The feeling was that first position, particularly in cases where there were numerous candidates and a mild campaign, would give party leaders advantages which had nothing to do with the merits of their candidates. (The Hinman-Green bill, however, required all nominations for party committeemen to be made by petition and placed on the ballot in alphabetical order.)

In his last speech on the subject, delivered at the 1920 convention of the National Municipal League, of which he was then president, Mr. Hughes made no mention of the identification feature.[1]

Identification Debated

During the preparation of the Rhode Island law, identification of party committee designees on the ballot by the asterisk was extensively debated. It does not appear that the name of Charles Evans Hughes was invoked but the same theory, that easy identification of the regular nominees would be a bit of information desired as well as needed by many of the voters so that they could vote those candidates up or down as they pleased, was potent in securing adoption of the asterisk on the primary ballots.

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[1] See the REVIEW, January 1921, pages 23-31.

It is not possible from the first trial of this system in Rhode Island to draw any convincing conclusions. The Democratic and Republican primaries were held nine days apart. The Republicans on September 20 turned out to the extent of nearly 50 per cent of the eligibles with, of course, larger turnouts in cities where the mayoralty or the congressional designees were encountering competition. Typical outcomes:

For U. S. senator—Hazard (endorsed) 31,961, Jackvony 11,677, Sundlun 9,960; for governor—Ruerat (endorsed) 30,045, Archambault 18,879, Windsor 3,285. The endorsed candidates for lieutenant governor, secretary of state and attorney general each had opponents with similar outcomes; the endorsed candidate for general treasurer had no opposition.

One nominee for Congress had no opposition; the other endorsed candidate, Paolino, secured 11,017 votes against three competitors whose votes were 8,488, 5,326 and 1,068. The endorsed candidate for mayor of Providence got 9,254 votes versus an opponent with 3,854, and similar percentages ruled in five other cities. In the remaining city the endorsee had no opposition.

For the state assembly, in the 27 districts two endorsees were defeated, in 23 the endorsees won and in two there were no contests. A scatteration of defeats for endorsed candidates occurred in some municipal wards among Rhode Island's seven cities.

In the Democratic primary on September 30 one-third of the eligible voters turned out and contests were much scarcer. There were no contests against the endorsees for senator, governor, lieutenant governor or secretary of state. Endorsees won both congressional nominations and all the mayoralty nominations in the several cities.

Rhode Island has been Democratic for some years but the activity in the Republican party reflected hopes for a great party comeback.

Law Worked Satisfactorily

The Providence *Journal-Bulletin,* a high grade newspaper which covers the state like a blanket, editorially reported satisfaction with the working of the law as compared with the obscurity of the prior nomination process. There were complaints of fraudulent signatures to nominating petitions of some contestants; persons who had not signed received thank you letters from the candidates. Votes were cast on machines supplemented by paper ballots in some localities where the length of the ballot, including nine ward committee members, carried the list beyond the machine's capacity.

Leaders of both parties were behind the insistence on the provision of the law for the asterisk and the advantageous first-column position on the voting machines. The outcome of the contests at the first trial may or may not support their preference, for the number of persons who competed against endorsees in the

Republican party and the considerable support which some of them secured, may have been a surprise.

There was no pervasive rebellion against the authorities of either party; the contests were by individuals who were disappointed at failure to receive endorsement and in one important case, that of Mr. Main, an outstanding critic of the party management in Woonsocket, the Republican nomination for mayor was obtained not at the primary poll but by success in securing the endorsement.

The reporting of the election exhibits with great clarity the fact that the responsibility of the official party managers is highly emphasized by labelling their candidates on the ballot. Whether this caused them to cater more deferentially to the rank and file vote, which obviously ran far beyond the habitual attendance at caucuses, is hard to know. At any rate, the next morning's news was all in terms of the success and occasional non-success of the "endorsed candidates" all over the state. Whether the result will be more contests, or fewer, in future elections remains to be learned from further experience.

DRAMA GETS OUT THE VOTE

(Continued from page 120)

"I guess it was because the kids played such a large part in it. You know, at one place in the program the Thomas Jefferson High School band provided the music as John Marshall High cadets stepped up, in turn, with the flags of the United Nations and placed them about the stage.

"Then Sue Hallam, president of the John Marshall student body, gave a beautiful little talk on what all this meant to youth. There were lots of other things, too," and here the voice of this matter-of-fact, broad-shouldered businessman grew quite soft, "but those kids! They're Richmond; they're America. If we can keep *them* interested, good government will take care of itself."

The Gold Feather plan, with all its attendant drama, appears firmly rooted in Richmond. It seems equally certain that the plan would work anywhere.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

Our 'Exploding' Big Cities

Great urban centers 'may crumble about us' unless we find orderly plan for dispersion of people, trade and industry.

By **WILLIAM L. C. WHEATON***

THE decentralization of our cities is certainly not news to those concerned largely with municipal affairs, who are aware that the last two decennial census reports showed declines in population for a number of central cities. They are familiar with the growing tendency for new homes, factories and stores to be located outside our central cities.

Some of the major problems that have resulted from this trend are traffic congestion, loss of tax values, and the difficulties of maintaining services for large non-taxpaying day-time populations.

My thesis is quite simple. Our cities are disintegrating and spreading out into the countryside at a much more rapid rate than we realize. The economic and technical forces which held cities together have largely disappeared and we are upon the verge of a further and more rapid disintegration which may alter the structure of our cities radically within relatively few years as the history of cities is counted. Our cities are literally exploding over the American landscape.

In the last great building boom 80 per cent of our new non-farm homes were built within the boundaries of cities and towns. Only 20 per cent were built in what are called non-farm areas, that is, outside the boundaries of incorporated places of 2,500 or greater population. In 1945, 34 per cent of our housing was built in such rural areas. In 1946 the proportion jumped to 38 per cent and in 1947 it jumped again to 43 per cent. At the present time nearly 60 per cent of new residential construction is either wholly outside incorporated cities or towns or in the smaller towns that are beyond what have hitherto been regarded as developed city areas.

A recent sample survey by the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicates that less than a third of new residential construction is going into central cities. In such widely scattered cities as Atlanta, Washington, D. C., and San Francisco, 75 per cent of the new construction has been outside the city. If a high level of residential construction is maintained, this factor alone could siphon almost 30 per cent of our present urban population into the country by 1960.

I do not believe it possible, but these ratios suggest that our present cities might lose half their present population in less than a generation. I would also like to point out that many factors in the residential construction scene in the last two years have served to prevent rather than to encourage more rapid decentralization and that the prospect appears to be for more rather than less decentralization in the future.

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*Mr. Wheaton is associate professor of regional planning at Harvard University. Formerly assistant to the director of parks and public properties in Cleveland, Mr. Wheaton was with the National Housing Agency, later the Housing and Home Finance Agency, as organization officer and then as special assistant to the administrator.

Let us consider next the location of retail trade. Although the data are quite inadequate, various studies indicate that during the 30s central city shopping areas lost from 5 to 10 per cent of their trade to suburban areas. Apparently they have already lost some similar proportion of the total volume of retail trade during this decade.

Suburban Shopping Centers

In addition, the spectacular successes of a number of outlying shopping centers, buttressed by increasingly hopeless traffic and parking problems in central areas, have led retail merchandisers into a mass movement in favor of suburban locations. A majority of the major department stores are apparently either building or planning suburban stores; major chain stores have discovered that their outlying locations are turning in increasingly higher ratios of their gross business.

The latest expression of this trend is the development of major shopping centers located fifteen to twenty miles away from the centers of cities in open country and catering exclusively to automobile trade. Several such centers are already under construction and doubtless they will be only the first of many. A friend who lives on Riverside Drive, New York City, tells me she can shop more quickly and pleasantly in Westchester County, ten miles away, than she can on Broadway, four blocks from her home. This is symptomatic of a revolution in shopping. In a recent study of shopping areas the reasoned assumption was that central shopping areas would lose 30 per cent of their business to suburban centers in the next decade.

Industry too is moving out of the city. Power, labor supply, markets and transportation, which formerly pulled industries into the city, can now be made available more readily and more cheaply outside the city. There are no adequate data on general trends in industrial location,[1] but the trend is sufficiently widespread to be known to all. According to one study technical changes in production have more than doubled land requirements for many types of plants, and this alone is a strong decentralizing influence. Horizontal production lines, the ease and economy of truck transportation, wider use of electric power, need for parking space for employees, costs of congestion and high tax rates are certainly strong influences making for decentralization. Probably only the factor of capital investment prevents a more rapid shift and this will not operate indefinitely. The encouragement now being given to decentralization by defense authorities will accelerate the trend.

Why are our cities exploding? More than 30 years ago new methods of electric power transmission and the development of the automobile lit a delayed-action time bomb under our cities. Twenty years of depression and war have prevented that bomb from going off.

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[1] One might cite war plant location. See also series of articles in the *Wall Street Journal* in 1948.

In the five years, 1924-1929, the number of motor vehicles in the United States increased by roughly nine million. For the next five years the number of cars declined, then it grew slowly during the late 30s, then declined sharply during the war. Today it is growing more rapidly than ever before, at nearly twice the rate of the 20s. With the auto, of course, we got the bus, which goes anywhere, hauls any number and without any fixed investment.

Will City Disappear?

People don't have to live in cities any more. They can have all or nearly all the amenities of city life in the country. Water, electricity, automatic heat, bottled gas, low taxes, good roads, sunshine and fresh air in the countryside cannot be, or at least have not been, offset by any advantages offered by the old compact city. The economic forces which dictated central locations for trade and industry have largely disappeared. Most of the reasons for the existence of compact cities as we have known them in the past have disappeared. Will the city?

The pattern of our future cities remains largely unexplored. We can conceive of a low-density city which has a number of centers or focal points of trade and employment, but which otherwise spreads itself out over thousands of square miles, where our present city areas are measured in hundreds. A radius of 50 miles appears to be an immediate possibility.

Or we can conceive of cities as clusters of smaller towns, compactly built, each with its own business, industry and residential areas, separated by green areas of agriculture and linked by modern road and rail connections for central services.

Either is possible. The latter appears to offer many advantages and presents conceivable terms for the organization and financing of public services. Yet we have had none of the discussion and popular debate upon the question which must precede any orderly plan or public policy.

The British, in their genius for government, have had such discussion and debate for more than twenty years. They have at last resolved on a national policy of encouraging the decentralization of cities into new towns, each self-contained and yet linked to its central city, each offering employment and shopping opportunities within walking or short travel distance, and yet accessible to the larger employment and merchandise markets of the metropolis.

This pattern appears to offer many desirable features for adoption here. We are exceedingly late in considering it. Our cities may well crumble about us before we have time to consider adequately their future.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Boston Officials Block Manager-P. R. Plan

Rival Petition Completed Before Others Given Out

THE weird petition race imposed by the Massachusetts legislature upon the people of Boston in their efforts for an improved plan of government has taken on not unexpected aspects of political manipulation.

Until February 2 it was supposed that success in the contest would depend on speed in obtaining the requisite number of signatures to petitions for the various governmental plans—particularly Plan A (strong mayor with council elected at large) and Plan E (council-manager and proportional representation).

On that date supporters of the different plans were to apply to the Boston Election Commission, headed by J. Joseph Connors, former secretary to Mayor Curley, for petitions, which would then be printed and given to the respective groups.

A Plan A representative was on hand at the Election Commission office three hours before it opened on February 2, followed shortly thereafter by representatives of a phantom Plan E organization that had been inactive and of a Plan D group that unexpectedly put in an appearance. Francis X. Ahearn, chairman of the active Plan E for Boston Committee, was relegated to fourth place.

These groups, it was supposed, would receive the printed petition blanks simultaneously. Instead the Plan A group—backed by Mayor Curley and his organization—received a large batch of its printed forms on the same day they were applied for; the Election Commission announced that the inactive rival Plan E group would have petitions printed for it, as well as the Plan D and the active Plan E groups, thus further delaying the printing of forms for the last named organization. Six days later the Plan E group was notified that its petitions were available.

The Curley organization, of course, proceeded to gather the requisite 41,068 Plan A signatures without delay.

Three different court actions have been started by Mr. Ahearn, George A. McLaughlin, attorney, and others for the Plan E group. In recessing a court hearing on an action to void the petitions issued to that time, Judge Harold P. Williams, of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, said that there was a "serious question as to good faith in the conduct of the election commission."

At the hearing the superintendent of the city printing plant admitted that he had received from Mr. Connors copy for Plan A petitions some five days before requests for petitions could be accepted by the election commission and had done fifteen hours of preliminary work on it.

Commenting editorially on the matter, the Boston *Traveler* said: "When one contestant jumps the gun in a foot race, the race is called back. This race should be called back. We are far from believing that a foot race is the proper model on which to base an important public decision about the government of a great city, but if a foot race must be the model, let us at least follow the rules of the track."

Reorganization Urged in Philadelphia

After thirteen months of existence, which included investigation and study of the city departments and finances of Philadelphia, the Committee of Fifteen has rendered a report on its work, with many recommendations for increased efficiency.[1]

The committee was appointed in December 1947 to make a financial study which, in March 1948, was broadened to cover investigation of all city departments. One member, Councilman L. W. Egan, died in August. The final report, issued in January, was signed by all but one of the remaining fourteen members. Arthur W. Binns, a businessman, is chairman of the committee, and Robert K. Sawyer, director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, is executive director.

Major recommendations include consolidation of the governments of the city and county of Philadelphia and creation of a new department of finance. The final report reiterated previous recommendations for creation of a budget survey commission and a personnel advisory commission; these have been established by an ordinance of the city council but legislation for repeal has already been introduced. A personnel director, under the mayor, is also urged.

A constitutional amendment to provide for city-county consolidation is proposed, and the committee also recommends passage of a state law granting cities of the first class (Philadelphia) "the right to frame, adopt, amend and revise their charters, with the exception of those powers which are primarily statewide in nature." It asserts, "It makes little sense, as well as being a needless distraction to the state legislature, for the city to await action of the legislature on matters which are purely local in character."

The proposed department of finance would contain bureaus of the budget, collections, accounting and machine operations. The office of receiver of taxes—against whom impeachment proceedings have been brought according to the dissenting report—would be abolished. A modern program of property assessment is urged upon the board of revision of taxes.

State legislation to permit the grouping of various existing bureaus into a new department of safety inspection and a bureau of sanitary inspection is suggested.

Results of the committee's investigation are set forth department by department.

Joseph A. McDonough, business manager for the Central Labor Union (AFL), refused to sign and submitted a minority report, charging that the committee was too lenient and criticizing it for not taking a more vigorous stand in view of the probability that its findings and recommendations would not be followed.

At the outset of the new year, prior to release of the committee's report, William F. Meade, Republican city chairman, announced support by Republican city leaders of a state legislative program to include a constitutional amendment for city-county consolidation and legislation to permit creation of a city charter commission with authority to revise the charter and submit the result to the voters. His plan for consolidating the city and county offices provides for grouping municipal offices into seven departments, the heads of which would be elected by the voters, in addition to the mayor, district attorney and controller.

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[1] See also "Corrupt But Not Contented," by Jewell Cass Phillips, the REVIEW, October 1948, page 473.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The year 1948 saw four more adoptions of the council-manager plan not previously reported in these columns: **Naples** (population 1,253) and **Perrine** (1,054), **Florida; Dalhart, Texas,** (5,682); and **Lac Megantic, Quebec,** (4,529). Two municipalities adopted the plan prior to 1948: **Hart, Michigan,** (1,922) and **Clifton, Tennessee,** (750). **Brandon, Vermont,** and **Colonial Beach, Virginia,** have been removed from the official list of the International City Managers' Association because of failure to appoint managers.

Martinsville, Virginia, adopted the council-manager plan by a vote of 1,284 to 28 on January 25, 1949. It takes effect immediately.

On February 14 **Newberry, South Carolina,** (7,510) voted to become a city and to employ a full time manager. The vote on the manager proposal was 596 to 90.

At special town meetings in January two **Maine** towns voted to adopt the council-manager plan. With a record turnout of voters **Boothbay Harbor** adopted the plan by a show of hands indicating nearly unanimous approval. The plan will go into effect at the regular town meeting in March. The vote in **Berwick** was 139 to 26. Both towns will eliminate election of certain officials, such as tax collector and treasurer, at their March town meetings. These positions will either become appointive or the duties will be taken over by the town manager.

The **Lewiston, Maine,** *Journal* calls for thorough revision of the city charter, with its "top-heavy multiheaded structure"; study of the council-manager plan is urged.

A bill to authorize the council-manager plan for **Concord, New Hampshire,** was introduced in the state legislature on January 25 at the request of the Concord Taxpayers Association. It calls for a council of nine elected at large. A charter revision committee in Concord, established by the board of aldermen in 1947, is also working on a charter draft.

The manager plan would be authorized for **Manchester,** New Hampshire's largest city, if a bill introduced in the legislature on January 24 is adopted. It substitutes a council of nine, elected at large, for the present board of fourteen aldermen elected from wards. It would also abolish the present power of the governor to appoint Manchester's finance and police commissions. A council-manager plan was rejected by a slim margin at the last city election.

A bill to authorize the manager plan for **Nashua, New Hampshire,** was introduced in the legislature on January 25. Mayor Oswald S. Maynard plans to call a meeting of representatives of various boards and commissions of the city to secure their sentiment on the proposal.

A council-manager charter bill for **Laconia, New Hampshire,** was filed in the legislature on January 25 by title only, the text to be supplied later by a local committee.

A bill for a new charter for **Keene, New Hampshire,** which adopted the council-manager plan in 1947 under the state's enabling act, would simplify that city's present setup of a two-house representative body—common council and board of aldermen, a separately elected mayor and a city manager. The proposal provides a single chamber of nine, elected at large, which would appoint the manager.

Bills have been introduced in the New Hampshire legislature by the four Democratic members of **Claremont's** legislative delegation which would deprive the city manager of power to appoint city employees and of control of the budget of the police department, and would place the fire department under a separate commission. The four Republican members have denounced these moves.

The trustees of the village of **Waterbury, Vermont**, are studying the manager plan of government for the town and village of Waterbury, as recommended by Judge C. B. Adams, town moderator.

A committee of **Southbridge, Massachusetts,** appointed in 1947 to make a study of the town manager plan and the representative town meeting, on January 24 reported four to three against both proposals. Although finding "a lack of sound, efficient business methods in many departments, lack of coordination between departments," and "over 50 elective officers in our town government directly responsible to the voters," it merely recommended establishment of a department of public works to include the present highway, sewer, park, cemetery and engineering departments.

A bill introduced into the **Rhode Island** legislature would give cities of that state the opportunity of adopting one of four optional charters. Plan A provides the strong mayor form, Plan B the weak mayor form, and Plans C and D variations of council-manager government.

The Citizens' Charter Committee of **New Haven, Connecticut,** has voted to submit its draft of a council-manager charter to the general assembly. The bill provides a local referendum on the charter, if passed by the assembly, on June 14. The committee, which made a study of the Hartford council-manager charter, has modeled its bill along those lines.

The **New Britain, Connecticut,** city council on January 19 adopted a resolution, ten to five, submitted by the citizens' nonpartisan committee, giving the committee authority to draft a council-manager charter.

The town council of **East Hartford, Connecticut,** has created a permanent charter revision committee. Among other matters the committee will investigate the council-manager form of government and suggestions for nonpartisan board of education elections.

A special town meeting in **Westport, Connecticut,** has voted unanimously to conduct a referendum on proposed charter changes. Voters will be asked to decide whether they desire changes in the charter. If so, they will indicate whether they prefer a representative town meeting form as recommended by the charter revision committee's majority report or a council-manager system as recommended in the committee's minority report.

A group of businessmen in **Trenton, New Jersey,** are circulating petitions seeking readoption of the council-manager plan by that city.

As the result of a suit to prevent a referendum election in **West New York, New Jersey,** on adoption of the council-manager plan, the newly established Superior Court of New Jersey decided that the plan as proposed was unconstitutional because it did not provide for absentee soldier voting as required under the new state constitution.

The city council of **Monroe, North Carolina,** has proposed that a new charter be drafted providing for the council-manager plan with the present council of three to be enlarged to five and to choose one of the number to be mayor.

The **North Carolina** Senate has adopted a bill authorizing **Roanoke Rapids** to vote on adoption of the manager plan.

A bill incorporating the council-manager plan for **Columbia, South Carolina**, has been drafted by a citizens' committee for action by the state legislature.

An elected charter commission in **Bay Village, Ohio**, has been working on a draft of a charter for submission to the voters by April 1. The manager plan has been under consideration for some time.

A charter commission in **Faribault, Minnesota**, is preparing a council-manager charter for submission to vote at the April 5 municipal election

A petition calling for a charter amendment to change from council-manager to mayor-aldermanic government has been circulated in **Rhinelander, Wisconsin.**

Merrill and **Monroe, Wisconsin**, will vote on adoption of the council-manager plan at elections on April 5.

A representative from **Paris, Tennessee**, has introduced a bill in the state legislature to authorize referenda on council-manager charters at any time. It is opposed by the Tennessee Municipal League and the Tennessee Taxpayers' Association as a means whereby a small group in any manager city could continually harass the administration, regardless of popular opinion in general.

March 8 has been set by the city council for a vote on adoption of the manager plan in **Chillicothe, Missouri.**

Petitions calling for a special election on adoption of the manager plan have been circulated in **McCook, Nebraska**, by the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Drumright, Oklahoma, voted 432 to 132 on December 28 to elect a board of freeholders which is now drafting a council-manager charter.

Electors of **Britton, Oklahoma**, will vote April 5 on an amendment to the city charter to provide for appointment of a city manager.

A movement for preparation of a manager charter is under way in **Watonga, Oklahoma.**

Plainview, Texas, by a vote of 559 to 352 (unofficial) on January 25 rejected a manager charter drafted by a charter commission during the past year. Voting was hampered by sleet and freezing weather.

Submission of a charter amendment to create the office of city manager was proposed in **Los Angeles, California**, by a resolution introduced in the city council on January 17.

A freeholders' committee in **Sunnyvale, California**, has drafted a council-manager charter and placed it before the citizens for study.

The Civic League of **Palo Alto, California**, advocates charter revision and is studying the manager plan.

New York City Creates Traffic Commission

The board of estimate and the city council of New York City have adopted a charter amendment establishing a traffic commission to study the city's traffic problems and promulgate rules for traffic control. It consists of the executive director of a new department of traffic, the police commissioner, commissioner of public works, chairman of the triborough bridge and tunnel authority, chairman of the city planning commission, chairman of the board of transportation and chief engineer of the board of estimate.

Mayor William O'Dwyer has appointed John Riedel, chief engineer of the board of estimate, as chairman of the commission, and selected a Detroit traffic engineer, T. T. Wiley, as executive director of the new department.

Cities Join National Traffic Safety Program

Nearly 800 cities in the United States have adopted a traffic safety education program that was started a year ago by the National Safety Council and is reported to be the first such program developed for nation-wide use.

Peoria, Illinois, put the program to work last year, and for the first eleven months of 1948 had only eight traffic deaths compared to 21 for the same period in 1947. Official and citizens' organizations joined forces in the program called the Peoria Traffic Safety Plan. Radio and newspaper publicity, posters, leaflets and special projects were used to make the public safety-conscious.

Los Angeles, which first inaugurated the continuous traffic safety education drive, has had spectacular results. In the first eleven months of 1948 the traffic death toll was down 104 from a high of 350 traffic fatalities in the same period in 1947.

Tax Support Sought for Ohio League

The Association of Ohio Municipalities, which has suffered lack of funds because cities have no statutory power to contribute to it, is sponsoring a bill in the legislature to permit municipalities to pay dues to such an organization.

IULA to Meet in Geneva in September

The International Union of Local Authorities will hold its next conference in Geneva, Switzerland, on September 12, 1949. An invitation has been extended by the municipal officials of that city and accepted by the International Union at the meeting of its permanent bureau held in The Hague in September 1948.

Topics to be discussed at the Geneva conference will include the housing shortage, traffic safety and central municipal heating.

Municipal officials from the member countries, especially from the United States, are cordially invited to attend.

The American Committee of the IULA is at 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Metropolitan Areas Defined by Federal Government

The United States Bureau of the Budget announced on January 30 that standard definitions for 87 of the larger metropolitan areas in the United States have been developed for use by all federal agencies compiling statistical data and that this will be done eventually for some 150 metropolitan areas of at least 100,000 population. Heretofore there have been four definitions of a given metropolitan area.

State Building Code Proposed in New York

A statewide modernized building code is urged by Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York as a means of cutting building costs at least 10 per cent. He presented the plan on February 2 at a meeting of executives of 80 cities, counties and towns. Declaring that the idea had met general approval of the mayors of the state's cities, he announced that the legislature would be asked to authorize appointment of a commission to draft the new code, hold hearings and place the final code in effect. It was proposed that the code should set minimum standards of performance of materials rather than specify kinds, quantities and sizes.

A recent survey by the National Bureau of Standards of building codes of cities in the United States over

5,000 population reveals that more than half of all cities either have no building codes at all or are operating under regulations more than twenty years old. Despite pressure for revision and modernization, only 175 of the 2,094 cities of over 5,000 population are making major changes in their codes, 26 are contemplating major revisions, 29 have started work on drafting new codes and five are "thinking about it." Those with no codes at all number 385.

Adoption by Reference

To facilitate adoption of modern codes and to avoid the excessive cost of publishing lengthy building code ordinances, fifteen states have passed enabling acts authorizing municipalities to adopt codes by reference.

Instead of reproducing detailed electrical, plumbing and building standards in their ordinances, cities in these states may merely adopt a brief law referring to the technical code by title and date. Then the ordinance is published in the newspapers in the regular manner as required by law.

New York cities and first-class villages, acting under their constitutional home rule power, may enact local laws permitting the adoption of codes by reference.

Many cities have deferred adoption of model standards and codes because of their prohibitive publication costs.

In its recent publication, "Suggested State Legislation," the drafting committee of the Council of State Governments recommends the general adoption of statutes allowing building codes to be adopted by reference.

Constitution Commission Chosen in Kentucky

Appointment of a seven-man Constitution Review Commission was announced on February 1 by Governor Earle C. Clements. All are judges or lawyers, including one circuit judge, two former Court of Appeals judges (one of the two being former Governor Simeon Willis), and one former circuit judge. Two members are Republicans.

The commission is to make periodic reports to the governor on revising Kentucky's constitution and a final report with findings and recommendations to the 1950 legislature. Its term is to March 31, 1950. Members receive no pay except actual expenses. The commission may employ necessary personnel and enlist the aid of state agencies. It may appoint subcommittees, including members from outside the commission.

Constitutional Revision and Home Rule in Maryland?

Interest in home rule and in constitutional changes for that and other purposes is stirring in Maryland. The League of Municipalities is sponsoring a constitutional amendment for municipal home rule. Such action, to cure the "intolerable situation" that burdens the legislature with local bills, was urged at a recent league meeting by Judge Sherbow of the Maryland Court of Appeals. In Montgomery County support for the idea of a constitutional convention has come from Democratic organization sources.

No Constitutional Convention Says Michigan Supreme Court

By a unanimous decision late in January the Michigan Supreme Court ruled that the proposal for a constitutional convention, voted on at the general election November 2, 1948, failed to meet the constitutional requirement that such a proposal must receive a majority of the total vote cast at the election. The measure received a popular vote[1] of 855,451 in favor and 799,198 against, but the favorable vote was much less than a majority of the number of votes for governor. The attorney general contended that the election on the question of calling a convention was not a part of the general election, but was merely contemporaneous with it. The court, however, decided otherwise.

Texans to Study Constitutional Revision

At a meeting of 185 Texas citizens in Austin on January 6, 1949, a Citizens' Committee on the Constitution was organized to study the 1876 constitution of Texas with a view to its improvement by revision. The meeting was called by Governor Beauford H. Jester as a result of activities of an organizing committee headed by Virgil T. Seaberry of Eastland, Texas. Invitations were sent to a list of some 250 Texans throughout the state.

Besides organizing as a permanent committee the group adopted a resolution urging the legislature to establish a commission to study the state constitution and make recommendations to the legislature.

Reapportionment Urged in Indiana—for 1953

The House Judiciary Committee of the Indiana legislature has approved a proposed constitutional amendment providing for legislative reapportionment every ten years, beginning in 1953, and based on the federal census.

Indiana was last redistricted for legislative purposes 30 years ago, on the basis of the number of male voters. The present state constitution calls for an enumeration of male voters every six years. State Auditor James M. Probst has announced that he will supply county assessors with enumeration forms. The further cost would have to be met by the counties, but it is pointed out that this would be obviated in the future if the proposed amendment is adopted. An incomplete count was made in 1943, with less than one-third of the counties complying.

Federal Administrative Reorganization Gets Good Start

Shortly after Congress received the first of a series of fifteen reports of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, headed by ex-President Herbert Hoover, the House of Representatives on February 7 approved, 356 to 9, a bill to grant sweeping reorganization powers to the president. This measure, which was expected to be under consideration by the Senate until March at least, would enable the president to prepare a reorganization plan for the executive branch, which would be submitted to Congress and, if not disapproved within 60 days by concurrent resolution of Senate and House, would go into effect.

The bill limits reorganization powers to the extent that plans for the armed services and for six specified civil agencies cannot be included in a general plan but must be submitted separately. The six agencies are the Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Reserve Board, Securities and Exchange Commission, National Mediation Board, Railroad Retirement Board and National Railroad Adjustment Board.

Mr. Hoover vigorously attacked exemption of any agencies from a comprehensive reorganization scheme, and particularly charged that there is "tremendous waste and duplication," amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars annually, in the work of the Army Engineers Corps and various civil agencies. He stated that total annual savings from general administrative reorganization were estimated at three billion dollars or more.

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[1] Preliminary figures of 302,250 to 164,241 were given on page 598 of the Review for December 1948.

The initial report of the Hoover commission recommended that 65 executive agencies be consolidated into about one-third as many. Among various other recommendations were:

1. Establishment of a staff secretary in the White House; his duties would include a current summary for the president of the status of problems assigned to his advisers, departments and agencies, and on the work of cabinet, interdepartmental and public advisory committees;

2. An office of personnel in the executive department, headed by a director of personnel who would also be chairman of the Civil Service Commission;

3. Expansion and strengthening of the Office of the Budget "as the managerial arm of the president";

4. Replacement of the Council of Economic Advisers by an Office of the Economic Adviser, with a single head;

5. Providing the president with adequate funds to enable him to use advisory commissions and to employ consultants or personal advisers "of eminence and prestige" from time to time;

6. Placing the National Security Council and the National Security Resources Board and their staffs in the executive office of the president formally as well as in practice;

7. Better geographical arrangement of administrative regions and regional headquarters, with greater utilization of centralized and pooled administrative services.

In a recent address before the Economic Club of New York, Mr. Hoover commented that acceptance of the recommendations would "depend entirely on the citizens of the United States."

A National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations

A bill has been introduced in Congress for establishment of a bipartisan National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, including federal, state and local representation. It provides for fourteen members, ten of whom would be appointed by the president, two by the president of the Senate and two by the speaker of the House; the latter four would be members of the Senate and House respectively.

Two of the president's appointees would be members of the executive department with experience in intergovernmental relations and two would be private citizens, constituting part of the group of eight federal representatives.

State representatives would include two state officials and one private citizen appointed by the president from a panel of six or more names prepared by the executive committee of the Governors' Conference. Municipalities would be represented by two municipal officials and one private citizen, from panels suggested by the American Municipal Association, the International City Managers' Association and the United State Conference of Mayors.

Purposes of the commission, as set forth in the bill, are:

1. Reduction in total governmental expenditures to the lowest possible level consistent with efficient performance of essential services, activities and functions.

2. Elimination of duplication and overlapping services, activities and functions, and securing of a better co-

(Continued on page 147)

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Montgomery County Charter Wins in Courts

Newly Elected Council Sets Up Manager Plan

THE suit for injunction filed by four members of the board of commissioners of Montgomery County, Maryland,[1] has been rejected by both the Montgomery County Circuit Court and, on appeal, by the Maryland Court of Appeals.

Maryland's highest court upheld the Circuit Court decision on December 16 in order to permit election of the county council under the new charter on January 6 as scheduled. Its formal opinion, however, was delayed until January 21.

In answer to the allegations of the plaintiffs, seeking to prevent the election on the ground that it would be unconstitutional, the court declared that there were no statutes which affected the current procedure regarding special elections as provided in the county charter. Therefore, it would not hold such procedure unconstitutional because it did not comply with statutes regarding regular elections.

The court reasoned that, "The commissioners hold their office subject to the possibility they may be ousted under provisions of the home rule amendment providing for the adoption of a charter." The court concluded that the Montgomery County charter "is an expression of the will of the people . . . acting in accordance with their rights and privileges."

In the January 6 special election, the charterites won all the seats on the newly created county council for which there were contests. The new council took office on January 18.

Administrative Integration Urged for Washington County

The Municipal League of Seattle recently published further evidence of the inadequacies of King County's government to operate effectively. It urged that the solution might well be found by integration of financial responsibilities at the top of the administrative structure.

The King County difficulties stem from the fact that the board of commissioners must appropriate moneys for the elected officials over whom they have very limited control. Recently, the county commissioners, in reviewing the 1949 budget, ascertained that revenues were much below departmental requests. When they asked the elected department heads to submit revised estimates at lower figures, the department heads refused to take any action. Consequently, the county commissioners made arbitrary cuts in the requests. Thereupon, the department heads dismissed such employees as apparently were most needed, in order to secure maximum disruption of county affairs. Their purpose appeared to be to win public opinion to their side and force the commissioners to provide additional funds.

City-County Health Consolidation Wins

A move to secure consolidation of health units in Guilford County and its two major cities, Greensboro and High Point,[1] has now received approval by the last of the three governments, Greensboro.

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[1] See the REVIEW, January 1948, page 46.

Both the city council of Pueblo, Colorado, and the county commissioners of Pueblo County recently have discussed the advisability of consolidating city and county into a single governmental unit. They believe that such consolidation would result in the elimination of duplicating services. A system of tax zones would be established in order that rural areas would not be taxed for municipal services.

As an alternative solution to city-county consolidation of the Birmingham area, which was defeated decisively by the voters of Alabama last November,[2] the Jefferson County delegation plans to sponsor a bill in the next session of the legislature which would merely expand the corporate limits of Birmingham to bring into the city the highly industrialized and residential suburban areas.

Manager Plan Considered in New York County

St. Lawrence County, New York, is considering adoption of the manager plan, since its budget has exceeded the million-dollar mark. The chairman of the board of supervisors has observed that the money spent by county government has become too large to be administered effectively by persons who do not have adequate training. He believes the county manager form of government might be the solution. The Potsdam *Courier Freeman* published an editorial also favoring the county manager plan.

City-County Separation Advocated for Minneapolis

An alderman of the city of Minneapolis is introducing a bill in the Minnesota state legislature to separate the city from the county of Hennepin. It is asserted that a million dollars in operating costs would be saved by providing for a simpler form of government. Minneapolis residents at present pay more than 90 per cent of the Hennepin County taxes. After removal of the city of Minneapolis, rural Hennepin still would be the fourth largest county in the state from the point of view of assessed valuation.

The board of directors of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce has recommended that the question of consolidation-separation be referred to a state legislative committee for study.

Counties Seek Federal Payments in Lieu of Taxes

The National Association of County Officials has announced that its major objective for 1949 is to secure payments in lieu of taxes on federal government property. In its bulletin, *Capitol to Court House,* the association declares, "The purpose is twofold: first, to have the desired legislation enacted, and second, to demonstrate that the power of the nation's counties can be exerted in union whenever an effort for the public good is required."

Declaratory Judgment Sought

The county home rule provisions of the Texas constitution, adopted in 1933, soon may be the subject of official interpretation by the courts. The question has arisen as to whether the clause relating to a majority of the popular votes refers to a majority of all votes cast in the election or a majority of the votes cast on the home rule charter. Because of an attorney general's opinion that the former is the correct interpretation, advocates of home rule are seeking a declaratory judgment clarifying this point.

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[1] See the REVIEW, February, page 93.

[2] See the REVIEW, December 1948, page 615.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Israel Constituent Assembly Elected by P. R.

Seattle and Worcester Groups Use Hare System

THE first general election in the newly recognized state of Israel was held on January 25 to choose a constituent assembly. Following a recommendation of a commission of the United Nations, a simple list type of proportional representation, applied at large without division of the nation into geographical districts, was used.

A twelve-member committee set up by the state council supervised the election, providing some seven hundred balloting places. Names of candidates did not appear on any ballot. Each of the 21 parties contesting the election was assigned a letter of the Hebrew alphabet. The voter, on entering the voting booth, chose the letter of the party for which he desired to vote from among all the letters and placed it in an envelope, which he sealed and deposited in a ballot box on leaving the booth. There was no opportunity to split tickets or cross off the names of undesired candidates, but the apportionment of the seats to the lists was on an accurately proportional basis.

The election was a victory for Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion. His party, Mapai, sometimes referred to as the Labor party, obtained 48 of the 120 seats in the assembly. This was much more than twice as many as the next largest party, Mapam (United Workers), which secured nineteen. Although 21 parties took part, several combined into coalition tickets and only four groups obtained more than 6 per cent of the votes or seats. The Revisionist party, which had been represented in the government, failed to obtain any seats, but the New York *Herald Tribune* ascribed this to the

ELECTION OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY FOR ISRAEL, JANUARY 25, 1949

Party	Votes	Seats
Mapai (Labor)	162,500[a] (37.0%)	48[a] (40.0%)
Mapam (United Workers)	64,000 (14.5%)	19 (15.8%)
United Religious	53,000 (12.0%)	16 (13.3%)
Heruth (Freedom)	49,000 (11.1%)	14 (11.7%)
General Zionist	22,500 (5.1%)	7 (5.8%)
Progressive	17,500 (4.0%)	5 (4.2%)
Sephardim	15,000 (3.4%)	4 (3.3%)
Communist	15,000 (3.4%)	4 (3.3%)
Sternist (Lehi)	5,500 (1.2%)	1 (0.8%)
Yemenite	4,500 (1.0%)	1 (0.8%)
Women's International Zionist Movement	4,000 (0.9%)	1 (0.8%)
Smaller parties	27,500 (6.2%)	— ——
	440,000	120

[a] Including Arab Democratic party, with 7,300 votes and two seats.

fact that many of its adherents transferred their allegiance to the Heruth (Freedom Movement) party.

The final results are given on page 144.

The principal opposition to Mapai leadership is expected to arise from Mapam and the Communists on the left and from the United Religious and Heruth groups on the conservative or "right-wing" side, but these sources of opposition are so divergent that continued general acceptance of Mapai leadership in Israel is to be expected.

The assembly met for the first time on February 14 at Jerusalem. In addition to its task of drafting a new constitution for Israel, it will have legislative powers. It has chosen Dr. Chaim Weizmann as president, who will appoint a prime minister from among the members of the assembly.

Civic Groups Elect Boards by P. R.

The Municipal League of Seattle has used P. R. for its elections for a number of years. The 1948 election of nine trustees was analyzed and reported to the league's by-laws committee by Albert F. Hull, membership secretary. There were seventeen candidates and 1,460 ballots cast by mail.

Mr. Hull's analysis shows that only 250 ballots indicated less than nine choices and that 766 ballots showed ten or more choices, most of them assigning an order of preference to all seventeen candidates.

The ballots were prepared in four groups so that the positions on the ballot could be fairly distributed, with each name appearing among the first four or five on one quarter of the ballots. Mr. Hull was therefore able to study the question of whether the position of a candidate's name on the ballot may have any effect on his chances of election. Twelve candidates obtained more votes from the portion of the ballots giving the candidate a top-group listing than from any of the other three positions, though in a few of these cases the margin was slight. Five candidates received more votes from one of the positions giving the candidate a lower listing. No reliable conclusions can be drawn from this number of votes but the result gives some evidence to support the precaution of rotating the places on the ballot.

The Worcester Citizens Plan E Association elected eleven new directors and re-elected twelve others by P. R. on January 13 at its annual election. Publicity Director Robert S. Bowditch, himself among those re-elected, reported that the association kept very close to the Massachusetts P. R. voting laws in this election.

Worcester was one of the four Massachusetts cities that adopted P. R. as part of the "Plan E" council-manager form of government by referendum in November 1947 and will hold its first city election by P. R. this fall.

In the association's election, of the 359 ballots cast 356 were valid. Three write-in candidates were nominated from the floor at the meeting and two of them were elected. The counting was completed in an hour and a half under direction of Robert Fowler, Jr.

On January 23 Worcester's City Clerk Malcolm Midgley conducted a demonstration P. R. election after calling his employees together for the purpose.

Mock city council and school board elections by P. R. were held in February by the 160 organizations affiliated with the Worcester Woman's Forum. Thirty-four outstanding women leaders ran as candidates and nearly 10,000 women cast ballots. City Clerk Midgley supervised the counting.

Snow Storms Prove Costly

31 Large Cities Spend $7,000,000 on Removal

THE heavy snow storms which have been sweeping the western states this winter, and the deep frosts which have gripped the southwest from the Gulf of Mexico to southern California, with their extraordinarily large property damage, spotlight an aspect of winter weather whose costliness has long been known to the northern cities.

According to a survey by the American Public Works Association, "Snow and Ice Control in Large Cities," 31 such cities in northern United States and Canada spend over $7,000,000 annually fighting snow and ice. Montreal ranks first in money set aside for the purpose with a budget appropriation of $2,405,000 for this year. New York City originally appropriated $1,796,322 for this season, but the December 19 storm, which cost $1,873,000, necessitated a supplemental appropriation. The big snow of 1947—25.8 inches—cost New York $4,692,308.

Toronto set aside $650,000 for snow and ice removal, Boston $500,000, Chicago $300,000, Milwaukee $200,000, and Winnipeg $180,000. Portland, Oregon, averages only $2,000 annually while Seattle, with its last snowfall of over four inches recorded in 1936, appropriated $5,000 this year. Buffalo, whose average annual snowfall is 74 inches, allowed $375,000 for snow work.

More than 32,000 city employees are used in snow removal by the 31 cities surveyed. New York's normal snow-fighting contingent numbers 13,800 men. Boston uses 2,400 city employees, Washington, D. C., 2,000, Montreal 1,200, and Boston, Milwaukee and Detroit, 1,000.

Most of the cities use special work warning systems including radio, telephone and the color card method to alert personnel who work on snow and ice removal. After warnings are received from weather stations it takes from one to six hours for the cities to get all their snow-fighting equipment and personnel into action.

Snow plows are put in operation when the snow reaches a depth of from two to four inches. Most cities also use a combination of rock salt, chemicals and abrasives which are spread when it starts to snow or freeze.

Local utilities aid all 31 cities in snow and ice removal. Washington, Chicago, Baltimore, Boston, Kansas City (Missouri), New York and Winnipeg use private contractors in addition to city employees to haul snow. Twenty-nine cities use mechanical snow-loading equipment.

Six cities—Providence, Milwaukee, Washington, Chicago, Montreal and Toronto—have adopted ordinances restricting parking on streets during snow periods. Only in Montreal are sidewalks cleared of snow by city forces.

Legislative Salaries Increased

Salaries of legislators have increased in at least sixteen states during the last two years according to a compilation made by the Council of State Governments.

A constitutional amendment adopted by Washington voters in November authorizes the legislature to raise salaries. Beginning with the 1949 session Ohio lawmakers will receive

$2,600 per year—an increase of $600. In January 1952 Virginia legislators will receive $1,080 each session instead of the present $720.

New York legislators receive $5,000 per year, double that of two years ago. New Jersey and Illinois, runners-up in present legislative pay, have increased salaries to $3,000 yearly. New Jersey's new constitution, adopted last year, provided that legislative pay shall be set by statute.

Twenty-four states—nine of which have increased legislators' pay since 1946—now fix legislative compensation by statute. New York and New Hampshire set their legislators' pay by constitution and statute while the remaining 22 states set legislative pay by the constitution.

No Property Taxes in 21 States

States are abandoning property taxes entirely, or imposing them only as a selective or incidental levy, or not exercising their authority to levy such a tax, according to the National Association of Assessing Officers. Property taxes comprised only 4 per cent of state tax collections last year.

Arizona and Arkansas are the latest states to withdraw from the general property tax field, bringing such states to 21.

The property tax rate in Arizona for fiscal 1949 was recently set at zero by the State Tax Commission. This action was taken as a result of the all-time high reached in state surplus in fiscal 1948 when yields from virtually all taxes exceeded budgetary estimates. The state constitution restricts Arizona from accumulating surpluses in the state treasury.

Arkansas' legislature abolished the state ad valorem tax on property by repealing all statutes for its collection, effective January 1, 1949. However, voters of the state recently rejected a proposed constitutional amendment to remove the state from the property tax field permanently.

Effective in 1951, Texas will no longer collect property taxes for general revenue purposes. Voters recently approved a constitutional amendment which abolished the state property tax for this purpose.

States which earlier had ceased to impose general property taxes are California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont and Virginia.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 141)

ordination of such services, activities and functions among the several levels of government.

3. Attainment of such an allocation of governmental functions among the several levels of government as will contribute to economy in governmental administration on the one hand and maximum service to the public at minimum cost on the other.

4. Development, within the existing constitutional framework, of a governmental structure and such cooperative policies and procedures as will tend to overcome existing obstacles to efficient governmental administration and lay a sound foundation for future development.

5. Finding of ways and means of establishing a more orderly and less competitive fiscal relationship between the several levels of government. Major aspects of this problem include the overlapping and confused system of taxation and the increasing demands made upon the federal government and the states for tax-sharing and grants-in-aid, without following any consistent over-all pattern.

Civic Doings in the School Crowd

Youth Lends a Hand in City Planning Activity

PHILADELPHIA has a **Youth Planning Council** for high school students. The **Citizens Council on City Planning** of the city of brotherly love has welcomed it to junior membership. The 38 students at the group's first meeting, which chose an executive committee to plan future action, represented nineteen public high and vocational technical schools.

The purposes of the Youth Planning Council, as reported by the *News Letter* of the parent group, are these:

1. To give young citizens an opportunity to participate in planning and shaping the future of the city and neighborhood;
2. To provide an opportunity for students to become informed leaders with a sense of civic responsibility;
3. To provide a channel through which information concerning current civic improvement can be got to the school;
4. To provide increased assistance for improving neighborhoods through the interchange of ideas and through counsel with expert planners;
5. To provide an opportunity for young citizens to work closely with an adult citizen group;
6. To provide the opportunity for young people to gain a truer perspective and a better sense of values concerning their community.

More and more the need for directing the growth of our cities is being brought home to grade and high school pupils. San Francisco, Richmond, Atlanta, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee and other cities now have planning studies in the schools.

Learning City Government

Students of public high schools in Toledo have been making a study of city government first hand. Between October and January seven seminar sessions were held at city hall with nearly a hundred pupils in attendance, who reported back to their classes.

The first seminar, which covered a general discussion of the city government setup, was conducted by Mayor Michael V. DiSalle; at the second meeting George N. Schoonmaker, then city manager, discussed boards and commissions, including the civil service commission, city plan commission, administrative board of zoning appeals, labor-management-citizens committee, commission of publicity and efficiency (which cooperated in the conduct of the seminars, publishing each program in its *Toledo City Journal*), board of transit control, board of health and many others. Other sessions dealt with specific departments.

Conduct of the seminars, it is felt, is less disconcerting to governmental operation than the usual occasional visits of groups of students to city departments. "Speakers can be arranged for in advance," says the *Journal*, "tours can be outlined to avoid interference with municipal operations, and written material may be put into better shape for use of students."

On completion of the city studies similar sessions were arranged on Lucas County's government.

Boy Legislators, Governors

The January issue of the *Kansas Government Journal* publishes the story of Kansas' boy legislature held under the auspices of Hi-Y Clubs of the Y. M. C. A. Over two hundred members took part in the model legislature which held its sessions at the state house in Topeka. Among the nine measures passed was one lowering the voting age from 21 to 18. The session was the climax of two months of preparation by 65 Hi-Y Clubs over the state representing some three thousand members.

In welcoming **New Jersey's** boy and girl governors, Governor Alfred E. Driscoll commented that two governors might be better than one. "One could lay the cornerstones and the other could take care of official business," he commented.

"Make mine democracy," is the 1949 national birthday project of the **Camp Fire Girls.** During March it is planned to have over 360,000 girls between the ages of seven and eighteen see, do and tell democracy. There will be visits to Americanization classes for new citizens, to the state legislature, the city planning commission, etc. Members will aid in local safety drives, conservation projects, clean-up drives and participate in inter-racial and inter-religious gatherings.

In **Burlington,** 90 students of the **University of Vermont,** under the direction of Professor Heinz L. Ansbacher, questioned some five hundred local taxpayers on the city manager plan. Of those questioned, 41 per cent were unable to give a minimum explanation of what is meant by "city manager" plan, reports the Burlington *Free Press.* Of those who knew what the plan means, 52 per cent favored its adoption for their city, 25 per cent opposed it, 23 per cent had no opinion. Of those favoring the plan 87 per cent backed up their opinion by saying it was "more efficient," "worked well in other places," "eliminates politics."

The **Governor's State Conference on Youth of Minnesota,** meeting last fall in St. Paul, drew nearly 1,200 persons from 111 communities, reports *Minnesota Municipalities.* Recommendations adopted included: immediate institution of a program to meet the needs and problems of youth, creation of a governor's advisory youth council, expansion of funds and personnel of the Youth Conservation Commission, establishment of a domestic relations court, and effective coordination of the law enforcement system with a center for training of personnel in the understanding and handling of juvenile delinquency problems.

At the request of the social studies class of the **Richmond, California, Union High School,** Mayor Robert Miller added the names of two outstanding student leaders to a citizens committee appointed to recommend restriction of comic books and other entertainment considered objectionable for the youth of the area. "I wonder why no one has ever thought to do this before," commented the mayor, as he named Joyce Schoultz and Edward Phillips as the student representatives.

Several months ago in the same city, City Manager Leonard B. Horner prepared a twenty-question quiz on municipal government for high school civics classes, reports *Public Management.* Taking the test without previous discussion students averaged a 50 per cent score. After special discussion of local government, however, students again took the test, averaging 95 per cent.

How Can Democracy Be Taught in the Schools?

This thought is uppermost in the minds of many educators as well as several groups at work in the hope of finding a key to the solution.

The work of the **Civic Education Project,** going forward in Cambridge under the direction of Dr. John J. Mahoney, formerly professor of education in Boston University, is described in "Can Democracy Be Taught?" by Henry W. Holmes, professor of education emeritus at Harvard University and co-director of the project, in *The Massachusetts Teacher* for November.[1]

Dr. Mahoney and his staff hope for the "fashioning of a program for the schools which will actually make a difference in civic behavior." They seek "to collect, examine and arrange materials useful in developing intelligence and civic responsibility in a democratic society," says Dr. Holmes. The project will run for three years.

Understanding Democracy—A Definition and Framework for Schools is one of two new reports of the **Citizenship Education Study** sponsored by the Detroit Public Schools and Wayne University. The authors, Florence D. Cleary, Alice M. Davis and Arnold R. Meier, have "organized the more commonly accepted specific ideas and values included in the meaning of democracy into a rather comprehensive definition."

Four major categories have been set up: (a) Dignity and worth of the individual, (b) man can and should govern himself, (c) understanding democracy's privileges and their attendant responsibilities, (d) the use of the method of intelligence in solving problems. These are developed as to aspects, criteria and manifestations.

The second report, *Democratic Citizenship and Development of Children,* is by Grace Weston, Elmer F. Pflieger and Mildred Peters of the study, assisted by six Detroit teachers. It is "an evaluation framework based on criteria for democratic living and development characteristics and needs of boys and girls." Characteristics and needs are set forth for four age groups: six to eight, nine to twelve, thirteen to fifteen, and sixteen to eighteen.

Another project, the **Institute of Citizenship at Kansas State College,** now in its fourth year, was created to explore the problem on the college level and to propose solutions. It is under the direction of Carl Tjerandsen. A description of its aims and program, "A College Tackles the Problem of Citizenship," by Mr. Tjerandsen and Robert A. Walker, formerly director of the institute and now with the U. S. State Department, appears in the *Journal* of the National Education Association for January.

Dr. Alice V. Keliher, professor of education at New York University, writes in the *NEA Journal* for January on "'Men Wanted' for Democracy—How Our High Schools Can Contribute to the Building of Personality and Democracy."

Meridian Research Council Wins Goal

On January 3 citizens of Meridian, Mississippi, held a gala celebration inaugurating the council-manager plan adopted at the polls in May.[1] Had it not been for a few unselfish, far-sighted citizens who were willing to give freely of their abilities, time and money, this history making event might never have occurred.

In the summer of 1947, a small group of businessmen, having realized for some time the inadequacies and deficiencies of the commission form of government, decided that only through organized effort could conditions be remedied. Thus the **Meri-**

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[1] See also "A Job for Every Teacher," by Charles C. Buell, the REVIEW, December 1948, page 580.

[1] See the REVIEW, February, page 90.

dian Research Council was formed as a citizens' organization to promote good government. Membership in the organization grew rapidly and adequate funds for operating purposes came unsolicited.

Through its director the council made studies and investigations of the city government and found that inefficiency and extravagance were prevalent under the division of administrative authority among the three commissioners who also composed the city council. Based on the data developed, the research council recommended to city officials adoption of certain measures which would improve efficiency and economy, but the city council did not see fit to adopt these proposals.

In the early part of 1948, the Meridian Research Council succeeded in getting through the state legislature an enabling act which set forth a council-manager plan of government for Meridian. The act called for submission of the plan to popular vote if requested by a petition signed by at least 20 per cent of the qualified voters of the city.

It took several weeks of record searching by a staff of employees to determine the approximate number of qualified voters in Meridian. Then came the task of securing the signatures of 20 per cent of these voters to the petitions, with every precaution being taken to be sure that only those qualified signed. This was necessary in order to avoid legal technicalities and to prevent any possibility of the validity of the petitions being challenged by those forces opposed to change.

All this was accomplished as a result of unremitting effort on the part of those public-spirited citizens who were determined to see that all of the citizens of Meridian had the kind of local government they deserved.

Without questioning the validity of the petitions, the city council called an election for May 18, 1948. The Research Council launched an intensive educational campaign to inform the public about the council-manager plan and its advantages over commission government. An objective and constructive approach was employed and personal and political fights were avoided. On election day a well informed electorate adopted the council-manager plan by a vote of four to one.

In September 1948, the voters elected outstanding citizens who had never before sought an elective public office as their first mayor and councilmen to serve under the new plan. These are the civic leaders who were inducted into office on January 3 with the assurance of public support and cooperation.

C. C. Moseley, *Managing Director*
Meridian Research Council

Municipal News Beat

Every Friday the **Toledo Municipal League** broadcasts its "Municipal News Beat" with Miss Betty Lukas as reporter. During November three of the four broadcasts had city councilmen as speakers. At the year's end Miss Lukas gave a "Cavalcade of 1948," reciting the year's developments in local government — "developments which made 1948 different from 1947 and the years before it; developments which leave much unfinished business for 1949."

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Torchlight Parades

This is a bit old, so far as news is concerned, but it is worth noting that two midwest cities held torchlight parades the night before the November election in an effort to get out the vote. "Ann Arbor, Michigan, almost forgot about football," reports Robert

C. Burns of the **American Veterans Committee.** More than a hundred cars participated, blowing horns and using other noisemakers. Initiated by the AVC and the **League of Women Voters**, the parade was participated in by some fourteen civic, veteran, political and school groups.

In **Wausau, Wisconsin,** the **League of Women Voters** and the **Junior Chamber of Commerce** sponsored a similar torchlight parade as the climax to an extensive "get out the vote" campaign.

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More Legislative Activity

Action along legislative lines continues to be a paramount task for citizen groups.[1] The **Seattle Municipal League** reports that its executive secretary, C. A. Crosser, will watch legislative activities at Olympia, reporting and interpreting happenings of special interest to league members through the *Seattle Municipal News*. . . . *The Oregon Voter* has published its "Who's Who in the 1949 Legislature." The entire issue of January 1 is given over to biographical sketches for all legislators prepared by Ernest C. Potts, associate editor.

The January 3 *Legislative Letter* of the **League of Women Voters of Georgia** is devoted to a "Preview of 1949 Legislation." Among the matters which the league plans to support are an election system to include a secret ballot, protection of citizens' access to the ballot and protection of the permanent registration law; home rule extended to all cities and counties; a penal system built with emphasis on rehabilitation and including an adequate probation and juvenile court system.

The **Toledo Regional Planning Association** devoted its January 21 meeting to a discussion of proposed legislation of interest to planners.

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Conferences

The first of a series of regional meetings planned by the **National Council for Community Development** was held in Boston January 13 and 14. Those interested in New England and in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania were invited to participate. Discussed were street and highway safety, fire protection, relation of business and industries to their communities, the part of women in community progress, recreation and the future of youth.

The **Second Annual Westchester Conference on Community Development** met at White Plains, New York, in October. Educators and citizens discussed the educational needs of the community from pre-kindergartners to adults, reports *The Community Forum,* organ of the **New York State Citizens' Council.**

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Strictly Personal

At its annual meeting in November the Massachusetts Civic League unanimously elected **Mayo A. Shattuck** as its president, to succeed **Richard S. Bowers. Miss Miriam Butler** will continue as the league's executive secretary by appointment of the executive committee.

The National Civil Service League and the New York Civil Service Reform Association have appointed **James R. Watson** as executive director, succeeding **H. Eliot Kaplan,** who recently resigned to become deputy comptroller of New York State. Mr. Watson, until his appointment, was professor of political science at Western Reserve University, Cleveland.

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[1] See the REVIEW, February, page 103.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Education Subject Of Extensive Surveys

Reports on South Carolina New Mexico, Other States

THE public schools of New Mexico and South Carolina are given a thorough going over in two surveys conducted and published in 1948 by the Division of Surveys and Field Services of the George Peabody College for Teachers at Nashville, Tennessee. John E. Brewton, director of the division, served as general director of both surveys. Associate directors, resident in each state and coordinating the work of the large staffs required, were Ira F. Simmons in New Mexico and J. B. White in South Carolina. The services of the Division of Surveys and Field Services were retained by special committees authorized by acts of the 1947 legislatures in both states to arrange surveys of public education to facilitate the framing of legislation, for improving the educational programs and equipment of both states.

Public Education in New Mexico (420 pages) and *Public Schools of South Carolina* (340 pages) are the resulting reports. The New Mexico survey is somewhat broader than the other in that it includes institutions of higher education as well as elementary and secondary schools.

In general, the two reports follow the same pattern. Both are divided into chapters discussing educational organization and administration, instructional personnel, curriculum and instruction, physical plant facilities and finance. Each chapter is followed by a list of recommendations. Corrective measures advocated, therefore, are numerous and detailed.

Popular digests have been prepared to give wide circulation to some of the significant findings and recommendations and to stimulate the reading of the complete reports by the general public. The digests are attractively designed pamphlets (that of the New Mexico report is 78 pages; the South Carolina digest is 88 pages). Each contains a series of one-page summaries of significant chapters, illustrated with cartoon-type drawings, followed by a short textual digest of the recommendations of the main report.

Nevada Schools

Another recent report on educational problems comes from the Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, J. E. Springmeyer, director, and was prepared in cooperation with the Nevada State Department of Education and the Nevada Taxpayers Association. The 128-page survey, *Financial and Administrative Problems of Nevada Schools and Suggested Solutions,* contains many tables and graphs and includes, on separate sheets, 33 detailed tables presenting expenditures of Nevada schools.

Improving Education in Minnesota by Reorganizing Local School System is illustrated with maps and graphs. The Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, Harold L. Henderson, executive director, which issued the 27-page bulletin in January, concludes that the state's local school districts should be consolidated and reorganized.

The Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, W. Earl Weller, director, presented a critical analysis of the probable provisions of the 1949 edition of the Young-Milmoe bill for state aid for New York State schools in its December bulletin.

"Savings in Millions Shown Through Higher Teacher-Pupil Ratios" is the title of a ten-column report, with tables and charts, in the January 1949 number of the *New York State Taxpayer,* published at Albany by the Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, Walter O. Howe, executive vice president.

Bureau Notes

The Cambridge Research Association has been organized in Cambridge, Massachusetts, with George A. McLaughlin as president.[1]

The *New York State Taxpayer* for October 1948 carried a feature article, with photographs, on the organization and completion of 21 years of work by the Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, George G. Sipprell, managing director.

Two citizens' groups have released reports on their activities. *What Is Past Is Prologue* is the title of a graphic account of its first three years of work issued by Future Springfield, Inc. (Massachusetts), Sherman P. Voorhees executive director. Achievements during 1948 are the subject of an annual report from the New York Citizens Budget Commission, Daniel L. Kurshan, secretary.

Strictly Personal

John G. Watson has been appointed executive director of the Providence Governmental Research Bureau, succeeding Robert E. Pickup.[2] Mr. Watson has been on the staffs of the Oklahoma Tax Commission and the Public Administration Service of Chicago. An officer in the Navy during the war, he was attached to the Bureau of Ordnance and then to Military Government headquarters in Germany. He served as assistant director of the Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council for two years after his release to inactive duty.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Airports

Future of the North Philadelphia Airport. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 30, 1948. 3 pp.

Assessment

Boroughs May Influence the Adoption of Sound Assessment Practices. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Institute of Local and State Government, *Borough Bulletin,* February 1949. 2 pp.

Reduction in Net Assessed Values; Year 1931 Compared to 1946 by Counties. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma State Tax Commission, Research Division, 1948. 34 pp. tables.

Budgets

Fifth Annual Compilation of County Budgets of Missouri's 109 Rural Counties. State Expenditures Must be Controlled! (The operation of Missouri's "executive type" budget.) Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, 1949. 31 and 6 pp. respectively.

County Government

County Administration. Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* November 19, 1948. 3 pp.

County Consolidation and Reorganization in Nevada. (Proposals to reduce number and shift boundaries of counties.) Carson City, Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, 1948. 18 pp. map.

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1949, page 109, for mention of one of its reports.

[2] See the REVIEW, September 1948, page 446.

Criminal Law

The Bouse Act. (Discussion of an act providing that in the trial of misdemeanors no evidence shall be admissible if it was procured by an illegal search or seizure, or if the effect of its admission would be to compel one to give evidence against himself in a criminal case.) By Carl N. Everstine. Baltimore, Maryland Legislative Council, Research Division, 1948. 39 pp.

Debt

City Bonded Debt Increased Last Year. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* February 1, 1949. 2 pp.

Recent Trends in State Debt, 1941-47. (Covers all the states.) New York, Tax Foundation, 1948. 9 pp. tables.

Elections and Voting

The Bloomington, Indiana, Municipal Campaign of 1947. ("This is an eye-witness account of a significant local election. . . . This study does not pretend to have the scientific validity of Dr. Harold F. Gosnell's studies of Chicago politics. But it rests on a more intimate knowledge of the local political scene and pays more heed to historical and environmental factors.") By Jack Landon New. Bloomington, Indiana University, Institute of Politics, 1948. 62 pp. 50 cents.

Indiana Local Elections, 1947. Tendencies Toward Non-Traditional Voting. By John Harvey Wheeler. Bloomington, Indiana University, Institute of Politics, 1948. 15 pp. 25 cents.

Fire Protection

Outside Fire Protection Practices in Michigan Municipalities. (Study of legal, fiscal and service problems involved in giving fire protection outside the municipality.) Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1948. 39 pp. tabulation. $1.

Representative Ordinances: Volunteer Fire Departments in Washington Cities. (Includes National Fire Protection Association's model ordinance.) Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* August 31, 1948. 23 pp.

Forms of Government

The Units of Government in Mississippi. (Considers the state, counties, municipalities, school districts and special districts.) By Robert Baker Highsaw and Carl Denver Mullican, Jr. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 19 pp.

Home Rule

County Government in the State of Washington. Effect of Adoption of Proposed County Home Rule Constitutional Amendment. By Ernest Howard Campbell and Herbert H. Legg, Jr. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1948. 36 pp.

Home Rule and Home Rule Powers. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 9, 1948. 5 pp.

Insurance Regulation

A Survey of the Functions of the Insurance Commissioner. Carson City, Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, 1948. 17 pp.

Judicial Councils

Check List of State Judicial Council Reports through 1947. Compiled by Harry B. Merican. Reprinted from the *Law Library Journal,* 1948. 10 pp.

Legislation

Bill Drafting Manual for the Oklahoma Legislature. By Randell S. Cobb. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Legislative Council, 1948. 41 pp.

Legislative Drafting in New Mexico. By Arie Poldervaart. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* January 1949. 9 pp.

Local Ordinances. The Drafting, Compilation, Codification and Revision of Ordinances in Third and Fourth Class Cities. By George A. Shipman. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1948. 47 pp.

Proposed Bills. Report to the General Assembly of 1949. Volumes I and II. Baltimore, Maryland Legislative Council, 1948. 258 and 149 pp. respectively.

Record Land Titles. A Review of Laws Designed to Simplify Land Title Transactions by Eliminating Claims within Specified Period. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, Research Department, 1948. 76 pp.

Strengthening the Legislative Process in Oklahoma. Report and Recommendations of the Committee on Legislative Methods and Procedures. (Fourteen possible changes listed and explained.) Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Legislative Council, 1948. 27 and 7 pp. respectively.

Legislative Councils

First Biennial Report and Recommendations to the 22nd Legislature. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Legislative Council, 1948. 108 pp.

Progress Reports. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, September and November 1948. 9 and 12 pp. respectively.

Report of the Legislative Counsel, 1947-48. Carson City, Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, 1948. 39 pp.

Third Biennial Report, 1947-48. Jefferson City, Missouri Committee on Legislative Research, 1948. 29 pp.

Licenses

Municipal Business and Occupational Taxes and/or License Fees on Public Utilities. Ordinances Licensing Juke Boxes in Washington Cities. Ordinances Licensing Punch Boards in Washington Cities. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* July 26, 23 and 19, 1948. 5, 10 and 9 pp. respectively.

Municipal Government

California City Government. (Considers city growth, problems and trends; governmental forms; also unincorporated urban areas and methods of acquiring public services; includes a comprehensive bibliography.) By John C. Bollens and John R. McKinley. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1948. 69 pp. tables, maps. $1.25.

Planning

Anne Arundel County, Maryland: Its Economic Development and Potentials. College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1948. 81 pp. tables, maps, charts, photographs.

An Inventory of Vacant Residential Land. ("A report on the progress already made in surveying the vacant residential land in the Cleveland region, and a guide to local officials for conducting such an inventory.") Cleveland, Regional Association, 1948. 29 pp. charts, maps.

Urban Redevelopment Program Proposed. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* September 1948. 2 pp.

Police

Police Department Continues Improvements. St. Louis, Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government,* January 26, 1949. 4 pp.

Public Welfare

Local Effects of Proposition No. 4. County Surpluses Estimated. (A discussion of fiscal effects of shifting of administrative and financial responsibility for aid to the needy aged and blind from California's counties to its state government. More than $9,000,000 is available for county tax reduction in 1949-50; that much in surplus county funds budgeted for aid to the aged and blind for 1948-49 is now not required because of the passage of the proposition.) By Charles W. Flanagan. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* January 1949. 5 pp.

Utah Public Welfare and the Lien Provision. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1948. 4 pp.

Recording

Better Recording at Less Cost Through Photography. Reading, Pennsylvania Economy League, Berks County Branch, 1948. 38 pp. 50 cents.

Religious Societies

Report on Religious Societies. Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, September 1948. 29 pp.

Research

The Tax Rate Isn't Everything. ("Here are five basic things that should be investigated by state taxpayer associations when they are judging public administration in municipalities, school districts and counties.") By Leslie J. Reese. New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Outlook,* November 1948. 4 pp.

Retirement Systems

Policemen's and Firemen's Retirement Funds. (Called actuarially unsound and excessively liberal.) New Haven, Taxpayers Research Council, *Council Comment,* January 5, 1949. 2 pp.

Police Pension Funds of New York City. An Analysis with a Program for Revision. New York, Pension Forum, 1948. 46 pp. tables.

Smoke Control

Smoke Control Looms as New Municipal Function. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Institute of Local and State Government, *Borough Bulletin,* October 1948. 2 pp.

Snow Removal

Snow and Ice Removal Practices in Michigan Municipalities. By Eugene G. Moody. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1948. 42 pp. tables. $1.50.

Taxation and Finance

Exploring the Michigan Tax Situation. Selected References on State and Local Tax Sources and Tax Policy. (References not confined to Michigan studies.) Compiled by Ione E. Dority. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Bureau of Government, 1949. 13 pp.

Financial Review. A Guidebook to Newark Municipal Finance. Newark, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1949. 64 pp. tables, graphs.

Inheritance and Estate Taxes in Kentucky. By Edgar Z. Palmer, Rodman Sullivan and Ellis Sutton. Frankfort, Kentucky Department of Revenue, 1947. 104 pp. tables.

Latest Financial Statistics of New Jersey Municipalities. A Compilation of Figures Relating to Budgets and Expenditures of 566 Local Government Units Arranged by Counties. Trenton, New Jersey Taxpayers' Association, 1948. 40 pp. $1.

Let's Look at the Machinery! Change in Tax Accounting Suggested. By D. M. Teeter. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* January 1949. 3 pp.

The Minnesota Tax System. Saint Paul, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, 1948. 140 pp. tables, charts. $1.

Pennsylvania's Legislature Can Erase This Tax Question. A comparative Study of Business Taxes and Industrial Trends in Pennsylvania and Other States. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, Research Bureau, 1948. 28 pp.

Recent Trends in State Expenditures, 1942-47. (Covers all the states.) New York, Tax Foundation, 1948. 76 pp. tables.

Review of the 1948 Wisconsin Tax Year. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* December 1948. 4 pp.

A Summary of the Financial Operations of the Nevada State Government. Reno, Nevada Taxpayers Association, *Nevada Tax Review,* January 1949. 7 pp.

Survey of Sales Taxes Applicable to Nevada. (Detailed discussion of the structure of sales taxes and the types used in other states, Canada, Australia and Great Britain.) Carson City, Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, 1948. 174 pp. tables.

Taxation of Manufacturing in the South. By James W. Martin and Glenn D. Morrow. University, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1948. 110 pp. tables.

Taxation of Regulated Enterprises. Selections from *Utility Reference.* Ridgewood, New Jersey, Economic Reference, Inc., 1948. 154 pp. graphs, tables.

Taxes. Questions and Answers on State and Federal Taxes Levied in Wisconsin. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, 1949. 64 pp. 25 cents.

Tax Rates of All Missouri Counties and Municipalities, 1947 and 1948. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, 1949. 6 pp.

Tax Rates of California Cities, 1947-48 and 1948-49. (Actual and adjusted rates.) Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* December 1948. 4 pp.

Tax Survey Committee Finds State's Tax System Basically Sound. (Summary of report of the Governor's Tax Survey Committee.) Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *Connecticut Taxpayers News,* January 1949. 2 pp.

The Tax System of Hawaii. By Robert M. Kamins. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1948. 40 pp.

A Ten Year Analysis of Minnesota's State Fiscal Operations, 1939-48. Saint Paul, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, 1948. 21 pp.

Utilities

Financing Sewage Disposal by Sewer Rentals in Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1948. 32 pp. tables. $1.50.

Municipally Owned Waterworks in Pennsylvania. ("The most comprehensive description and analysis of the operation of the more than 300 municipally owned waterworks within the state that has ever been made.") By John H. Ferguson and Charles F. LeeDecker. State College, Pennsylvania State College, Institute of Local Government, 1948. 150 pp. tables, charts.

Sewage Collection and Treatment Works in the State of Washington. (Includes photographs, diagrams, tables, illustrative ordinances.) Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services. 132 pp. $2.

Taxpayers' Prospects of Relief from Railway Subsidies Improve. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, September 23, 1948. 2 pp.

Veterans

The Veterans Bonus Question in New Jersey. By Joseph E. McLean. New York, Governmental Research Association, *Notes and References,* November 1948. 3 pp.

Water Rates

Water Rent Increases. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* October 19, 1948. 2 pp.

Youth

Youth Problems: Child Labor and Institutional Services. Proceedings of the Local Action in Democracy Section, Thirteenth Annual Institute of Government, 1948. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1948. 29 pp.

Books in Review

Local Self-Government in New Jersey: A Proposed Optional Charter Plan. Report of the New Jersey Commission on Municipal Government. Trenton, New Jersey, the Commission, 1949, xii, 120 pp.

Here it is: a real model optional local government law offering every locality in a state substantial home rule. The report, known as the Faulkner report after the chairman of the commission which produced it, consists of legislative bills embodying five optional charters and a supplement to the present commission government law, together with a letter of transmittal, a 26-page introductory statement and factual comments on specific sections of the bills.

Although the report is designed to meet legal and other requirements in New Jersey, it furnishes an excellent guide for similar efforts in other states. This is because the commission, with the staff assistance of the Princeton Government Surveys and the advice of a number of other experts, cut through the existing jungle of New Jersey municipal law to fundamental principles. The introductory statement is an unusually clear and eloquent discussion of the importance to effective local democracy of sound form and participating citizens.

After examining the forms of local government now prevalent in New Jersey and other states, the commission concluded that it could conscientiously recommend for future adoption only two basic forms, the council-manager plan and the strong mayor plan, plus a modified mayor-council plan for small municipalities. No impartial student of municipal affairs will quarrel with the commission's adverse conclusion on the commission form.

The commission, somewhat apologetically, provides for council confirmation of major appointments by the mayor in the mayor-council plans. This aberration from standard practice should not be copied; but some amends are made by a strong veto power and provision for a department of administration headed by a qualified business administrator responsible to the mayor.

Any municipality adopting one of the new forms would have greatly increased power to organize its own departments, set the number and compensation of its officers and employees, and determine the range and character of its services. A New Jersey municipality which chose to adopt one of the new options should have about as much power to make its own decisions, except to levy new taxes, as any municipality in the most favored constitutional home rule states. Any of the new options would be adopted either by petition and referendum or upon recommendation of a specially elected charter commission.

The Faulkner commission and its staff have put the whole country in their debt for this report. Their work is a fine example of the kind of municipal statesmanship required to preserve and strengthen local government as the basis of our American system. The Faulkner report may come to be widely recognized as one of New Jersey's most "useful manufactures."

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sented. Milwaukee, Department of Annexation, 1948. 8 pages each.

A Manual of Procedures for Merging Local Governmental Units. Harrisburg, Local Government Commission, 1948. 15 pp.

Conferences

Conference Leader's Guide. By Waldo E. Fisher. Pasadena 4, California Institute of Technology, Industrial Relations Section, 1948. 28 pp. $1.

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State Public Works in Tennessee. By Division of State Planning. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1949. 34 pp.

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PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXVIII, No. 4 **Total Number 387**

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Coroners Are Obsolete

THAT coroners and coroners' juries are obsolete was established in 1877 when Massachusetts substituted an appointive expert medical examiner system. It was proved again when New York City, holding its nose, abolished coroners in 1918 and set up a qualified medical examiner appointed by the mayor from a civil service list.

Maryland and a few counties here and there got rid of coroners as inefficient political sinecures. But several thousand of them in the 3,050 counties still survive the sporadic investigations of the last half century. Most are securely frozen into state constitutions, defying dislodgement, although an eminent committee of the American Medical Association testified truly (1945):

> The practice of selecting official medical investigators by direct vote of the electorate or by some form of political patronage has led to the systematic scrapping of invaluable experience, has placed persons in office who are not only inexperienced but not infrequently incompetent as well, has predisposed to partiality in the conduct of public business and has discouraged from entering public service the very kind of physician that should be engaged in this important type of work.

As obscure elective offices, coronerships are petty political plunder commonly utilized to fortify county political machines and doing nothing that does not have to be done over again.

The remedy? Here's the simplest: Jefferson County (Watertown), New York, got a special law (Chapter 110, Laws of 1916) which merely transferred the coroner's duties to the district attorney. In 1920 Oswego County did the same (Chapter 369). In 1923 the district attorney of Jefferson testified to a legislative committee (Legislative Document 55) that prior to 1916 the cost of administering the coroner's office ranged from $2,400 to $8,000; under the new law, $650 to $700 for occasional autopsies.

The "district attorney and acting coroner" of Oswego writes (1949) that his office incurs extra expense of "approximately $1,200 a year for medical fees on the per case basis," for doing what coroners used to do. As an elective coroner would also have incurred that expense, it appears that the district attorney takes the whole coroner function in his stride without any added costs to the county.

There's 30 years experience with simple abolition! Also in the state of Washington in the 28 counties below 40,000 population, coroners have been combined with county prosecutors since 1926.

Making elective county prosecutors *ex officio* coroners may satisfy obstructive constitutional stipulations since coroners thus remain elective.

Let it be added, however, that there is need also for bringing to unexplained corpses the technical detective resources of modern "legal medicine." That means setting up a state service since few counties have

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cases enough to support specialists and adequate laboratories.

What is needed is a model law that will set up a workable system operated by persons who are technically competent.

For Pay or Glory

IN THE course of a debate in Des Moines over adoption of the council-manager plan as provided by the Iowa enabling act, strenuous opposition developed to the $300 a year salaries for councilmen. It was urged that the figure should be raised to $5,000.

Questionnaires were sent to other cities having the council-manager form of government to determine how much councilmen were paid and how many hours per week mayors and councilmen spent on their municipal duties.

The results were more interesting than significant. They showed no correlation between large salaries and the long hours which some councilmen put in whether they have to or not. Cambridge, paying its councilmen $4,000, got no more hours of work than Grand Rapids, paying $1,200, or Hartford, paying nothing. Cambridge's mayor, who receives $5,000 per year, was reported to put in only one-fourth the time of Charlotte's mayor, who gets $1,000, and one-fifth the time of Hartford's mayor, who serves without salary.

The *Model City Charter* leaves blank the amount of salary for mayor and councilmen. Nominal salaries or, ideally, no salaries were the early concept and still are the rule, with some exceptions.

Small fees for attendance at weekly evening meetings seem quite feasible and it is obvious that arduous hours make it more difficult to secure first-class candidates with careers of their own. The opportunity to perform important public service can attract better men than will a salary substantial enough to attract candidates for the salary's sake.

Furthermore, substantial salaries sometimes encourage councilmen to feel that they have full-time jobs; and city managers are not particularly helped by being subjected to the ordeal of having their councilmen looking over their shoulders and breathing down their necks as a steady diet.

Experience of hundreds of school boards throughout the country testifies that high grade unselfish citizens welcome opportunities to serve for little or no pay and avoid service that might make them look like "politicians" who seek office for what there is in it.

Public Library,
Kansas City, Mo.

Payroll Tax Boon to Toledo

New capital improvements made, debts paid off, service levels restored, and property and equipment rejuvenated.

By **RONALD E. GREGG***

TOLEDO turned to a city income tax[1] for relief from prewar fiscal problems and postwar progress—and with considerable success. The degree of success may be measured both against the original plan of the Citizens' Finance Committee and inflationary postwar pressures affecting all cities.

City council adopted the tax in January 1946 as an inherent power of home rule in Ohio. The state constitution permits an income tax but the legislature never applied this authority. The presumption in this state is that state constitutional powers are inherited by charter cities in absence of state legislative denial or pre-emption of the tax field.

The new tax became effective March 1, 1946. A referendum vote, held a month later as demanded by the CIO, upheld the tax. The power of the city to levy the tax was also sustained in the only completed court case.[2]

The one per cent tax on earned income of both individuals and business has exceeded—in fact nearly doubled—revenue expectations. For the ten months in 1946 collections were $4,051,809; for 1947, $5,657,002. Collections for 1948 were $4,485,399 at the end of December, with an estimated deferred settlement of enough to make between $6,250,000 and $6,400,000 the total for the year.

Principal reasons for extra collections were three: first, original "official guesses" were deliberately conservative in the absence of reliable basic data; second, postwar employment surpassed the wartime peak; and third, levels of wages and profits increased.

Annual expenditure limitations or controls were written into the ordinance that created the tax. This procedure was based upon needs established by the comprehensive 1945 report of the Citizens' Finance Committee. The new tax was created for a five-year period to meet these needs. And the annual requirements then set forth totaled $2,988,543 plus tax administration costs for city purposes and $480,000 for school purposes. Any surplus was earmarked for debt payment.

Costs of administering the income tax were estimated at 4 per cent; actual costs are running less

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[1] See "Toledo Adopts Payroll Tax," by Ronald E. Gregg, the REVIEW, March 1946, page 108.

[2] *Angell* vs. *City of Toledo, et al.*, Lucas County, O., C. P. 169563 action to demur; pending, *Knox* vs. *City of Toledo, et al*, Lucas County, O., C. P. 169583, declaratory judgment prayed by federal employees.

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than 3 per cent: 1946—$104,000; 1947—$142,000; 1948—$199,000. Primary reason for the unusually low cost is that approximately 70 per cent of the revenue is collected by payroll withholding and, unless the taxpayer has another source of earned income, he need not make a report.[3]

Each year $1,388,543 is set aside to pay debts that were refunded annually from 1936 through 1945. This amount is a fifth of the total of that refunded debt. During 1946-48, $2,958,309 of debt service was paid, and $1,207,320 is in reserve for future maturities.

To re-establish a normal maintenance and replacement basis for city property and equipment, $250,000 is used each year to take up the backlog that accumulated during depression and war years.

Equipment Replaced

Much worn and obsolete equipment has already been replaced with more efficient items—a fleet of rubbish trucks, incinerator rebuilding, garbage truck bodies, aerial ladder trucks, fire pump trucks, emergency squad trucks, police cars, ambulances, police-fire alarm lines and boxes, rotary snow plows, park mowers, parking meters, repairs to auditorium, zoo and welfare farm buildings, heating plant, office equipment and furniture, playground equipment, wading pools, bridge repairs, etc. Because of inflated prices this $1,250,000 phase of the five-year program cannot be completed within original allotments, but major portions of the most essential items have been realized.

Each year $550,000 is used for pay-as-you-go new capital improvements. Again, inflated costs (55 per cent increase from 1945 to 1948) have cut down what can be accomplished within original allotments. Three swimming pools, street construction, a scaled-down contagious disease hospital and land purchases for civic center extension, union station plaza, clinical health center, play fields and a park—these are realized. The original program is approximately a third finished; will be perhaps two-thirds complete by the end of 1950.

The $800,000 allotted annually for general operations makes possible a more adequate service level, rubbish collection and trained recreation supervision. During the first three years it permitted wage adjustments. But the allotment is insufficient for the future if postwar economic pressures continue.

Each year $480,000 is set aside in a stabilization reserve fund. At the end of the year the reserve is transferred to city operating funds for the following year and its property tax request is reduced by the amount of the transfer. In this manner the schools and county can increase their respective property tax levies without a net change to property taxpayers—and have done so.

Surplus collections, the excess over the specified allotments outlined above plus income tax administration costs, are earmarked for additional debt payment. First actions on this phase of the financial plan are occurring now. Reasons for delays are: first, potential legal threats to the tax, in general; second, building an adequate over-all cash reserve to assure payment of the old refunded debts.

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[3] For administration processes, see "City Payroll Income Tax Proves Its Workability," *American City Magazine,* January 1948, page 112.

The accumulating surplus of $479,665 in 1946, $2,046,736 in 1947, and an estimated $2,582,195 or more in 1948 brings the total to $5,108,596. This makes possible the elimination of city property tax levies for debt service. Instead of a 3.5 mill levy for city debts in 1949, the $1,758,589 is being paid from the income tax surplus. In fact, at the rate income tax revenue is being collected, there will be sufficient surplus by early 1950 to pay off all general tax debts of the city.

In other words, when the tax was enacted the city general tax supported debt was $20,165,000, but since then $6,010,047 was paid with property tax money and the remainder was or will be paid with income tax money. This, of course, is an unanticipated result, not forecast in such large degree by even the most hopeful.

The combined effect of the stabilization fund, which reduces city levies for operating purposes, and payment of old debts with income tax money, is that the 1949 city property tax rate is 3.45 mills. This, added to the school rate of 10.58 and the county rate of 2.97, gives an over-all rate of 17 mills—a rather low urban tax rate.

Last fall council drafted an amendment to the income tax ordinance to increase for 1949 and 1950 the allocations of income tax money for general operating purposes and to make subsequent surpluses available for capital improvements. This was to offset the price pressures of inflation. Because the ordinance had gone to referendum, it was necessary that the amendment also be put to public vote. Voters disapproved the amendment in November; sustained the original limitations.

Change of limitations, however, is likely to come up again in the spring of 1950. With sufficient reserves then to pay all city general tax debts, proper disposal of the surplus accumulating thereafter until the tax expires, December 31, 1950, will be in order. The amount involved, at present rate of collection, may be $2,500,000 to $3,000,000. The question of freeing such surplus funds not needed for debt payments for another purpose then in need may be taken to court for a declaratory judgment or to popular vote.

Debt Retirement Planned

Unfortunately, Toledo's bonds are not callable. The last of these annual bonds matures in 1976. The more than $4,500,000 already on hand and future allocations of income tax money for debt retirement are being placed in a specially developed investment fund. Earnings are estimated at about $575,000.

In conclusion, several points merit enumeration:

1. Toledo faced the postwar

(Continued on page 180)

No Tenure for City Managers

Despite many proposals for protection from removal, few charters are found to have weakened power of councils.

By RICHARD S. CHILDS*

FOR a third of a century now the council-manager movement has been kept true to the original concept and few of the hundreds of local charter commissions have diverged into even minor errors of principle.

The commonest shortcoming is a timorous failure to bring all existing independent administrative offices, like city clerk, city attorney, treasurer or money-spending administrative boards, under the manager's control so as to complete the integration of line operations.

When such officers are left elective or otherwise independent in deference to local tradition or personalities, cooperation may happen to be genuine and deferential. There have been cases, however, where the city manager, failing to obtain voluntary cooperation, has felt obliged to set up a complete duplication of services under his own oversight.

Such compromises in charters are failures to carry the council-manager concept to completion rather than deliberate divergencies. The eighteen county manager setups comprise similar shortcomings which, however, usually reflect constitutional obstacles.

Next in importance are the deliberate divergencies which range around notions of protecting managers from unreasonable or capricious removal. In a scatteration of unorthodox charters the manager, instead of serving at the pleasure of a majority of the council, is sheltered by a provision requiring more than a majority to remove him. Since the majority usually is left with ample ability to cut his salary, upset his projects and make him miserable if he should cling to his post, his shelter is obviously a frail one.

In the New Jersey permissive law, as first enacted in 1923, a council majority could remove the manager. This was unhappily amended in 1936 so that removal required one more than a majority, for cause, after a hearing. It was amended again, in 1948, to permit summary removal by a majority during the first three years of a manager's tenure, after which removal by a majority must be "for cause."

"For cause" gives the manager a chance to appeal to the courts and invoke their aid in an effort to hold his job against an adverse council. Actually no such case ever arose in any of the seven council-manager cities in New Jersey during the twelve years the extra vote requirement has been in effect. Opponents of the council-manager plan in local adoption campaigns have often harped on this provision, however, and drawn lurid forecasts of entrenched dictators. Undoubtedly

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existence of the provision has deterred consideration of the plan in many New Jersey municipalities. This vexatious detail of the law will disappear if the pending report of the Faulkner Commission is adopted in the 1949 legislature.[1]

In 1948 in Massachusetts certain revisions of the optional city charters act led to insertion of the requirement of a two-thirds vote for removal—five out of seven or six out of nine—in future adoptions of Plan D (council-manager). The provision may henceforth bedevil campaigns for adoption out of all proportion to the actual probability of the contingency of a resistant manager and an adverse bare majority in council.

Cities Protecting Tenure

Several home rule or special charters also include such protection of tenure.[2] Those brought up by an incomplete dragnet for this discussion are:

Saugus, Massachusetts, four out of five; Berkeley, California, six out of nine; Pasadena, California, five out of seven for both appointment and removal; Petaluma, California, five out of seven; Sacramento, California, six out of nine; Sacramento County, California, four out of five but only for cause in his first year; San Diego, California, five out of seven; San Mateo County, California, four out of five by a 1948 amendment; Escanaba, Michigan, four out of five after the first year in office; Pontiac, Michigan, five out of seven after the first year in office; Ypsilanti, Michigan, five out of seven; Phoenix, Arizona, five out of seven or by majority "for cause"—1948 amendment; West Hartford, Connecticut, five out of seven.

Protected tenure appeared in a bill, defeated in the 1948 Massachusetts legislature, extending a council-manager option to towns.

In these cities the total exposure of managers and councils to the odd contingency of a desire of a majority to remove, thwarted by lack of an extra vote and coupled with persistence of the manager in clinging to his office under the circumstances, aggregates 219 city-years up to 1949. To the best of our knowledge it actually has occurred just once! That was in Sacramento in 1927.

In that city a new group captured five of the nine council seats and, according to information obtained at the time from local National Municipal League members, proceeded to try to force the city manager to make political removals and appointments including the police chief. According to one of these members, they tried to remove the manager

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[1] For a review of this report see the REVIEW, March 1949, page 159.

[2] Parenthetically, be it noted that deviations in several charters go the other way and make a manager's tenure more precarious: Dayton, Ohio, and Long Beach, California, make it possible to recall the manager. It was tried once in the latter city in 1931 but the petition was thrown out as insufficient. In Bend, Oregon, a vote is required every four years as to whether the manager who happens to be in office at the moment shall be retained; on the last such occasion, November 30, 1948, the incumbent's retention was approved three to one. In San Jose, California, such a vote is required every two years and an attempt in 1948 to remove the provision from the charter was defeated. Such provisions impair the council's proper responsibility and must tend to make the manager a political figure.

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"after a mock trial for alleged incompetence in which they succeeded only in proving their own incompetence and emphasizing his accomplishments," but failed to muster the necessary sixth vote.

The manager stayed through two years of tension.

In the next election, 1929, the manager's four supporters were reelected but although all the tickets professed to favor retention of the manager, he was ousted by eight votes immediately after election without warning or explanation and a local sponsor of the principal group was put in as manager. Despite the unpromising start, he served with widespread approval for fifteen years.

There may, of course, have been other occasions, never brought to a head, where a quiet count of noses deterred a majority of a council from attempting to displace a manager in these cities.

Other Protective Devices

Requirement that removal may be only "for cause," as in the New Jersey optional act and New York State's county law cited below, may lurk in some other charters also.

In Newburgh, New York, an attempt in 1948 to make the manager removable only "for cause" brought adverse comment from the National Municipal League and the International City Managers' Association and it was defeated.

Such a phrase in the charter could provide the council with the alibi that it cannot remove an unsatisfactory manager for lack of enough definite "cause" to satisfy a court and envisages the possibility of a manager clinging to his office despite even a unanimous council!

A few other charters impair the council's authority by providing fixed terms for managers. For example, San Mateo County, California, in its 1932-1945 charter provided a four-year term for the manager and a board of supervisors elected in 1936 had to await expiration of his term on June 2, 1937, before it could replace him.

Arlington County, Virginia, provides a term for managers expiring December 31 of each year and requiring 60 days notice if his services are not desired for the ensuing twelve months.

The 1935 statewide optional manager law under which Monroe County (Rochester), New York, operates, provides appointment by the supervisors for a four-year term subject to removal only for cause after statements of reasons and a hearing and subject further to court review by order of certiorari. The first manager, selected in 1936, is still in office.

Employment contracts are sometimes made by councils to assure a fair trial of a prospective manager's services, especially when he is being induced to come from out of town or to leave another job. Such contracts, not running beyond the term of the council which makes them, seem unobjectionable but the city managers disclaim interest in even this limited protection.

The International City Managers' Association put a committee on the question in 1935. Two-thirds of the 201 managers who replied to the committee's questionnaire opposed a definite term of office or a contract. Only thirteen had ever served under a tenure contract and nine of these preferred indefinite tenure.

Tenure Not Desirable

The committee concluded: "Appointment for a definite term, with or without contract, is not desirable from the point of view of either the city manager or the council. The relationship between the council and the manager is largely one of confidence, and when this is broken down because of change in council personnel or other reasons, an effective working relationship no longer exists. The committee believes that a contract appointment would somewhat discredit the aim and purpose of democratic council-manager government and perhaps bring the manager into politics."

Clarence Ridley, director of I.C.M.A., adds, in 1949: "I am strongly of the belief that the experience under the council-manager plan in hundreds of cities since 1935 would strengthen and support this statement of the association's committee. One of the most important features of the council-manager plan is that a city manager can be removed at any time or he can be retained in office as long as the council desires. The only protection that a city manager needs or wants would be adequate notice with a statement of reasons for removal along the line of the provisions of the *Model City Charter*."

Presumably the sentiment of city managers would be even more adverse to the extra-vote-for-removal device that could enable a manager to flout a majority.

The *Model Charter* of the National Municipal League empowers the council to suspend the city manager summarily, with pay, by majority vote. At least 30 days before removal shall become effective, "the council . . . shall adopt a preliminary resolution stating the reasons for his removal. The manager may reply in writing and may request a public hearing" after which a final resolution of removal may be adopted by a majority with payment of his salary for the three calendar months following the adoption of the preliminary resolution.

This provision for deliberateness of procedure does not diminish the responsibility or authority of the council. The 30 days' delay prevents the council from trying to avert a ruction by surprising the public with a *fait accompli*. The public is big and clumsy and requires a little time to get into action and the delay gives it a chance to go to the rescue of the city manager if it wants to do so. This indeed has happened dramatically many times, particularly when the contemplated removal has been believed to be based on political motives. It has resulted in reversal of votes and sometimes even in prompt recall of the council.

Opportunity for the public to take a hand is a desirable detail and appears in most of the newer charters. But any device which so protects the tenure of the city manager as to enable him conceivably to defy or flout a majority of the representative council, impairs the unity and discipline of the governmental mechanism and is utterly unsound in principle.

You Must Know Your Town

Dynamic promotion of democracy through booklets on each community helps to produce politically mature citizens.

By DOROTHY L. JUDD*

MERELY supplying citizens with information is often a fruitless routine. This must not be so. With Communism knocking at our door, indeed, walking unbidden to our very hearth-fires, we dare not longer continue firing such unaimed, scattering shrapnel. We must shoot for a mark and hit the bull's-eye.

The time has come to lift our eyes to a higher goal; nothing less than the dynamic promotion of democracy.

Voting statistics continually indicate the voter's ignorance of the relationship of his local government to the national and international picture. The brief attention given to the study of local government in the schools in comparison with the time given to national and international government implies a similar attitude in the teaching profession.

Indifference of state legislatures to urban problems is another blind spot. These are storm signals that warn such groups as the National Municipal League and the League of Women Voters that they can never cease to hammer home to the citizen the fact that the whole structure of democracy rests on the community.

In the community rises the need for government services. Here is the source of government revenue, the well-springs of political power, the roots of congressional policy, domestic and foreign. Here our civil rights have their primary being. Here lies the control of education, the heart of democracy. Here grow those human relationships which will determine the success or failure of citizen cooperation.

This is a discussion of one of the tools for "informing citizens about local government," the publications of the Leagues of Women Voters about their communities. These grow out of group studies inspired by the survey outlines published by the National League of Women Voters entitled, *Know Your County, Know Your Town* and *Know Your Town's Future*. Such study material was first published in 1923 and has been in steady demand ever since.

In preparing these studies the first question is whether there is a need for a booklet on your own particular local government. What material already exists? There may be excellent annual reports published by your city, school or county governments, although they are like-

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ly to be confined to factual material of annual current interest. The chamber of commerce probably publishes helpful material, but it is intended primarily to advertise the community. Perhaps there is a pamphlet or study outline of some type prepared for school use by an enterprising teacher. Because of the teacher's usual lack of civic experience, it is likely to be too academic in its approach for citizen use and too unrealistic to appeal to the student.

School Needs

If there is no material available for school use, you may safely conclude the schools need it, even though you find a lack of enthusiasm among the teachers for giving time to local government. It is not improbable that the lack of teaching interest is itself due to the absence of dynamic localized material.

Thomas H. Reed writes, "In my opinion the only practical way of providing study material for local government is . . . writing a book about local government in a particular community. . . . The need is for material available to teacher and pupil which will give a vivid concrete picture of the community in which the pupil lives."[1]

There are not one but many "publics." People vary in their relationships to their local government, in their interests and attitudes toward it and in their intellectual levels. The conclusion is obvious: there is probably no such thing as the "average citizen," and the effort to write a book which will be read by everybody—our usual interpretation of "average citizen"—is doomed to failure.

In selecting your reading public there is inevitably a temptation to kill as many birds as possible with one stone—and it plagues one all through the writing process. In the first four editions of the book prepared by the Grand Rapids League of Women Voters we were constantly trying to write both for the schools and for the "average citizen," with the result that we pleased neither.

Finally, in the fifth edition, at the urgent request of the teachers themselves, we decided to write exclusively for the ninth grade civics student. If the book were to prove of interest to the citizen, that would be a happy coincidence.

When we decided to rewrite our book primarily as a civics text book, its over-all objective naturally became the "guidance of the growth of the student to political maturity." This called for some interpretation of the term, "political maturity."

Political maturity implies traits and attitudes that grow out of experiences of a social and religious nature as well as out of both general and civic education.[2] A book about government is a limited tool in the attainment of this objective. Recognizing this, we have, however, attempted to write a book that would help the student:

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[1] From a personal letter.

[2] See *Systematic Politics,* by Charles E. Merriam, Chicago, 1945, pages 258-260.

PERIODICAL DEPT

1. To see the community as an entity and as a problem of government, and to develop a "sense of belonging" to the community;

2. To think of government as the agency of the community for serving its own common good;

3. To learn to evaluate government on the basis of the adequacy and efficiency of its services and to think of governmental structure, laws and charters as a means to that end;

4. To think of government as a living process, meeting changing conditions and requiring adjustment to change;

5. To think of local government as the bulwark of democracy and freedom, the training ground for citizens;

6. To stimulate the future citizen to work for a two-fold objective:

   a. to promote changes in government necessary to adapt it to changes in modes of living, in science and invention, and in social ideals,

   b. to preserve the two key characteristics of democracy: control by the people and service to the common good.[3]

Popular publications on specific communities offer wide variation in form and content. This may indicate a corresponding variation in the readers and objectives they are planned to serve. Like the order of material in the *Know Your Town* survey outlined, many open with a page or two about the nature of the community, frequently in statistical form. But, unlike the *Know Your Town* arrangement which then goes directly to the subject of governmental services, most booklets next discuss election procedure, government offices or structure. There is usually a chapter on taxes. Few give services to the citizen a leading position. Some do not touch services at all.

The Grand Rapids book is designed on a slightly different psychological pattern. We have assumed that our reader is entirely unaware of the place of government in his life. We have attempted to lead him from a state of indifference toward government to a desire to participate effectively.

'Sense of Belonging'

The book begins with the reader's present environment, the physical, social and economic characteristics of his community. Carried further through class activities, this opening chapter should help give the student the "sense of belonging" to his community mentioned earlier. This material also serves to set the problem of local government for this particular community.

In Chapter II the story bridges over from the reader's interest in himself and his environment to the subject of government by showing how government grows out of the needs and desires of himself and his community.

The body of the book describes the three local governments—city, county and school district. Each of these three chapters begins with the citizen's experience as a recipient of daily governmental services, not his voting or taxpaying experiences. We assume that what he gets *from* government is uppermost in his mind. Each chapter treats first the direct services to the citizen, next the administrative tools, and then structure.

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[3] For this conception of government we are indebted chiefly to Professor Charles E. Merriam.

Finally, in attempting to serve our fourth objective, each chapter points out the needs for and methods of improving the unit of government it discusses. This approach also lays the groundwork for our second objective, the evaluation of government on the basis of the ends for which it exists, i.e., adequate and efficient services. Secondary emphasis is placed on the administrative tools and structure as means to that end.

Some of the problems of government arising out of the need to adjust to changes in modes of living wrought by science and invention and in changing social ideals are emphasized in the chapters on city planning and on intergovernmental relations. These chapters provide an introduction to the significant movement of decentralization and its resulting metropolitan area problems now so acute. It is intended to stimulate some creative thinking on the part of the reader and to move him to action.

Toward the Citizen

The last two chapters on voting and citizen action bring the book full cycle back to the reader himself and his individual part in democracy.

The booklet which most successfully takes the psychology of the citizen into account is *You are Democracy,* by Dorothy Schramm, published by the Iowa League of Women Voters. Packed full of meaningful and colorful charts, written in narrative form but in short, pungent paragraphs accented with black lead lines, it has eye appeal which also carries conviction.

The key to its effectiveness, however, is the author's intimate understanding of "Mr. John Q. Iowa Citizen," the hero of the book. Interspersed throughout are conversations with this gentleman which serve to lead him step by step through the voting process, political party participation, machinery of government, paying taxes and, most novel of all, his between-election job of keeping contact with his representative.

Whatever their quality, the local government booklets published by the Leagues of Women Voters derive their character from the fact that they are a product of group effort. Regardless of the reader group for whom they are written, regardless of their objectives, form or content, these booklets are all intended ultimately to create effective participation in government. Effective participation in our day must be group participation. The individual without group experience in citizen action would find it difficult to write a book intended to serve as a stimulant and practical guide. Here again the local civic organization has something of unique value to contribute to civic education in the schools as well as to adult political education.

An isolated individual could, of course, perform the factual research but he couldn't write our kind of book. The qualities which give League of Women Voter booklets their intrinsic value are their objectives, their evaluation of factual material, understanding of government problems, concern for the common good, faith in democracy. These qualities are the composite result of long years of cooperative experience of an enduring citizen organization possessing a clearly delineated philosophy and objective, an amazing cohesiveness and a long view. These are the social—and, yes, religious—experiences which lead to political maturity. They are rarely attainable by a lone author.

To what extent do these booklets actually increase effective participation of citizens? Statistics would show how many are sold or given away. But how many are read? How many spur citizens to action? What has been the effect? How much more firmly is democracy entrenched in the hearts of the people?

What Are Results

Clear-cut answers are few. The league in Montgomery County, Maryland, says that its booklet on county government reform culminated in the adoption of a home rule county manager charter in 1948. Kingsport, Tennessee, writes that its booklet, *This Is Your County*, has resulted in larger votes at county elections and better trained election workers. The Hamden, Connecticut, league has received expressions of appreciation from new voters beyond fondest hopes.

The reaction of the press everywhere has been gratifying. The cooperation and financial assistance of chambers of commerce, educational foundations and the schools have provided an emphatic indication of value.

Perhaps the National Municipal League can advance general thinking on some of these problems. To whom should a booklet about a specific local government be directed? Toward what precise objectives should it be pointed? What materials should be included? What is the most effective arrangement and form? Can some way be devised to measure the effectiveness of the booklet?

We can be confident at least of the answer to one question: there is a need for some kind of publication about the local government of each particular community.

Oregon Civic Leader Dies

William S. U'Ren died in Portland, Oregon, on March 8, 1949, at the age of 90. Forty years ago U'Ren made history as an Oregon pioneer for reforms now familiar and established such as the initiative, referendum and recall, direct primaries, and the direct election of U. S. senators, the last of which Oregon in 1908 was the first state to adopt. He also fought for the short ballot and was a vice president of the National Short Ballot Organization from 1910 until its consolidation into the National Municipal League in 1915. He converted Woodrow Wilson, once a doctrinal and outspoken opponent, to his ideas in a famous interview at Princeton in 1911.

Phoenix Charter Rises Anew

Amendment clarifies positions of mayor and city manager after 25 years of confusion and political manipulation.

By **PAUL KELSO***

VOTERS of Phoenix, Arizona, at a special election on November 16, 1948, approved a charter amendment which provides for development of more effective council-manager government. Designed to correct the weaknesses which have hampered operation of the council-manager plan in Phoenix since its inception 34 years ago, the amendment strengthens the charter by concentrating administrative authority in the manager and by erecting various safeguards to protect him against unwarranted interference by the council.

Adoption of the amendment must be attributed to the persistent and intelligent action of the Phoenix Charter Revision Committee which drafted the amendment and conducted the campaign for its adoption. Work of the committee was ably directed by its chairman, Charles C. Bernstein, Phoenix attorney.

Council-manager government in Phoenix rests upon a home rule charter adopted by the voters in October 1913 to go into effect in April 1914. Almost from the beginning, however, the plan has functioned in halting fashion, largely because of serious defects in the charter and because of the readiness of various mayors and city commissioners to exploit these defects.

The charter conferred an undue amount of executive authority in the mayor and excessive appointive authority in the city commission (city council). It exempted a number of administrative functions from control of the manager, who was required to submit his appointments to the commission for confirmation. There was some tendency, too, for the commission to consider the managership as a political position, to be filled by a supporter of its majority bloc.

As a consequence, responsibility for administration was divided, administrative coordination often was lacking, and commission-manager relations were marked either by the subservience of the manager or by discord.

The fact that annual elections often brought a change in the composition of the majority bloc contributed to a high separation rate for Phoenix city managers. Between April 1914 and November 1948 there were 31 appointments. The average tenure of a Phoenix manager was slightly more than one year; the longest period of service, achieved by the third manager, was about eight years.

Although council-manager government in Phoenix proved superior to the mayor-council form which it

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superseded, it was criticized by opponents and supporters alike. As a result, there were recurrent attempts either to modify or discard the charter. Between 1915 and 1941 four proposals to amend the charter provision for removing the manager were submitted to the voters and three were accepted.

A committee was appointed in 1915 to study the charter and recommend improvements, but its proposals were not accepted by the city commission. In 1935 the short-lived Aldermanic Government Club of Phoenix proposed a strong mayor plan but failed to bring about its adoption.

In 1937 the Fennemore committee—so-called because its chairman was H. M. Fennemore—appointed by Mayor John H. Udall, submitted various recommendations to the mayor and commission for strengthening the charter. The commission failed to take affirmative action. Recommendations similar to those of the Fennemore committee were made in 1940 by a committee named by Mayor Reed Shupe, but again the commission pigeon-holed them.

The commission in 1945 engaged Public Administration Service to make a comprehensive survey of city administration. In its *Report of Governmental Administration of the City of Phoenix, Arizona, 1945*, the Service proposed concentration of administrative responsibility in the manager and a fairly general overhauling of administrative organization and procedure. The report was submitted to the commission and apparently forgotten so far as official action was concerned.

The Charter Revision Committee which drafted the recently adopted amendments was appointed on October 23, 1947, by Mayor Busey, who in his campaign for election had promised to work for charter reform. The *Phoenix Gazette* of March 11, 1948, editorially characterized the committee as "probably the most capable and truly representative group of citizens that could have been assembled in Phoenix."

Charter Committee's Work

The city commission appropriated $10,000 for committee activities, but it used only $400 and asked that the remainder be set aside to help pay the cost of the special election in which its proposals would be presented to the voters. The committee collected a total of $2,050 from Phoenix businessmen to pay its expenses. Members served without pay.

The revision committee elected permanent officers and executive board members in January 1948 and planned to meet every Wednesday evening. All but one of its 40 members favored retaining and improving the council-manager plan.

According to Mr. Bernstein, its chairman, the committee talked from January to May and gradually narrowed the scope of its work to the re-writing of the charter section dealing with the structure of government. Meetings continued until submission of the charter amendment to the city commission in August.

The committee obtained full and sympathetic coverage of its proceedings in the three major newspapers as a result of an early decision to permit reporters to attend meetings and to report the discussions as fully as they pleased.

Prerequisite to the drafting of the charter amendment was education of the committeemen themselves in the field of municipal government and administration. Materials on municipal government were obtained from the National Municipal League and other sources and distributed among members for study and group discussion. The League's *Model City Charter* figured prominently in debates and exerted a strong influence on the wording of several sections.

Various parts of the amendment, as well as the final draft, were sent to the National Municipal League for criticism and suggestions. The League was particularly helpful with the sections on tenure of and procedure for removing the manager, although its criticism that salaries proposed for mayor and councilmen were too high was not accepted. The agenda for each weekly meeting of the committee was carefully prepared, and verbatim copies of the proceedings were later sent to members.

The committee wished to write into the charter amendment a provision permitting the appointment of a manager from any place in the United States but realized that such a provision would conflict with the Arizona constitution which requires officers of state and local government to be qualified electors of the political division in which elected or appointed.

To remove this obstacle, the committee drafted an amendment to the state constitution to exempt city managers from the local residence requirement and succeeded in having it introduced into the legislature. Prompted by the committee, the legislature voted in March 1948 to place the proposition on the November 2 ballot for final action by Arizona voters. The amendment was adopted.

Amendment Submitted

The commission on September 28 voted to submit the charter amendment to the voters at a special election on November 16, after its endeavors to weaken it had failed because members of the majority bloc were unable to agree on the manner of vitiation.

Between September 29 and November 16 the Charter Revision Committee, aided by the Citizens' Organization for Charter Activity, conducted an intensive campaign for an affirmative vote. Talks were made before various meetings of the League of Women Voters and other women's organizations, Rotarians, Kiwanians and other service clubs, church groups and numerous other organizations.

A generous amount of newspaper space and radio time was devoted to the campaign. Shortly before election day, the committee inserted advertisements in Phoenix newspapers and distributed throughout the city a "Charter Revision Extra." By letter it requested the churches of the city to insert in their church bulletins on November 14 a notice of the special election.

Supporters of the charter amendment included the Phoenix League of Women Voters, the city's three leading newspapers, Chamber of Commerce, and a number of former mayors and commissioners. Mayor Nicholas Udall, who had succeeded Mayor Busey on May 1, at first was neutral but later introduced into the commission a strong-mayor ordinance which he withdrew before commission action on it. In the closing days of the campaign, however, he came out in favor of the charter amendment.

The Phoenix Central Labor Council, on recommendation of the City Employees Unity Council, voted to oppose adoption of the amendment. It was endorsed, however, by William J. Eden, business representative of the Arizona Council, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. The newspapers reported that City Manager James T. Deppe and three of the city commissioners were against the amendment.

Improvements Adopted

At the special election on November 16 the charter amendment carried by a vote of 6,595 to 2,949. The vote was light, only 9,544 of the total of 46,267 registered voters participating.

The charter amendment changed the name of the city's governing body from commission to council and enlarged its membership from five to seven, including the mayor. The mayor and incumbent councilmen were to appoint the two additional members, and all were to serve until the next election.

Elections will no longer be held annually in the spring; instead, they will be held in odd-numbered years, with the primary election on the second Tuesday in November and the general election on the second Tuesday in December. The mayor and six councilmen will enter and leave office at the same time instead of serving staggered terms, as in the past.

The amended charter stipulates that the council is to appoint a manager for an indefinite period solely on the basis of his qualifications as an executive and administrator. He is not required to be a Phoenix resident when appointed. Responsibility for administration is concentrated in the manager, who is given extensive powers of appointment and removal, subject to civil service regulations.

The amendment empowers the council, on recommendation of the manager, to "create, change and abolish offices, departments or agencies, boards and commissions," with three exceptions. Each department is to be headed by a director under control of the manager. The council and its members are expressly forbidden to meddle with the appointive and removal power of the manager or to interfere with administrative services. For violating this provision council members may be removed from office.

The council may remove the manager without cause by an affirmative vote of five of its members and for stated causes by an affirmative vote of four members. The council must by a majority vote adopt a preliminary resolution of intention at least 30 days before the passage of a resolution for removal; if removal is sought for cause, the resolution of intention must state the reasons. In either instance the manager may reply in writing within ten days and may ask for a public hearing, which must be held not earlier than twenty days or later than 30 days after adoption of the preliminary resolution.

After the public hearing, but not sooner than 30 days after the resolution of intention, the council may remove the manager. The amendment states that "the action of the council in suspending or removing the manager shall be final and conclusive on everyone, it being the intention of this charter to vest all authority and fix all responsibility for such suspension and removal in the council."

The amendment raised the salary of the mayor to $6,000 per year and that of councilmen to $3,000. The manager's salary is fixed by ordinance.

Since adoption of the charter amendment incumbent councilmen have appointed the two additional councilmen and have re-appointed Mr. Deppe as city manager. Mayor Udall and one councilman voted against the appointments.

As the appointments were dictated by the three members of the council who fought adoption of the charter amendment, there are many persons in Phoenix who believe that, with an eye to the municipal elections next November and December, it would be prudent to form a citizens' organization as a safeguard against possible neglect by the council and manager to take advantage of the opportunity for better government offered by the charter amendment. It has been suggested that either the Charter Revision Committee or the Citizens' Organization for Charter Activity could serve as an excellent nucleus for a citizens' organization which would spearhead the drive for development of more effective municipal government.

PAYROLL TAX BOON TO TOLEDO

(Continued from page 166)

period with a comprehensive five-year fiscal plan produced by citizen–public official cooperation to restore city services from depression and wartime ailments.

2. When other methods of financing it failed, they together—but independent of outside aid—pioneered a new method.

3. The near clean-up of backed up public property maintenance, restoration of adequate city service levels, reduction of net general indebtedness to nothing, and addition of overdue new public improvements on a pay-as-you-go basis is a salutory program that stands in favorable contrast to the experience of most cities during this period.

4. The extra elimination of more than $14,000,000 of debts, large reduction of city property taxes, reestablishment of efficient city equipment and properties and limitation of new improvements to the more essential obtainable on a pay-as-you-go basis, and reasonable employee pay during a period of inflation, is a starter to counter-inflationary public spending policies talked about for 25 years but too seldom applied. The payroll income tax is working in Toledo.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Grave Issues Raised by Yonkers City Strike

Revision of New York Statute Is Proposed

AN EIGHT-DAY strike of municipal employees in Yonkers, New York, ended on March 7 after causing a great accumulation of garbage and other refuse and threatening the health and safety of the citizens.

The strike's end left several knotty problems unsolved including the efficacy of the so-called Condon-Wadlin law, the New York statute that seeks to ban strikes of public employees—state or local. Suggestions for change of the law have ranged from revision of its penalty provisions and insertion of compulsory grievance procedure, and possibly wage-fixing methods, to outright repeal.

The new city manager, Donald C. Wagner, who took office March 14, announced after conferences and a study of the situation that the penalties of the act necessarily apply. These include the provision that a striker can be re-hired only on five-year probation with no pay increase for three years.

The strike occurred as a result of refusal of four city employees to collect garbage at the Polish Community Center, where picket lines of a musicians' union were being maintained, and the suspension of these men and of fourteen others who refused to do Sunday work at straight-time rates of pay. The fourteen, as well as one of the other four, would not work on Sunday except at double pay, although Sunday was part of their regularly scheduled work week, according to the city manager, and the city council had recently adopted an ordinance authorizing double pay for emergency work only. The Sunday work scheduled for nine of the men was at the water bureau and for six at the department of public works.

Upon suspension of the eighteen men, some five hundred city employees, some of them members of Local 1025, United Government Workers, CIO, and others of Local 456, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, AFL, quit work on the morning of February 28. Acting City Manager John A. Peterson—regularly the city comptroller but serving temporarily as manager pending appointment of a permanent manager—announced that if the men did not report for work by 8 A.M. the following day they would be declared to have abandoned their positions and to have violated section 22-A of the civil service law (the Condon-Wadlin act). They would thus be subject to the penalties of that act.

Although the union officers called the work stoppage a protest and not a strike, the men failed to return; garbage and ash collection came to a halt and snow removal was left to efforts of transportation companies. Water pumps remained manned. The city manager sought to recruit workers from civil service lists and elsewhere with little success. Picket lines of the two unions were effective deterrents.

Injunctions against interference with municipal operations were obtained from a state judge on Saturday, March 5, and were served on officers of one union, but officials of the other avoided being served and its picket line remained.

At 3 P.M. on Monday, March 7, members of the city council and representatives of the two unions met in the city manager's office and at 6 P.M. the strike was called off on the basis of a three-point agreement: all employees to return to work immediately "without prejudice to either side," details of pay for Sunday and holiday work, and grievance machinery, to be worked out in conference of city and union representatives.

Different opinions remained as to the applicability of the future restrictions under the Condon-Wadlin law, the acting manager asserting that they still applied while union leaders claimed the contrary.

The Yonkers strike provoked much discussion of the anti-strike law; its opponents, including opponents of the state administration, seek its repeal. Others, recognizing the danger and incongruity of strikes and labor monopolies in non-profit public service activities, urge that the law be improved and made more workable. The New York *Herald-Tribune* said on March 9: "Needed are amendments coupling the strike prohibition with a requirement for grievance machinery, and tempering the penalty provisions so as to preserve civil service goals."

Council-Manager Plan Developments

On March 7 **Danvers, Massachusetts,** (population 14,179) adopted a town manager charter by a two to one vote of 2,670 to 1,297. The new charter will become effective in March 1950.

According to the *Observer* of **Fayetteville, North Carolina,** (17,428) that city has voted to adopt a council-manager charter. It will go into effect this spring after election in April of the five-man council provided by the charter, which will select a city manager.

Voters of **Mexico, Missouri,** (9,053) adopted the council-manager plan made optional for cities by state law on March 1 by a majority of 134. A citizens' committee, organized to campaign for the measure, furnished speakers, planned radio discussions and distributed manager fliers. The League of Women Voters worked actively, arranging discussion groups in the homes of its members.

Numerous town meetings held during March in **New Hampshire** acted on manager proposals. The plan was adopted in **Ashland** (1,460) by a vote of 312 to 122; **Bethlehem** (935) adopted it 203 to 179; and **Derry** (5,400) 685 to 607. Four towns which adopted the plan at 1948 town meetings voted to continue it: **Lancaster, Littleton, Meredith** and **Newport. Durham** voted to adjourn the question of adoption until November 15; **Belmont** decided against the plan 136 to 78; **Bristol** voted against it 294 to 56. **Conway,** which adopted the plan in March 1946, voted to discontinue it, 539 to 433. This is the first loss in New Hampshire, reports John D. Langmuir, executive director of the New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers Associations.

In March **Killeen, Texas,** (1,263) adopted a home rule charter providing for the council-manager plan by a vote of 297 to 200.

At a recent town meeting in **Chelsea, Maine,** (2,280) the citizens voted 120 to 81 in favor of the manager plan.

On March 8 **Milbridge, Maine,** (1,318) voted to adopt the manager plan, effective in March 1950.

At a special town meeting held on February 14, voters of **Eliot, Maine,** rejected a council-manager proposal by a vote of 209 to 103.

Against the advice of its committee on municipal and county government, the New Hampshire House of Representatives on February 15 passed a bill to permit the citizens of **Keene** to vote every year, if desired, on removal of the city manager. Representative Laurence M. Pickett, veteran Democrat from Keene, fought for the bill's adoption, aided by some Republicans who oppose the manager plan. The bill allows 3 per cent of the registered voters to call a special election on the issue of removal.

A bill to repeal the manager plan in **Portsmouth, New Hampshire,** subject to a referendum, has been introduced in the New Hampshire House.

Voters of **Brandon, Vermont,** rejected the manager plan at the town meeting of March 3.

In a surprise move at the March town meeting in **Poultney, Vermont,** the question of engaging a town manager received a favorable vote. No such article had been inserted in the notice of matters to be discussed at the meeting but it is understood that such an article will be carried in the warning for the village meeting and, if adopted, a manager will be appointed to carry on the affairs of both town and village.

Having been given an unfair five-day advantage over Plan E sponsors[1] in the grotesque race for petition signatures in **Boston,** the Plan A group—supported for the present by Mayor Curley and the local Democratic machine—amassed 125,000 signatures before filing its petition on February 14, shortly before Plan E advocates were in a position to file with the requisite minimum number of signatures. The latter group announced that it intends to collect signatures until July, the time limit for filing.

Meanwhile, the legal controversy over the petition was in the courts. In February Boston Communists assailed both Plan A and Plan E, including the proportional representation feature of the latter, claiming that P. R. would give minorities less opportunity for representation than under the present system with 22 ward councilmen.

The council-manager plan has received renewed support in **Springfield, Massachusetts,** and an organization which includes members of the old City Manager League and many others has been started. Plan D—council-manager form without proportional representation—is advocated.

Petitions for Plan D in **Haverhill, Massachusetts,** calling for a referendum election this fall, are reported to have received more than the requisite number of signatures.

On March 11 voters of **Amesbury, Massachusetts,** turned down a proposal for adoption of the manager plan. The vote was 1,901 to 1,385, with 835 unmarked ballots.

A bill authorizing a new charter for **Norwich, Connecticut,** has been introduced in the state legislature. It would permit consolidation of the city and town under the council-manager plan. The charter is the product of a citizens' commission that has worked on the subject over two years.

The Citizens Charter Committee of **New Haven, Connecticut,** continues its efforts for a proposed council-manager charter. Petitions in favor of a bill to authorize the charter have been prepared for presentation to the legislature.

A bill to authorize the manager plan for **Princess Anne, Maryland,** county seat of Somerset County, has been introduced in the state legislature.

A **Washington, D. C.,** home rule bill being drafted by the home rule subcommittee of the Senate's District of Columbia committee provides for a council of nine which will appoint a city manager. Senator Estes Kefauver, chairman of the subcommittee, said that all nine would be elected at large the first year, part for two year terms, the rest for four.

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[1] See the March REVIEW, page 133.

The city council of **Danville, Virginia,** has been asked to take the initiative in support of the council-manager plan, as was done by the city council of Martinsville, where the plan was adopted by overwhelming vote in January. The suggestion was referred for study to a "full round table." It was made by S. T. Martin, Jr., who headed the committee in charge of a manager campaign two years ago.

A council-manager campaign, supported by the Chamber of Commerce, is under way in **Oxford, North Carolina**. A bill to submit the question to popular vote has been introduced in the state legislature.

A bill providing the council-manager plan for **Columbia,** the state capital, has been passed by both houses of the South Carolina legislature and sent to the governor for his approval.

A council-manager charter for **Hillsdale, Michigan,** was defeated, 1,163 to 642, at a special election on February 21. This was a record vote for a strictly local election.

Sufficient signatures have been received in **Antigo, Wisconsin,** on petitions calling for a referendum on adoption of the manager plan.

A House committee hearing was held March 15 on a bill to make council-manager government optional for all **Illinois** cities except Chicago. Sponsored by Mrs. Bernice T. Vander Vries of Winnetka and backed by the Illinois Council-Manager Conference, the bill was introduced in the House of Representatives on February 23. The manager plan is now available only to cities under 5,000 and to villages.

The city council of **Sterling, Illinois,** has voted to ask the state legislature to permit cities of over 5,000 population to adopt the council-manager plan.

The *Herald* of **Harvard, Illinois,** points out the precarious condition of the city's finances and advocates a city manager.

A group in **Henderson, Kentucky,** is considering adoption of the council-manager plan.

A council-manager charter for **Athens, Tennessee,** has been drafted by a central committee composed of two representatives from each of seven civic groups, and has been offered to the public for study.

Citizens of **Grenada, Mississippi,** are conducting a campaign for adoption of the council-manager plan. The movement is actively supported by the present city administration and by the Grenada *County* Weekly, W. W. Whitaker, editor.

Petitions calling upon the city council of **Cameron, Missouri,** to hold an election on the question of adopting the manager plan are reported to have received nearly twice the necessary number of signatures, and have been filed with the mayor and council.

Voters of **Brady, Texas,** on March 4 rejected a proposed manager charter by a vote of 506 to 446.

Voters of **Napa, California,** are to pass on the question of adopting a council-manager charter in May.

In **Newport Beach, California,** which adopted the manager plan by ordinance in April 1948, a proposal to adopt a city charter embodying the manager plan was defeated at a special election on February 8. Authority of the city manager has recently been supplemented by city council action making him executive head of the city's administration with all heads of departments responsible to him.

Voters of **Merced, California,** will

PERIODICAL DEPT.

ballot April 11 on a council-manager charter compiled by a board of freeholders.

The city council of **Pomona, California,** has adopted an ordinance providing for the new office of city administrator, to correlate municipal activities and handle administrative affairs between council meetings.

Mayor Charles R. Miller of **Corona, California,** advocated employment of a city manager in a recent radio broadcast, "City Hall Speaks."

Administrative Survey Planned for Milwaukee

The city of Milwaukee is planning a comprehensive administrative survey of its practices and procedures with a view toward improving the effectiveness of its city government. A committee was appointed at the end of 1948, in accordance with a resolution adopted by the city council, to investigate the methods of conducting such a survey. It has solicited suggestions from department heads, civic and labor organizations, and interested citizens for subjects to be included, and has formulated a tentative program which, together with the probable cost of the survey, was the subject of a general meeting on March 1 in the office of the mayor.

No appropriation has been provided as yet. The results of the meeting were to be submitted to the city council.

St. Louis Metropolitan Development Furthered

Representatives of the Missouri-Illinois Metropolitan Area Commission, together with members of the legislatures of the two states and of their Commissions on Interstate Cooperation, have agreed to sponsor an interstate compact for development of the area, together with enabling legislation. Highways, airports, bridges, flood control, sanitation works and railroad terminals are types of projects, largely interstate in nature, that may be involved.

Constitutional Revision Not Dead in Minnesota

Despite defeat of proposals to facilitate constitutional revision in Minnesota at last November's election[1] members of the Minnesota Constitutional Commission have already held informal meetings to discuss means of following up their report to the legislature, made last October, and their completely revised constitution which was placed before the legislature in January.[2]

The commission also voted unanimously to recommend to the legislature submission to the people in 1950 of the question of calling a constitutional convention. It was further agreed that individual members of the commission in the legislature should feel free to introduce as constitutional amendments various revisions proposed by the commission.

Arizona Civil Service Law Invalidated

As a result of a number of suits challenging the constitutionality of the state civil service law adopted by the voters of Arizona last November,[1] the State Supreme Court unanimously declared it unconstitutional in February. The court's opinion, stating the basis of the decision, was deferred, an immediate determination being deemed desirable since payrolls were being held up.

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[1] See the REVIEW, January 1949, page 41.

[2] See the REVIEW, December 1948, page 599.

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Illinois Facilitates Legislative Committee Work

In the Illinois House of Representatives, Speaker Paul Powell is placing emphasis on the committee system as the major machinery for reviewing proposed legislation.

The house has 153 members and 20 standing committees which handle bills. The total membership of these committees exceeds 600. This means that the average legislator has about four or five committee assignments. Since the number of committee rooms in Illinois' crowded statehouse is limited and ordinarily only six different hours are available for committee meetings, committees experience difficulty securing quorums unless schedules are carefully planned.

Speaker Powell, Democrat, turned over the chore of developing a committee schedule to the research staff of the Illinois Legislative Council, following the practice of his predecessor, Speaker Hugh Green, a Republican. The research staff worked out a master chart showing overlapping between committees, and then used this as a basis for scheduling simultaneous meetings of committees where, for these particular groups, overlapping was at a minimum.

The present speaker also continued and expanded another innovation worked out by his predecessor, a seventeen-point memorandum advising committee chairmen and clerks on the best way to handle committee procedures.

He urged orderly planning of hearings, saying:

"Chairmen who wish to help avoid the jam at the close of the session will find it advisable to review bills referred to them and to attempt to arrange an even schedule of hearings by consulting with the sponsors."

WILLIAM L. DAY
Illinois Legislative Council

Industrial Development Goal of State Agencies

State planning and development agencies devoted the greatest share of their energies in 1948 to industrial development, according to the American Society of Planning Officials. The society reports that such efforts ranged from straight publicity and advertising, designed to attract new companies to the state, to the administration of statutes permitting local governments to erect factory buildings.

Extension of tourist business, with use of publicity and other aids was another objective. Minnesota trained resort owners in bookkeeping and business methods. Arkansas developed a course for training in courtesy and Missouri encouraged the organization of regional associations for commercial operators to improve business in their areas.

Virginia cooperated with the state highway department to promote roadside zoning. Georgia was active in improving the inspection of tourist facilities, while New York pushed the development of an information service for vacationers.

During the past year, local planning assistance programs in Tennessee, Alabama and Louisiana continued to emphasize direct consulting assistance to the community. Other states, including New York, Connecticut, Indiana, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and New Hampshire, were active in promoting local city and county planning.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Olympia Hears from the Counties

Local Officials Ask for Park Boards, Salary Rise

WASHINGTON state legislators now convened in Olympia are considering Senate bill 6 which would permit counties to establish park boards to operate in the same manner as city park boards. No additional taxes are involved, but proponents of the bill anticipate that park boards would spend recreation funds much more effectively than do the county commissioners.

Senate bill 27 would permit schools to cooperate in recreational activities with other public bodies. It is hoped that such cooperation would obviate duplicating recreational and community facilities such as in county or city parks or field houses and in school buildings within short distances of each other.

An increase in the salaries of county officials is proposed in several measures before the legislature. Stimulated by the current increase in salaries of state elected officials, proponents of the measures would increase county officials' pay from the present $5,500 maximum to $8,000 for the prosecuting attorney and $7,500 for the other elected officials. Also, they would increase the allowance for private cars used in county service to ten cents per mile.

The Seattle Municipal League has joined with King County employees in their fight to obtain legislation which would permit establishment of the merit system in the county civil service. This step was approved by the league's board of trustees.

County Exceeds Powers

King County, Washington, which has been condemning property for such purposes as hospitals, garbage dumps and airports on the assumption that the county had general powers of condemnation, recently discovered that it has been exceeding its legal authority.

The issue was raised in a case in which the county desired to condemn property on Mercer Island for park purposes. The defendant in opposing the action asserted that the county had no general power of condemnation. The case revealed that the county could condemn only for the purpose of constructing the Lake Washington ship canal.

County officials promptly drafted a bill for introduction in the legislature which would give counties the general right of condemnation for public purposes.

Santa Clara County Charter Upheld by Supreme Court

In a five to two decision on March 5, in the Santa Clara County suit[1] to declare the county's new manager charter illegal, the California Supreme Court has ruled that the County Superior Court over-reached its authority when it issued an order restraining the county supervisors from certifying the charter to the state legislature. The court also halted the suit for a permanent injunction which had started the proceedings.

The way is now clear for the supervisors to certify the new manager charter to the legislature, whose approval is necessary under California home rule law, unless those bringing the suit ask for a rehearing, which they may do within 30 days.

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[1] See the REVIEW, January 1949, page 46.

Philadelphia City-County Merger Bills Presented

A Philadelphia city-county consolidation bill,[1] originally designed to effect a complete merger of the governmental units in the county, has been presented to the Pennsylvania state legislature. It was sponsored by the Republican organization and five Philadelphia civic groups: Chamber of Commerce, Bureau of Municipal Research, Citizen's Council on City Planning, Committee of 70 and the Philadelphia Committee of the Pennsylvania Economy League.

These five civic groups, however, found it necessary to protest amendments to the bill which would merely give the city permissive power to take over the functions of county offices. The protest led to a compromise measure calling for abolition of all county offices.

Senate bill 4 provides for consolidation of the registration of voters in Philadelphia, which has been administered since 1937 by a county commission appointed by the governor, and election administration, now under city commissioners. The bill has been criticized because it provides for the combining of nonrelated functions with election administration —child care and weights and measures.

Unless consolidation of election activities may be obtained by legislation—and the attorney general has ruled that this is not constitutionally possible—the Bureau of Municipal Research and other civic leaders believe no action should be taken until an over-all city-county amendment is adopted.

Knoxville-Knox County Government Center Planned

An attempt to develop workable plans for construction of the contemplated Knoxville-Knox County civic center is being made jointly by civic clubs, citizens and city and county planning commissions. An appropriate setting for these major public buildings is being emphasized, along with the need for substantial off-street parking space.

It is believed that the structures will include a library, auditorium, city and county administrative offices, quarters for the city police and county sheriff and a jail to be utilized by the two units of government.

Civic Groups Study County Government

An outgrowth of the activities of a "know your county" study group, a visible index type of booklet[1] has been issued jointly by the College Park, Maryland, branch of the American Association of University Women and the Prince George's County League of Women Voters. The objective of the study group was to assist its members in discovering how local government operates in order that they might become more alert and better informed as citizens of the community.

In the belief that other persons in the county would be equally interested in learning about the operations of their local governments, the information which the group found valuable was published in booklet form.

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1949, page 92.

[1] *Know Your County Government, Facts About Prince George's County.* Edited by Mrs. Georgia K. Benjamin, College Park, Maryland, 1948.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Recounts Fill Vacancies

Cambridge and Lowell, Mass., Each Select New Councilmen

VACANCIES in the P. R.—elected city councils of Cambridge and Lowell, Massachusetts, have been filled by recounts of the ballots which elected the former representative. This action was taken under the cities' Plan E (council-manager and proportional representation) charters. It serves to preserve the representative character of the council by replacing the vacating member with another preferred by the same group of voters and avoids the inconvenience and expense of a special election.

Toledo, another city with a council elected by P. R., also filled a council vacancy in recent months. Under its charter provisions, however, the vacancy was filled by vote of the remaining council members.

The Cambridge vacancy resulted from the death of Councilor Michael A. Sullivan and was filled by the election of ex-Councilor Thomas M. McNamara, a not unexpected result, according to the Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, which published a cautious prediction on January 13. When Mr. McNamara was declared elected he had more than three times as many votes as his nearest opponent.

The recount, held late in January, involved 3,744 ballots cast in the 1947 election and credited to Sullivan. A total of seven persons—the election commissioners and their clerks—completed the count in five hours with "no trouble of any kind and no extra expense," according to H. A. Penniman, secretary of the board of election commissioners.

This procedure was used once before in Cambridge in connection with the council and twice for the school committee, to elect successors to men who entered military service in the recent war.

The Lowell vacancy, caused by the death of Councilor James J. Bruin, was filled by Francis P. McMahon who, as did Bruin, belongs to the minority party of the present council. The 3,631 ballots credited to Bruin in the 1947 election were involved in the recount. Three candidates stood very close on the first sorting, but McMahon had a slight lead which increased to a substantial margin as the count proceeded. Thirty-one additional transfers of ballots were necessary to make sure that of the available candidates McMahon was the one most preferred by the voters whose ballots had elected the late Councilor Bruin.

The Toledo vacancy resulted from the resignation of Vice Mayor Thomas H. Burke, who recently became congressman from a Toledo district. After weeks of balloting the council unanimously elected Robert J. W. Meffley, a Toledo lawyer, to the position, according to the Toledo *City Journal.* Other vacancies were filled in a similar manner in 1941 and 1942, both occurring because the incumbents had been elected to other positions for which they resigned their council membership.

Use of P. R. in New York Analyzed

"The Repeal of P. R. in New York City—Ten Years in Retrospect" is the title of an article by Professors Belle Zeller of Brooklyn College and Hugh A. Bone of the University of Washington. It appears in the *American Political Science Review* for December 1948 (pages 1127-1148).

As the title suggests, the article describes the 1947 campaign for the repeal of P. R. in New York City, mentioning personalities and groups on each side, the principal arguments used and the financial backing of the committees that took the lead on each side. The latter portion of the article considers in particular those aspects of New York's experience with P. R. that tend to support or disprove arguments advanced in the repeal campaign.

The article contains several tabulations of votes and points out the importance of using the distribution of votes on the last deciding count, rather than that of the first choices only, in order to show the proportionality of results in a Hare system election. The many references to newspaper articles, campaign publications and other records constitute a thorough bibliography on the subject, useful for future research.

In connection with an interesting discussion of ethnic and nationality factors of voting in the light of the information furnished by New York's Hare system elections, the authors refer to an unpublished study at Hunter College by Doris Saltzman, "Racial and Religious Voting under Proportional Representation as Practiced in New York City." This study covers the first four P. R. elections and comes to the conclusion that "votes explainable only by nationality and religion ranged from 15 to 25 per cent."

Since much of the basic material discussed is not to be found in print and can be consulted only with considerable diligence, the article by Professors Zeller and Bone is to be prized for its scholarly delving into neglected election returns as well as for its review and evaluation of contemporary comment.

W. R. W.

Electoral College Change Debated

Senators Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts, J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, Clyde R. Hoey of North Carolina and H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey spoke before the Senate Judiciary Committee on February 23 in support of Senator Lodge's constitutional amendment to eliminate the electoral college in presidential elections. The amendment provides for division of the electoral vote in each state in direct proportion to the popular vote received by presidential candidates.

Several senators appeared in opposition to the measure.

Senator William Langer of North Dakota suggested going further and abolishing electoral votes entirely so that the president would be elected directly by popular vote. This proposal was once preferred by Senator Lodge before he came to the conclusion that the amendment presently proposed has a better chance of adoption.

William E. Boynton, William S. U'Ren—P. R. Pioneers

William E. Boynton of Ashtabula, Ohio, was a member of the Advisory Council of the Proportional Representation League from 1914, when a new

(Continued on page 194)

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

New Revenues Flow in Pennsylvania

Local Units Enact 915 Taxes under 1948 Law

THE most amazing phenomena of the postwar period, in so far as a search for new local revenues is concerned, continues to be the developments in Pennsylvania under the now famous "Act 481" passed early in 1948. A compilation by the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs shows that as of February 1, 1949, 732 local units have adopted a total of 915 taxes under the act.

Thirty-eight of the state's 48 eligible cities—Philadelphia cannot act under the statute—adopted a total of 58 measures. Of the 941 boroughs, 164 levied 230 tax measures, while seventeen of the 61 townships enacted eighteen new taxes, and 513 of the 2,541 school districts levied a total of 609 taxes under the statute. In each county of the state at least one local unit has enacted some measure under the act.

Per capita taxes, the most popular, have been levied in 242 local units—205 school districts, 32 boroughs, three cities and two townships. Next in popularity were severance taxes, adopted by 181 units of which 159 were school districts, fifteen boroughs and seven townships.

Amusement taxes were third, with 165 levies—76 in boroughs, 61 in school districts, 25 in cities and three in townships. Fourth place was taken by the income tax, levied in 152 instances. Again school districts led, with 109 income tax levies, followed by boroughs with 33 levies, cities with nine, and one township income levy.

No other tax was adopted in as many as 100 units. Among the minor levies the number dropped rapidly from 81 on mechanical devices, which stood fifth, to 26 mercantile and business taxes.

All But Eight States Take Action on Soldiers' Bonuses

Fourteen states have enacted bonus legislation.[1] They are Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont and Washington.

In two other states, Minnesota and Indiana, voters have approved payment of a bonus but legislation is still to be enacted. Indiana's referendum was not binding but only for the legislature's information.

The Pennsylvania legislature has passed a bonus bill which does not become effective until a constitutional amendment, authorizing a bond issue of $500,000,000, is approved at the polls.

Maine, Missouri, Nebraska, Oregon and Wisconsin voters have turned down bonus proposals. In Wisconsin, where the vote was advisory, 76 per cent of the voters replied "no" to the question, "Shall the legislature enact a 3 per cent retail sales tax to raise a sum not to exceed $200,000,000 to be used to finance a bonus for veterans of World War II?"

Eighteen state legislatures, those in Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee,

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[1] Information taken from a study of veterans' bonus proposals made by the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce.

Texas, Utah, Virginia and West Virginia, turned down proposals either by vote or failure to take action.

Approximately two billion dollars in bonds have thus far been provided for veterans' bonuses.

Local Borrowing Costs Still Low

The cost of state and local borrowing, an important factor in the ultimate cost of the large postwar improvement programs now under way in most American communities, remains at low levels despite the continued large amount of borrowing. *The Bond Buyer's* index of yield for the bonds of twenty representative state and municipal units stood the first week in March 1941 at 2.21 per cent, compared with an all-time low of 1.29 per cent in the spring of 1946 and a high of 5.69 per cent in May 1933.

The cost of local borrowing had declined sharply during the war period as interest rates were driven down by the combination of a small volume of new borrowing and a high value to large taxpayers of the exemption of state and municipal bond interest income from high federal income taxes. As new borrowing for deferred improvements got under way early in 1946, and later as investors began to discount the tax exempt feature in anticipation of reductions in upper-bracket income tax rates, the interest rates began to rise.

The twenty-bond index rose above 2 per cent in November 1947 and advanced to 2.47 per cent in March 1948, reflecting in part the large state veterans' bonus bond issues of last winter. The market firmed up shortly, however, and by the first week in June 1948, the index was down to 2.23 per cent. It advanced gradually during the summer, prospects of a change in administration at Washington contributing to some discounting of anticipated income tax slashes.

By the first week of November 1948, the index was up to 2.45 per cent. The election returns in, it dropped to 2.31 per cent by the first week in December, and continued downward to 2.15 per cent in January 1949.

Thereafter the market had difficulty digesting some over-priced issues, and by mid-February the index was up to 2.21 per cent, where it remained in early March. A slowing down in the rate of new state and local borrowing helped dealers move older issues into investors' hands.

New Orleans Clears Terminal Financing

The efforts of New Orleans to issue $15,000,000 revenue bonds to finance a municipal railroad passenger terminal and related railroad terminal improvements, which was thwarted last year by a taxpayer's suit after the bonds had been officially awarded at public sale, finally came to fruition early in March 1949. Last year's suit was finally disposed of in the courts in the city's favor, after the litigation had caused cancellation of the original sales contract, and on February 25, 1949, the city re-offered the bonds.

Again, however, a taxpayer's suit intervened, and it seemed likely that there would be further obstruction. The action was withdrawn shortly, however, and the suit dismissed, according to press reports, so that the second sale went through.

Unanimous Recommendations But No Action

For nineteen years, according to the Florida Taxpayers Association, Florida legislatures have had before them recommendations for establishment of a state tax commission with authority to equalize property assessments, but without result. Six independent surveys have been made of the state's tax system during the period, according to the association, each emphasizing the importance of a tax equalization body at the state level.

The six surveys were made in 1930, 1935, 1941, 1943-45 and 1947. There were two in the most recent year, one by the Taxpayers Association and one by a committee appointed by the governor. The 1943-45 survey was by a legislative committee, the other three by committees or agencies appointed by governors.

Assessors Recommend Valuation Changes

Memories of the sharp increase in local assessed valuations in the 1920s and their abrupt decline after 1929 have undoubtedly been in the minds of many local assessors as they wrestled with the problems of property valuation resulting from inflation following World War II. On the one hand, no one wishes to see a repetition of disastrous decreases in assessed valuations raised to reflect the recent inflated levels but, on the other hand, cities and other local units are faced with inflated operating costs and urgently need the additional revenues which may be secured by "writing up" their taxable valuations.

A frequent solution to the current difficulty has been to revise valuations upward by some factor taking account of estimated "permanent" or "normally" higher building costs but discounting the effect of housing scarcity on real estate prices. Several years ago such a formula was recommended by the National Association of Assessing Officers. This group, at a meeting in Chicago on January 27, reconsidered its earlier position and issued an amplified series of recommendations holding substantially to the earlier plan. The association recommendations were as follows:

"1. All available evidence indicates that the entire price and value structure has been raised above the prewar level.

"2. The use of the price level of 1939, 1940 or 1941 or any average of two or three of such years by assessing officers as a standard for determining assessed values in 1949 is completely unrealistic and the use of such a level should be abandoned.

"3. In interpreting the constitutional or statutory standard of value for property tax purposes in the various states and provinces present sales prices, costs and rental income are far better evidence of value than prewar prices, costs and rental income, provided the evidence based on sales is properly discounted to rule out any 'premiums for immediate occupancy,' 'bonuses for shelter' or any other similar charges.

"4. The policy now being followed in many state and local assessment jurisdictions of tenaciously clinging to the prewar price level as the best evidence of present market value is a violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of the law and for this reason should be abandoned.

"5. In furtherance of these principles, the advisory council reiterates that the local unit of assessment is essential for the preservation of local government. It further advocates the establishment and the maintenance of state tax authority to assist and equalize local assessing units. The coordination of the assessing function is essential to maintain equalization and to assist local assessing officers to carry out their duties with courage, courtesy, intelligence and to engender greater respect for the law under which they work."

Washington and Oregon Initiative Measures Discarded

An initiative measure approved by the voters of the state of Washington last November, providing for a veterans' bonus to be financed by cigarette and tobacco taxes, was declared unconstitutional in February.

As an aftermath of the passage of the measure, a bill was introduced in the 1949 session of the legislature to submit a constitutional amendment requiring that initiative measures entailing expenditures also make provision for raising the necessary funds. The fate of the bill has not yet been reported.

In neighboring Oregon, where a greatly liberalized old age assistance program was submitted as an initiative measure and approved by the voters, it is reported that the state attorney general ruled the measure was not adopted because of imperfections in the petitions. According to reports after the election, even the proponents of the measure had been apprehensive of its effects when tabulation of votes showed it to have passed. More recent reports are to the effect that the proponents acquiesced in the nullification of the proposal by the attorney general. At the same time, the 1949 legislature has under consideration a bill to increase old age benefit payments in order to provide some offset to increased living costs.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 190)

constitution embodying the names of the League's first council under it was adopted, until his death in late 1948.

Mr. Boynton was the man most responsible for the first adoption of P. R. in this country. He was among the small group of less than a dozen Ashtabula citizens who, in 1912, heard C. G. Hoag, during an impromptu visit to that city, discuss the merits of P. R. A labor leader and former president of the city council, commanding the respect of all citizens, Mr. Boynton saw the importance of P. R. at once and furnished the local leadership in a successful campaign for its adoption in 1915 as an amendment to the city's manager plan charter adopted the year previous.

Mr. Boynton took an active interest in the local use of P. R., served on the city council under it and led two successful defenses of it at the polls before it was finally repealed because of a temporary local situation in 1929. He continued to take satisfaction in the spread of P. R. to other cities and to follow its fortunes as long as he lived.

William S. U'Ren, one of the pioneer proportionalists in Oregon, died on March 8 in Portland. He was 90 years old. From 1908 to 1914 Mr. U'Ren led a vigorous movement for adoption of P. R. for the Oregon legislature. As a first step, by means of the initiative, the group secured an amendment to the state constitution expressly permitting its use. Efforts to secure P. R. for the legislature, however, were not successful though bills prescribing various types of P. R. were introduced at several sessions. Mr. U'Ren was responsible also for his state's adoption of numerous other reforms—see page 175.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Manager Plan Supported by Local Groups

Massachusetts Cities Seek Good Beginning for Plan E

ONE objective of the newly organized and incorporated **Yonkers (New York) Citizens Union** is preservation of the city manager form of government, adopted by Yonkers in 1939. The new group held its election for permanent officers—executive chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer and 24 executive members—on March 1. Sheldon M. Covell was elected as executive chairman.

The meeting was addressed by Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Citizens Union of New York City.

The union plans to organize on a ward basis with a chairman, co-chairman, and secretary; vice chairmen will represent the districts within each ward. Numerous standing committees are being organized. Membership is open to all members of the community with dues at two dollars.

In addition to its activities for the manager plan, the union's aims are: (1) to foster and promote sound business management of city affairs; (2) to advance and secure city-wide, nonpartisan election of the mayor and councilmen; (3) to do all things necessary to effect its purposes, including nomination and support of candidates for any or all city offices.

In order to get the manager plan off to a good start, Massachusetts groups[1] supporting Plan E—council-manager and proportional representation—are girding their loins for forthcoming P. R. elections. In **Medford,** where the plan has been adopted to go into effect in January 1949, the **Plan E Charter Committee** will put a full slate of councilmanic candidates in the field at the November election. It has organized a speakers bureau to aid in the conduct of its educational campaign and plans to conduct mock P. R. elections. The association has elected Arthur D. Hall, prominent businessman, as its president.

The **Civic Association of Quincy** is building its strength to carry on the function for which it was organized—to see that Plan E works. It will select and support candidates for the city council and school board to be elected by P. R. in November. The organization has a membership of about 500 which is steadily expanding.

The **Junior Chamber of Commerce** and the **American Veterans Committee** have both gone on record as favoring a council-manager charter (Plan D) for **Springfield, Massachusetts.**

Salesmanship

"Manager Plan Salesmen Briefed" is the headline of a *Journal-Courier* story on the **New Haven Citizens Charter Committee for a Council-Manager Charter.** Members of its speakers bureau have been given instructions on the proposed new charter and an eight-point criticism of the present city government. The **League of Women Voters** will support the manager plan and expects to work closely with the charter committee, aiding with speakers, circulation of manager petitions, and in numerous other ways.

The **Littleton (New Hampshire) Taxpayers Association** recently voted unanimously to continue its endorsement of the town manager plan as it has been operating in Littleton since its adoption there a year ago.

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[1] For Boston Plan E activities see the REVIEW for March, page 133; for Worcester, same issue, page 145.

The *Eagle*, of Claremont, New Hampshire, recently conducted a quiz on the town's council-manager government. Seventeen correct answers to the 21 questions asked of some 112 persons was the average score. The range was considerable, however, reports the paper, some people answering only eight questions correctly, others getting all 21 right. Average score of 29 high school students was fifteen correct; of twenty city employées and officials, nineteen; and of 63 persons selected at random, seventeen.

The **Fair Lawn (New Jersey) Civic Union** has changed its by-laws to state that its purpose shall be to work for the success of the manager form of government, adopted last year. The union, which is made up of nine local organizations, will not support councilmanic candidates.

The **League of Women Voters of Summit, New Jersey,** has held a study session on forms of local government, including the council-manager plan.

"Support of the council-manager form of government" is the first of seventeen platform pledges adopted by councilmanic candidates supported by the **Dallas Voters Association.** Dallas has operated under the manager plan since 1931.

In **Idaho Falls, Idaho,** the **Junior Chamber of Commerce** has voted to conduct an educational program on the council-manager plan and its advantages for the city.

Athens, Tennessee, scene of "bullets and ballots" several years ago,[3] is now endeavoring to secure the council-manager plan, already granted to its county, McMinn, by the legislature. The **Chamber of Commerce, American Legion** and other civic groups have gone on record in favor of it and, at a public forum held at the county courthouse to acquaint citizens with the plan, those in attendance voted 92 to 17 in its favor.

New and Interesting Citizen Publications

Bound in red with a spring binding, the tiny *Citizen's Date Book* published by the **League of Women Voters of New Jersey** for 1949 is a most useful addition to a woman's hand bag. It contains a space for every day in the year on which one may jot down engagements, memoranda, etc. It provides a calendar of events in the state's political life, e.g., "March 1 Tuesday, Governor commissions members of the county board of elections"; "March 10, Thursday, 40 days before primary election. Last day voter may change his voting address or register for primary election," etc.

At the end of the calendar, maps indicate New Jersey congressional districts (also described by boundaries). Listed with addresses are New Jersey representatives to Congress, state legislators and executive officials, courts and their judges, etc. Voting information is provided. Ladies, it's worth having if you live in New Jersey—and a wonderful idea for elsewhere, too.

The 40 Billion Dollar Question—What Does the Government Budget Mean to the Citizen? (32 pages, fifteen cents) is a thought provoking "memo" issued by the **League of Women Voters of the United States.** It is planned to assist members in carrying out their "current agenda"—"analyzing federal taxes and expenditures in order to understand and support such fiscal policies as make for a stable domestic economy." Illustrated by charts and graphs, the publication would be well worth a reading on the part of any citizen.

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[3] See "Tennessee County Mixes Bullets and Ballots," the REVIEW, September 1946, page 435.

Complete information for the voter will be found in *Washington Voters' Handbook* (47 pages, one dollar), by Ernest Howard Campbell and George Duncan Smith, published by the **Bureau of Governmental Research and Services of the University of Washington.** Charts, maps, photographs of voting machines, sample ballots, aid the voter visually. Discussed are such subjects as voting qualifications, registration, voting procedure, citizenship, political parties, constitutional amendments and direct legislation and recall.

These Things We've Tried (432 pages, paperbound $1.50; clothbound $3), by Jean and Jess Ogden, describes a "five-year experiment in community development initiated and carried out by the Extension Division of the University of Virginia." The leaders of the project have been aiding in establishment of community projects many of which are described in their book.

A Community Studies Its Schools (63 pages) is the result of a survey by the **Westport (Connecticut) School Study Council,** a group of citizens organized at the request of the chairman of the board of education and superintendent of schools.

Investigated were buildings and equipment, school administration, teachers' salaries as compared with present-day living costs including incentive pay plans, conditions of work and manner of selecting and evaluating teachers, and an evaluation of the job which the schools are doing.

"On the whole," comments the report, "the Westport school system has been doing a pretty good job despite obvious shortages—shortages of help, shortages of space, shortages of cash. The job has been a conscientious one. . . . If anyone is to blame because the job is not better, it is we citizens of Westport who have not given our children's schools the support and the interest that they deserve."

Support for Optional Charter Report

Citizen leaders in New Jersey have joined hands to encourage improvement and strengthening of local government, says Kenneth Perry of New Brunswick, chairman of the **New Jersey Citizens Committee on Municipal Government.** Composed of representatives of civic, taxpayer, trade, labor and other organizations, as well as individuals, the group is promoting discussion of and support for the report of the State Commission on Municipal Government, headed by former Mayor Bayard Faulkner of Montclair, which recommends legislation providing optional charters for municipalities.[1] The committee has announced appointment of a representative executive committee and of county leaders.

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Budget and Planning Committee

Fort Wayne's Mayor Branning has appointed a citizens' committee on budget and planning, according to the *News Letter* of the **Fort Wayne Civic Association.** The committee "gives promise of better understanding between the administration on the one hand and the business, financial and citizen groups on the other," comments the association.

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Play on Words

"This is Good Government Season," headlines the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy** in its bulletin, *Civic Affairs.*

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[1] See the REVIEW, December 1948, page 603, and March 1949, page 159.

"Beware, because everyone will be repeating slogans, words and terms which will lead you to believe that they are on the 'good government bandwagon.' Many words, like descriptive terms, sound alike but have double meanings. 'Raised' sounds exactly like 'razed,' but one means to lift up while the other means to tear down or destroy. For example, the city through the efforts of an aroused electorate overthrew the political control of the machine and *raised* itself from its ruins. Or, political forces kept promising the people good government but *razed* and sacked the city in order to perpetuate themselves in power.

"We suggest, therefore, that when you hear men advocate 'city-county consolidation,' 'home rule,' or a 'new city charter,' be sure you understand their interest in the city and how they interpret the terms."

* * *

City Fathers Seek Citizen Interest

Officials of **Sheboygan Falls, Wisconsin,** disappointed in the small interest their citizens are taking in government problems, decided to do something about it. On February 23 they held a "town hall meeting" in the high school to report on 1948 activities and projects to be undertaken in 1949, with an opportunity for the voter to raise questions.

* * *

Bringing Them In

A net gain of 500 members for 1948 is reported by the **Seattle Municipal League,** whose membership roll now stands at nearly 4,100. The league reports that 157 committee meetings were held during last year with a total attendance of 1,417. Committees completed 28 projects and adopted 46 recommendations.

How to Get More Members

The **Massachusetts Civic League** held a supper meeting at the Boston City Club for over a hundred guests not members of the organization. Its purpose was to hold "a frank discussion" about its work and what it "can offer to younger citizens of all races, creeds and political persuasions," says the League's *Lens*.

President Mayo A. Shattuck presided and discussed the organization's work. He suggested that "the Massachusetts Civic League can be built, perhaps, into a training school for loyal and industrious younger citizens; that in the diligent discharge of its work it can instruct its students and all its personnel in these important arts [politics and good government]; that it can finally send its capable graduates out to the two political parties prepared in the fundamentals and ready to insist upon good and efficient government."

Charles R. Cherington, secretary of the Littauer School and a vice president of the Civic League, appealed to those present to demonstrate that state and local issues are neither isolated nor unimportant in the world picture but are necessary starting points in any nonpartisan program for better government.

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Aid for Committees

The **Chicago City Club,** which has long conducted much of its civic activities through member committees, has published in a series of installments in *The City Club Bulletin* "The Work of a Civic Committee—An Outline for the Guidance of Committee Chairmen and Members." "Every civic committee should consider itself an agency for the enlightenment of the membership of the City Club," says the first installment. "Then when the time comes for public action there

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will be already a sound body of enlightened public opinion in the club ready to respond to the need or the opportunity."

* * *

Reporting to Members

The **Civic Federation of Chicago** has published its 55th annual report covering 1947-48 activities. Attractively bound and printed, the twelve-page document describes the work of the federation before budget hearings of the city, county, sanitary district and board of education, and its attention to Chicago's revenue needs, the Chicago Budget Survey Committee, bonded debt situation, and the governmental salary policy of the area's major local governments.

Another Chicago organization, the **Citizens' Association,** has issued its 74th annual report for 1947-48, together with recommendations for 1948-49. Its basic activity is "continuous day-to-day covering of city council" activities, which "has received recognition and whole-hearted support during the past year from key officials in the city's administration which has extended and deepened its influence on local government." A high administrative official of the city is quoted as saying, "The Citizens' Association is giving invaluable service to Chicago in following so closely the activities of the city council." Comments by aldermen and other city officials are noted.

Marjory J. O'Hare, executive secretary of the **Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League,** listing 1948 league accomplishments, reports another successful year for the weekly "Cincinnati's Town Meeting of the Air." Town meetings are devoted to civic affairs of current interest and are usually presented in debate form. The league submitted a proposed legislative program to Governor Lausche, cooperated with the Ohio Civil Service Council to advance the merit system, supported a proposed one-house legislature, encouraged citizens to register and vote, cooperated with others on rat elimination, and had a hand in many other community activities.

The annual report of the **Citizens Union of New York City,** issued by its secretary, George H. Hallett, Jr., lists some ten accomplishments for 1948 including "a transit fare sufficient to meet current operating expenses and some needed improvements" and "a magnificent start on a $200,000,000 program of city public housing without cash subsidy." Another list sets forth 1949 objectives, among them effective air pollution control, permanent personal registration, loosening of the city's financial strait-jacket and more housing and slum clearance.

The *1948 Annual Report* (abridged) of the **San Francisco Civic League of Improvement Clubs and Associations** cites the city problems in which it has been interested—traffic, transit including subway plans, a new bridge suggested to parallel the Golden Gate Bridge, Cherry River Dam, etc.

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Strictly Personal

Chester J. Morse, Detroit attorney, has been appointed executive secretary of the Detroit Citizens League, succeeding **Hale G. Knight,** who has resigned to enter private business. Mr. Morse has been a director of the league for some twelve years.

The Massachusetts State Plan E Association, composed of local Plan E groups, has elected **William R. Hulbert, Jr.,** of Boston as its president, succeeding **George A. McLaughlin,** Cambridge attorney. **Gerald O'Neill** of Worcester was chosen as vice president, and **Kathleen Morphew** of Beverly as secretary-treasurer.

State Support for Local Governments

Effects of Municipal Needs on State Fiscal Policies

LOCAL units of government in Illinois receive one out of every four dollars that state spends, according to a report issued in October by the Illinois Legislative Council, J. F. Isakoff, director. The 44-page document, *Financial Aid for Local Governments,* discusses in some detail the alternative methods of increasing aid to local units: appropriating additional grants from the state treasury or expanding the local tax base. It also reports on the present extent of state aid and local revenue sources in Illinois. Seven tables are included.

The proposed total local assistance budget for 1949-50 in California is over $390,392,000, the greater part of which —almost $278,000,000—represents subventions for education, social welfare, public health, public works and other purposes; the remainder consists of shared revenues for general government, county roads and city streets. These facts are presented in a table contained in a fourteen-page article, "State Support of Local Units," by J. Roy Holland and Harry V. Cheshire, in the February issue of the *Tax Digest* of the California Taxpayers' Association. The article discusses these expenditures in detail.

Two recent reports deal with Tennessee finance. *Trends in Public Finance as They Affect Citizens and Taxpayers in Tennessee* (51 pages) is the third annual issue of this publication of the Tennessee Taxpayers Association, William R. Pouder, executive secretary. The third in another series of yearly reports is *Your Money and Mine: A Summary of State Finances, 1947-48* (50 pages), published by the Tennessee State Planning Commission, Harold V. Miller, executive director. Both reports include detailed discussions of state aid to local governments with many tables and graphs.

An Introduction to Kansas Finance: State Government, by Jack F. McKay, is one of a series of "Citizen's Pamphlets" put out by the Bureau of Government Research of the University of Kansas. The 30-page publication carries a clear graphic presentation of the source and distribution of Kansas revenues in 1947 which shows that grants to local governments were about equal to expenditures on direct state operations.

The Chambers of Commerce of Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse have prepared a guide for local action under the New York State permissive tax law, *Sound Tax Policy for New York Cities* (12 pages).

Special Report on Proposed Tax Measures is a tabulation by the Utah Foundation, Henry R. Pearson, director, of measures relating to increases or decreases in taxation which have been introduced in the current Utah legislature.

State Administration in Nevada Surveyed

Administrative Reorganization for Effective Government Management in Nevada (126 pages) is a report by Albert Gorvine, a member of the staff of the Graduate Division for Training in Public Service of New York University, which was published in December by the Nevada Legislative

Counsel Bureau, J. E. Springmeyer, director.

According to the author, the main purpose of the report is presentation of measures designed to "centralize in the hands of the executive the control of the administrative structure with a resulting increase in the effectiveness of legislative supervision."

Two introductory chapters discuss the reorganization problem and traditional, constitutional and statutory barriers to effective management. The following three chapters are devoted to general administrative organization and administration of personnel and of finance. Each describes the existing system and concludes with a number of detailed recommendations for change.

Three charts show the present administrative organization of Nevada's government and Mr. Gorvine's proposed alternative plans, one requiring constitutional change, the other not. There are also a number of organization charts of existing major state departments, tables showing the status of reorganization in all the states and a bibliography.

Bureau Notes

"What do you do?" the University of Pennsylvania's Institute of Local and State Government is asking local officials, particularly those in that state. The institute would like to hear from officials who have evolved short-cuts and found answers to, among others, the following problems: care and preservation of records, municipal insurance, municipal pension plans, joint use of facilities and personnel, smoke control and house numbering. Officials are invited, in the supplement to the *Borough Bulletin* for March 1949, to write to the institute at 3437 Woodland Avenue, Philadelphia 4, submitting information about such administrative problems and suggesting topics for future issues of the supplement.

Greater Cleveland for March 2, the bulletin of the Cleveland Citizens League, is devoted to reports of recent effective activities of the league and of its associated agency, the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research. Guy C. Larcom, Jr., is director of both groups.

The Governmental Research Association, Louis D. Brown, secretary, has introduced its *Reporter,* to appear every other month, as the replacement for *Notes and References.* The first issue, that for January-February, contains an article on the association's plans for 1949 and departments: "Here and There in the Field"—surveying research activities over the country, "Researcher's Review" and "Personal Notes," in addition to the featured articles. A new series of *Notes and References* will be issued at irregular intervals "as material is received in the national office which should be called to the attention of GRA members."

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Budgets

New Type State Budget Submitted to 1949 General Assembly. (The first Connecticut budget to present the grand total of anticipated revenues and expenditures for all the state funds.) Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *Taxpayers News,* February 1949. 2 pp.

The 1949-51 Budget—Another New High for Pennsylvania. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, *Legislative Service Bulletin,* February 25, 1949. 12 pp.

The State Budget. Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, *Taxtalk,* January 1949. 2 pp.

State Executive Budget. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* February 1949. 8 pp.

State of Maryland Budget Making. Some Elements of the State's Initial Budget Proposal. The State's Proposed Initial Budget Increases. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* February 5, 7, 9, 1949. 2, 3 and 3 pp. respectively.

Courts

Magistrate Courts in St. Louis. St. Louis, Governmental Research Institute, December 1948. 18 pp.

Selection of Judges in State Courts. (Evaluates traditional and composite systems; discusses proposals for improvement in Illinois.) Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1948. 26 pp.

Debt

Municipal Debt. (In Fall River, Massachusetts.) Fall River, Taxpayers' Association, *Bulletin,* February 1949. 4 pp.

Education

Classroom Pupil Size. Lackawanna, New York, Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* February 1949. 6 pp.

A Community Studies Its Schools. (Survey of eight cooperating Pennsylvania school districts concluding that a joint senior high school should be established and that other coordinating steps should be taken.) Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Economy League, Southeastern Division, 1948. 66 pp. $1.

A Look At Teachers' Salaries. Comparative Data for the Whole State and for Allegheny County. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* January 1949. 10 pp.

Proposed School Aid System. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* January 1949. 3 pp.

Public School Finances in Utah, 1916-1949. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1949. 4 pp.

Qualifications of Teachers, Principals and Supervisors. Santa Fe, Taxpayers Association of New Mexico, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* February 1949. 9 pp.

Report on Institutions of Higher Education. Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, November 1948. 35 pp.

State Regents Overlook Implications of Aid Plan. The Halpern-Milmoe Bill.[1] Rochester, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Bulletin,* January 1949; Special Supplement to *Bulletin,* February 5, 1949. 3 pp. each.

Elections and Voting

Facilitating Election Registration in Downstate Illinois. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1948. 19 pp.

Food Regulation

Regulation of Frozen Dairy Foods. By Ernest Howard Campbell and Kenneth N. Bragg. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1949. 59 pp.

Housing

Greater Seattle Housing Market Survey. By Bayard O. Wheeler and Edith Dyer Rainboth. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Business Research, 1948. 188 pp. tables, graphs, maps. $3.50.

Legislation

Law Making in Connecticut. An Explanation of the Procedure Followed in Enacting Bills into Law. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, January 1949. 5 pp. diagram.

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[1] See the REVIEW, March, page 153.

Licenses

Municipal Regulation of Taxicabs. (Includes representative ordinances and sample forms.) By Ernest Howard Campbell and Joshua H. Vogel. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1948. 74 pp.

Liquor Control

Liquor Control. Licenses and Taxes in 45 States. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, January 14, 1949. 56 pp.

Personnel

The Administration of Civil Service in Cities of the Third Class in Pennsylvania. (One of 29 conclusions: "The commission form of government, as provided by law [for all such cities] was itself a hindrance to the merit system.") By Alfred Haines Cope. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1948. 166 pp.

Digest of Proposed Personnel Law. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, *Bulletin,* January 1949. 2 pp.

Directory of Agencies and Officers of the Territory of Hawaii. (Fourth edition.) (Includes organization chart of Hawaii's government.) Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1949. 48 pp.

Directory of the Personnel of Our City Government, 1949. Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1949. 6 pp.

Five-Day Week vs. Five-and-a-Half-Day Week in State Offices. By Mary Alice Klyce. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1949. 6 pp.

Personnel Record: Student Administrative Analysts. Los Angeles, County Division of Administrative Research, 1948. 60 pp.

A Position Classification Procedure for Newark. Newark, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1948. 8 pp.

The Proposed Pay Plan. (Summary of Public Administration Service's recommended new pay plan for civil service employees of Hartford.) Hartford, Governmental Research Institute, *Taxpayers' Business,* January 1949. 4 pp.

Public Welfare

Report on Children's Laws. Report on Public Assistance. Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, 1948. 51 and 18 pp. respectively.

Purchasing

Centralized Purchasing for Washington Cities. (Includes typical ordinances and forms.) By Ernest Howard Campbell. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1948. 45 pp.

Statutory Provisions Relating to Purchasing in the Major Local Governments of Chicago, 1948. (Includes a comparative analysis of statutes.) Chicago, Civic Federation, 1948. 45 pp.

Research

Taxpayers' Associations. As American as Apple Pie. (The duties of taxpayers' associations: to "dig out the facts"; to tell the people the facts; to "energize and activate citizen groups to use facts and put good ideas into operation.") By N. Bradford Trenham. New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Outlook,* February 1949. 4 pp.

State Government

Governor Richard C. Dillon. A Study in New Mexico Politics. By Charles B. Judah. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Division of Government Research, 1948. 40 pp.

Kansas State Board of Agriculture. A Study in Kansas Administrative History. By Edwin O. Stene. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, 1948. 76 pp.

Problems Before the 1949 Kansas Legislature. By Tom Page. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* January 15, 1949. 4 pp.

Streets and Highways

Better Administration for County Roads. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, *Your Report on Government,* January 1949. 4 pp.

Excerpts from Engineering Report to Washington State Legislative Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Highways, Streets and Bridges. (Relating to cities and towns.) Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* November 30, 1948. 18 pp.

Taxation and Finance

County Services and the Tax Load. A Logical Basis for Distributing [Allegheny] County Costs. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* February 1949. 10 pp.

Current Problems in Tax Equity. The Taxation of Personal Income versus Consumers Sales. ("Both personal income taxes and consumer sales taxes can be so designed as to protect the subsistence level. . . . Progression is far more easily applied to the income tax. . . . The income tax is more susceptible to group exploitation" are among the points in the summary statement.) By John F. Sly. New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Review,* February 1949. 7 pp. tables.

Financial Data, City of Providence, Rhode Island, 1939-1948. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* January 1949. 14 pp. tables.

Post-Auditing of State Government in Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, February 1949. 4 pp.

The State Auditor. By J. W. Bibb, Jr. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* February 15, 1949. 1 p.

Traffic and Parking

City Traffic Control. New York, Citizens Budget Commission, 1948. 40 pp.

Comment on Traffic and Parking. Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* October 30, 1948. 5 pp.

Parking Meters. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* November 23, 1948. 1 p.

Parking Meters. Sioux City, Iowa, Woodbury County Taxpayers Conference, *Bulletin,* November 1, 1948. 1 p.

Studies of Weaving and Merging Traffic. A Symposium. By F. Houston Wynn ("Weaving Practices on One-Way Highways"), Stewart M. Gourlay ("Merging Traffic Characteristics Applied to Acceleration Lane Design") and Richard I. Strickland ("A Study of Merging Vehicular Traffic Movements".) New Haven, Yale University, Bureau of Highway Traffic, 1948. 130 pp. tables, figures, photographs.

Unemployment Compensation

Unemployment Compensation in Nevada. Reno, Nevada Taxpayers Association, *Tax Review,* October 1948. 6 pp.

Utilities

Planning Garbage and Refuse Facilities for the Small Community. (Includes U. S. Public Health Service's suggested ordinance and two other ordinances.) By Charles L. Crangle. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1948. 34 pp. $1.

Zoning

Boards of Adjustment Can Make or Break Zoning. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Institute of Local and State Government, *Borough Bulletin,* December 1948. 2 pp.

The Use of Building Codes and Land Use Zoning Ordinances in Washington Cities. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* December 17, 1948. 8 pp.

Books in Review

The Background of City Government and Politics in Toledo. By O. Garfield Jones. Toledo, University of Toledo, Department of Political Science, 1948. 62 pp. mimeo. 75 cents. (Apply University Book Store.)

As serious a problem as any this country faces is the political illiteracy and immaturity of many of its citizens. Lots of people talk about it and worry about it but not very many really face up to it and do something to cure it.

O. Garfield Jones is a man who has been doing something about it for years. But Dr. Jones is one of those rare professors who concentrates his energies on teaching instead of writing, with the result that it was only recently he reduced to the printed word some of the lectures he has been giving to students in his course in effective citizenship. He might never have done so had he not happened to be taken to the hospital last year, leaving his associates to make up the lectures from his notes.

These lectures—"The Nonpartisan Movement in Toledo," "The Rise of a National Politician" and "The Charter History of Toledo"—obviously leave students with a feeling of familiarity with the forces and experiences which have made Toledo what it is politically today and, even more important, with a feeling of responsibility for what is going to happen in the future.

How many young people, arriving at voting age, feel that they know what is going on politically in their own communities? Not very many, more's the pity. What will it profit a citizen to think he has a smattering of national and world affairs if he is not equipped to be an effective citizen in his home town.

It would be a good thing if all young people, either in college or in high school, could be given this kind of background. Perhaps it would be possible for Dr. Jones or someone else to provide a general outline which could be readily filled in with the essential facts and personalities which have contributed significantly to each community's political development.

A. W.

Los Angeles County Chief Administrative Officer: Ten Years' Experience. By Abraham Holtzman. Los Angeles, University of California at Los Angeles, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1948. 77 pp. 50 cents.

The office of C. A. O. (chief administrative officer) was created in Los Angeles County by an ordinance of the board of supervisors ten years ago. The supervisors thus retained their powers to appoint all department heads and their budgetary control, etc., the C. A. O. being their coordinator and executive secretary. Chief Administrative Officer Wayne R. Allen has occupied the post since the beginning and, being persuasive and efficient, has always had his way in overseeing the 22,000 employees in that huge and complex county and has been permitted to keep in line the independently-elected sheriffs, district attorneys and assessors.

Lacking authority to manage except by the habitual sufferance of complaisant supervisors, the C. A. O. is not recognized as a county manager by the International City Managers' Association.

The C. A. O. experience has been described in the REVIEW recently.[1] This study is, of course, much more elaborate and detailed but the author's cloudy conclusions, claiming advantages over the council-manager plan, might have better awaited trials in additional jurisdictions and with personalities other than that of the extraordinarily competent Mr. Allen.

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[1] See "Big City Held in Hobble Chains," by Clyde E. Hawley, the REVIEW, November 1948, page 538.

R. S. C.

Unit on Plan E City Government for Eighth Grades. Worcester, Massachusetts, School Department, 1949. 23 pp.

Unit on Plan E City Government for Senior High Schools. Worcester, Massachusetts, School Department, 1948. 30 pp.

As part of the remarkable follow-up with which citizens of Worcester are developing local interest in the new council-manager and proportional representation government in the long period between its adoption in November 1947 and the first election in November 1949, the schools have issued these lucid text books for classroom use, with incidental benefit to teachers and parents.

Planning the Modern City (Volumes I and II). By Harold MacLean Lewis. New York City, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949. 284 and 224 pp. respectively. $6 each.

A handsome profusely illustrated review of planning efforts in all lands, authoritatively explained in readable objective fashion. The collection of maps and photographs is remarkably well selected to demonstrate the points of the text.

Milwaukee—The History of a City. By Bayrd Still. Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1948. xvi, 638 pp. $6.

A conscientious narrative from the trading post days of 1795 to the present, with photographs covering the personalities, industries and politics of a fairly typical American city.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Bonds

Important Municipal Bond Offerings by Dealers in 1948. New York 4, *The Bond Buyer,* 1949. 104 pp.

Directories

Directory of the American Political Science Association 1948 (second edition). Edited by Franklin L. Burdette. Columbus 10, Ohio, the Association, 1948. xiv, 360 pp. Clothbound, $4; paperbound, $3.

Manual of the Senate and House of Delegates, Forty-ninth Legislature. Charleston, West Virginia Legislature, 1949. 246 pp.

State Manual Containing Official List of Officers, Board, Commissions and County Officers. Dover, Delaware, Secretary of State, 1949. 62 pp.

Elections and Voting

Absentee Voters and Suffrage Laws. By George Frederick Miller. Washington, D. C., The Daylion Company, 1948. 224 pp.

Voting in 1948. By R. K. McNickle. Washington, D. C., Editorial Research Reports, 1948. 20 pp.

Electric Rates

Typical Residential Electric Bills 1948, Cities of 2,500 Population and More. Washington 25, D. C., Federal Power Commission, 1948. 64 pp. 25 cents.

Federal-State Relations

Are We Maintaining Our Federal System? (Addresses delivered at closing session of Ninth Biennial General Assembly of the States, Detroit, December 4, 1948). By Roscoe Drummond, John Gaus, John W.

Bricker and William Preston Lane, Jr. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1949. 19 pp.

Fire Insurance

Reduced Fire Insurance Costs for Public Buildings in New Jersey. Trenton, New Jersey State League of Municipalities, 1948. 12 pp.

Government Textbooks

Sait's American Parties and Elections (fourth edition). By Howard R. Penniman. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948. viii, 668 pp. $4.75.

The American Problem of Government (fifth edition). By Chester C. Maxey. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1949. ix, 651 pp. $4.25.

Housing

New Homes for Old—Publicly Owned Housing in Tennessee. By William F. Larsen. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration, 1948. ix, 83 pp.

Legislation

Suggested State Legislation. Program for 1949. Developed by the Council of State Governments and, where indicated, Federal Administrative Agencies in Cooperation with the United States Department of Justice. Chicago 37, The Council, 1948. 68 pp.

Neighborhoods

The Neighborhood—Grass Roots of American Democracy. By H. Daniel Carpenter. New York 23, New York Society for Ethical Culture, 1948. 27 pp. 15 cents.

Personnel

What Do Our Employees Want? (Survey and study of employee attitudes and desires). Tyler, Texas, The City Manager, 1948. 25 pp.

Planning

Capital Improvement Program 1949-50 through 1954-55. San Francisco 2, Department of City Planning, 1949. Variously paged. Maps.

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[1] For a review of this pamphlet see page 191, this issue.

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PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the Review by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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Publication Office: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
Editorial and Business Office: 299 Broadway, New York, 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXVIII, No. 5 **Total Number 388**

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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Editorial Comment

Fair Warning

ON THE same day last month two Wisconsin council-manager cities, Beloit and Rhinelander, voted on whether or not to go back to an old form of government. Beloit, with a record of twenty years of good government, barely saved itself from turning the clock back. Rhinelander, which has had the manager plan for 23 years, with only three managers during that time, abandoned the plan by a narrow margin.

These stories carry their own moral. It is the old one that begins "Eternal vigilance. . . ." For it is liberty that is at stake. It is freedom from the toils of complicated systems that have defied public understanding and control and provided happy hunting grounds for professional politicians and special favor seekers. It is freedom for conscientious part-time municipal legislators or councilmen from the crushing burden of administrative detail. It is freedom for everybody from the inefficiencies, wastes and lack of foresight which were characteristic of most local governments prior to the rise of the manager plan and which have cost untold millions of scarce dollars and forced the American people to accept mediocre or poor service in the bargain.

These things can be made clear in a campaign to rid a community of an outmoded system. The trouble is that after years of good government under a sound plan the people often forget the smell and the cost of poor government. Minor irritations come to seem more important than the old evils of a generation ago.

So good citizens, thoughtlessly, or connivers, with malice aforethought, start a movement to go back to the good old days and it takes citizens with long memories or sharp minds to catch on to the deception. It takes organization to reeducate the public on fundamental issues.

The danger is less in communities that have maintained vigorous, nonpartisan citizen organizations like the City Charter Committee in Cincinnati. But the people of too many others have accepted good government without realizing there is a price tag. The price of good government, like that of liberty, is eternal vigilance, with knowledge and understanding.

The danger of backsliding is particularly great in a time of financial stress like the present. It is natural to blame the fellow who takes your money, whether it is the grocer or the tax collector, for the fact that your dollars buy only 50 per cent of what they used to. But it makes no sense to blame a form of government which has proved in emergency after emergency that it is the one most likely to make your tax dollar stretch as far as possible. This was demonstrated during the depression when council-manager cities proved their superior ability to maintain essential services without bankrupting their taxpayers. It has been shown during the last few years in the remarkable capacity of manager places to resist the trend toward higher tax rates.

But the ultimate defense of the manager plan in any place where it may be under attack is not logic alone. If it were it would never be abandoned. The only security is in citizen vigilance and organization maintained through good years and bad so that the people can never be caught napping or beguiled by false propaganda.

What Is a Dollar?

THE COST of government goes steadily up, but it produces only sloppy thinking and foolish action to pretend that the 1949 dollar is the same piece of currency of 100 years ago or even ten years ago.

Newspapers and other well intentioned guardians of the taxpayer are not performing a constructive service when they remark, as an important newspaper did recently, that in 1849 the federal government spent $1,000,000 every nine days but that today it spends $1,000,000 every twelve minutes. The editorial allowed that a century ago the population was only 23,000,000 but it would have been even more enlightening to have dug back into catalogs and restaurant menus to see what grandpa could do with a dollar, not to mention the vast increase in the services performed by government.

One governor, thinking back only nine years in defending his proposed budget, recently said, "It isn't my fault that we have a 50-cent dollar today."

Had he been comparing the feeble modern dollar with the potent dollar of 1849 might he not have called it a ten-cent dollar? In those days bacon was about four and a half cents wholesale, butter between sixteen and twenty cents, and rice three and a half cents.

Needless waste in many governments is great and, as suggested in an article on the following pages of this issue, economies should be attempted with even greater energy than that currently exhibited in the scramble for new revenues.

It will not help solve the pressing problems of government, however, to keep on pretending that costs have increased more than they actually have. When certain dollar expenditures are compared with those of another period they will have to be adjusted according to the buying power of the dollar or they are meaningless.

A striking example of how deceptive dollar comparisons may be is given on page 256 of this issue, which shows that while the dollar cost of government in Berkeley, California, has doubled in eight years, the individual citizen is actually paying a smaller per cent of his income for increased services.

What Can Cities Tax Next?

Income, sales and admissions among lucrative levies communities are utilizing in effort to make ends meet.

By **CLYDE F. SNIDER**[*]

THE widely publicized "financial plight" of our cities is a matter of grave concern to municipal councils and state legislatures.[1]

In its simplest terms the municipal fiscal problem is one of rising expenditures and lagging revenues. Normal increases in municipal expenditures because of growing population and expanding activities are now enhanced by high costs of goods and personal services, and the necessity of undertaking construction and maintenance projects deferred during the war years for want of labor and materials.

Failure of municipal revenues to keep pace with rising expenditures stems in large measure from the fact that the federal and state governments have tended to preempt the more flexible sources of revenue, thus compelling municipalities, along with other local governments, to rely principally upon the overworked property tax.

Responsibility for the situation and for its solution must be shared by the cities and states. To the extent that the distressful state of city treasuries is due to municipal mismanagement or failure to make appropriate use of existing revenue powers, the local units should put their own fiscal houses in order before looking to the states.

In so far as municipal deficits are caused by lack of legal power on the part of city authorities to raise necessary revenues, the legislatures, as the usual source of municipal authority, must accept responsibility.

In seeking to solve the problem several approaches are possible. A first step should be elimination of waste. When all reasonable economies have been effected, consideration may be given to the transfer of certain municipal functions to other governmental units, most probably the state, and to the possibility of curtailing municipal services.

Any extensive transfer of municipal functions to the state, however, is scarcely in accord with the principle of local self-government; and experience has amply demonstrated that reduction of essential services below a basic minimum standard is likely to be false economy. More promising approaches have as their purpose the making of additional revenue available to municipalities through either further exploitation of existing revenue sources or the providing of new sources.

---

[*] Dr. Snider is associate professor of political science at the University of Illinois, where he has taught since 1934. Formerly on the staffs of the Illinois Legislative Council, the Illinois Tax Commission and the Illinois Department of Revenue, he is author of numerous publications and articles on local government problems.

[1] This article summarizes portions of a research report on *Potential New Sources of Municipal Revenue,* prepared by the author during the summer of 1948 for the Illinois State Revenue Laws Commission. Acknowledgment is accorded to Dr. H. K. Allen, professor of economics at the University of Illinois and the commission's director of research, for permission to make this use of materials appearing in the research report.

Aside from state aid the two most productive sources of revenue in cities are the local property tax, which normally supplies some two-thirds of all municipal revenue, and business license taxes. Each of these offers some possibilities of expansion. Many cities have recently increased their property taxes and others are in the process of doing so. But property is already bearing a heavy tax burden and it seems hardly feasible in most instances to attempt to secure additional revenue in any considerable amount from this source.

Again, some municipalities have revised their licensing codes with a view to increasing licensing revenues through rate increases and extension of the licensing requirement. At best, however, the power to license business enterprises, except where employed as the basis of a gross receipts tax, is rather strictly limited in its revenue possibilities.

While in some instances economy measures and expansion of these two revenues may provide a solution to the problem, there will be many others, particularly among the larger municipalities, where this will not be the case. Recourse must be had to some of the "newer" forms of local revenue, enlarged state-aid programs, or both.[2] The newer locally collected revenues which are being authorized and used to an ever increasing extent are of two principal types — local taxes and service charges.

Municipal taxes which seem to be gaining most rapidly in popularity are the income or payroll tax, the sales tax and the admissions tax.

As employed by municipalities the income tax is usually imposed at a flat rate of 1 per cent or less. The levy ordinarily applies to gross income from salaries and wages. Some of the levies also apply to the net profits of unincorporated business and some to corporate profits as well. In some instances the tax applies only to income earned or received within the levying city, while in others it applies also to the income of residents from extra-city sources.

Income Tax Cities

Except for Washington, D. C., the city which has had the longest experience with a local income tax is Philadelphia.[3] Originally effective in 1940 at a rate of 1½ per cent, Philadelphia's levy was subsequent-

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[2] A comprehensive and up-to-date study of municipal revenues, including the various newer sources, is presented in A. M. Hillhouse and Muriel Magelssen, *Where Cities Get Their Money* (Municipal Finance Officers Association, Chicago, 1946) and the *1947 Supplement,* by A. M. Hillhouse, and *1949 Supplement,* by Miner B. Phillipps, to that survey.

[3] On the Philadelphia tax, see "Philadelphia's First Year of Earned Income Tax," by Edward W. Carter and Edward B. Shils, the REVIEW, August 1941; "Philadelphia's Tax in Fifth Year," by Robert J. Patterson, *ibid.,* October 1944; "The Philadelphia Income Tax: A Solution to Municipal Financial Difficulties," by Morris Beck, *Bulletin of the National Tax Association,* December 1947. The District of Columbia Tax, imposed by Congress and in effect since 1939, differs from the typical local income levy in that the rate is graduated rather than uniform.

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ly reduced to 1 per cent. The tax applies to the gross earned income of individuals from personal services and to the net profits of unincorporated businesses and professions but not to corporate income or to "unearned" income from dividends, rents or royalties. Income of Philadelphia residents is subject to the tax whether derived from within or without the city, and taxable also is income of nonresidents derived from services performed or business conducted within Philadelphia.

In Toledo a payroll tax inaugurated in early 1946 has operated with a high degree of success.[4] Following the lead of Philadelphia and Toledo, several other municipalities have now adopted income or payroll taxes of one kind or another at rates varying from one-fifth of 1 per cent to 1 per cent: Springfield, Columbus, Youngstown and Dayton, Ohio; St. Louis, Missouri; Louisville, Kentucky; and more than 40 cities and boroughs in Pennsylvania.

Municipal income taxes provide a lucrative source of revenue even at low rates. Philadelphia's 1 per cent levy produces about one-fourth of all the city's revenue, its 1947 yield being more than $27,000,000 or in the neighborhood of $14 per capita. The Toledo tax, also at 1 per cent, is estimated to be yielding currently at a rate of more than $6,000,000 per year.

In so far as they can be collected through payroll withholdings, local income levies are comparatively easy and cheap to administer; but difficulties are sometimes encountered where, as in the case of residents employed outside the taxing city, withholding cannot be required. Moreover, where neighboring municipalities attempt to levy on the income of residents whatever its source, as well as on salaries and wages of nonresidents earned within their limits, jurisdictional conflicts arise which necessitate a complicated system of offset provisions.

Sales Taxes Productive

The American cities which have had longest experience with municipal sales taxes are New York and New Orleans, which imposed their original levies in 1934 and 1936, respectively. In New York an original rate of 2 per cent was reduced in 1941 to 1 per cent but restored in 1946 to 2; while the 1948 Louisiana legislature reduced the New Orleans rate from 2 per cent to 1.

A spurt of sales tax adoptions by California municipalities, beginning in 1945, places that state far in the lead of others. By the end of 1948, well over 100 California cities were imposing sales taxes, most of them at the rate of ½ of 1 per cent, these municipalities ranging in population from Los Angeles to places of less than 3,000 inhabitants.[5]

Other cities reported to have adopted sales taxes during 1947 or 1948 include Syracuse, New York; Jasper, Alabama; and Denver. Some of the sales tax cities, in an effort to discourage residents from buying outside the city to avoid the tax, impose compensating use taxes on certain expensive articles, such as automobiles and refrigerators, when purchased outside.

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[4] See "Toledo Adopts Payroll Tax," by Ronald E. Gregg, the REVIEW, March 1946; "Payroll Tax Boon to Toledo," by Ronald E. Gregg, *ibid.*, April 1949.

[5] *City Sales Taxes in California* (1948), California State Board of Equalization; "The New Look in City Taxes," *Tax Policy*, December 1948.

The principal merit of the municipal sales tax, as of sales taxes generally, is its productivity. New York's 2 per cent levy is estimated to be producing something in the neighborhood of $120,000,000 per year or $16 per capita;[6] while the experience of California municipalities suggests that an average city may expect a per capita yield of between $3 and $4 from a levy of ½ of 1 per cent.[7]

Sales taxes are objectionable from the standpoint of their regressiveness, but this can be mitigated to some extent, where constitutionally permissible, by exempting food, as is done in New York and in California sales tax cities, and perhaps other necessities.

Except in a few instances, evasion through out-of-city buying does not appear to have presented a serious problem. Nevertheless, because of this possibility the municipal sales tax can be most effectively administered by large metropolitan cities, cities which are geographically isolated or where, as in southern California, a number of neighboring cities impose sales levies and at substantially the same rates.

A relatively new municipal tax which is gaining in popularity is the levy on admissions to theatres and other places of amusement. The admissions levy is well adapted to local use. It enables communities to tap their own resources, reaches most of the citizenry, is easily administered and is imposed on a semi-luxury rather than on a commodity essential to basic living.[8]

Admissions Taxes

Thus far the municipal admissions tax has been most widely adopted in Washington and Ohio, where state admissions levies have been repealed to leave the field free for municipal use, and in Pennsylvania. Cleveland, Cincinnati, Dayton, Seattle, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh are among the larger municipalities which impose admissions levies.

Chicago and several other Illinois municipalities have adopted admissions taxes in recent months. Cities in still other states which impose such levies include New York City, St. Louis, St. Paul and Richmond. All in all, more than 300 American municipalities are now taxing admissions. The rate of levy varies widely but is most commonly from 3 to 5 per cent.

It is difficult to generalize concerning the productivity of municipal admissions taxes. Perhaps it may be said that a 5 per cent levy may be expected to produce, under ordinary circumstances, something like $1 per capita. The principal obstacle to full utilization of the tax is the 20 per cent federal levy on admissions. Moreover, about half the states impose general admissions taxes, and it is not surprising that few admissions tax cities are found in those states. Withdrawal from this field by the federal government, and by those states which now impose such levies, would of course greatly facilitate use of the tax by municipalities.[9]

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[6] *Government Costs and Tax Levels,* by Lewis H. Kimmel, Brookings Institution, Washington, 1948, page 110.

[7] "Local Sales Taxes," by Marvel Stockwell, *Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the National Tax Association,* 1947.

[8] "Home Revenue for Home Rule," by Joe Bingham, *The Tax Review,* January 1948.

Other taxes imposed by municipalities in substantial number include levies on gasoline, cigarettes and public utility services. New York City, Atlantic City and Providence have recently imposed taxes on hotel room rentals. In Pennsylvania new local taxes in profusion are being imposed under a 1947 statute which confers upon cities and other local units blanket authority to tax any or all subjects which the state has power to tax but does not tax or license. By February 1, 1949, no fewer than 732 local governmental units, including some 200 cities and boroughs, had adopted 915 new taxes under this law. In addition to amusement and income taxes, these levies include mercantile taxes, severance taxes, poll taxes and other local levies in surprising variety.[10]

Service Charges

Significant in the field of municipal finance is inauguration in many cities of special charges for services which have traditionally been supported from tax funds. Two such functions are sewage disposal and refuse collection. By financing such functions through service charges, more tax funds may be made available for other purposes. Also in the nature of a service charge are the parking fees collected by hundreds of cities through parking meters. Though parking meter ordinances usually have their legal basis in the power of municipalities to regulate traffic, the revenue produced is substantial and may go a long way toward defraying such highway costs as those of providing traffic police and off-street parking facilities.

State Aid

After the local property tax, state aid constitutes the largest single source of municipal revenue. It now provides about one-sixth of all municipal revenue, and the amount is steadily increasing. The facts that many locally administered functions are of statewide interest, and that some of the most lucrative revenue sources are denied to local units, have moved state legislatures to subsidize local governments ever more heavily.

Perhaps because of rural dominance of state legislatures, state aid has on the whole been provided more generously for rural local governments than for municipalities, but the present tendency is toward more liberal assistance for all units. According to Census Bureau data, total state aid to local governments in the 48 states was 24.5 per cent greater in 1947 than in 1946, with the increase in individual states ranging up to 87.5 per cent.

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[9] "Post-War Financing of Municipalities and New Sources of Revenue," by Paul Studenski, *Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the National Tax Association,* 1946; "The Admissions Tax," by George E. Lent, *National Tax Journal,* March 1948.

[10] Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, *Pennsylvania's New Local Tax Law in Operation* (Harrisburg, 1948); Wade S. Smith, "New Revenues Flow in Pennsylvania," the REVIEW, April 1949.

State aid assumes two principal forms, the shared tax and the grant in aid. Each has its advantages and disadvantages but the grant in aid is gaining in popularity.

Under the sharing plan funds available for distribution depend upon the productivity of the tax rather than upon local needs and, since the revenue produced is likely to vary with economic conditions, local governments find it difficult to plan with a proper degree of confidence. Largely because of these elements of instability and uncertainty, New York in 1946 abandoned most of its tax-sharing programs in favor of a system of per capita grants.

Though the grant in aid seems thus preferable to the shared tax, both devices will doubtless continue to find appropriate places in state aid programs. In fact, it matters little which device is used if only available state funds are distributed according to formulae which give proper consideration both to needs for local services and to the financial ability of the local governments concerned.

Solution Difficult

The problem of providing additional revenues commensurate with municipal needs is not a simple one, nor will the same solution be found suitable for all cities. In each state the municipal revenue system must take into account whatever limitations are imposed by constitutional provision, and within the state there must be further "tailoring" of the system to fit the circumstances and needs of individual municipalities.

Determination of what new revenue sources can best be made available to cities will depend in no small measure upon what sources are presently being used by other local units, the state and the federal government. Indeed, since the taxpayer's basic interest is in his overall tax bill, fiscal planning, to be most effective, will require coordinated action by all levels of government—national, state and local.

In most instances, the additional revenues needed by cities should probably come in part from further local taxation and in part from increased state aid. Where the states retain exclusively to themselves such lucrative taxes as those on sales and income, it is only fair that they pass on a portion of the revenue from these sources to local governments to relieve the pressure on the local property tax.

Sales and income taxes, indeed, while capable of being administered locally, can be best administered on a statewide basis. With respect to these levies, therefore, while local administration is doubtless feasible in some cases, state administration and collection, with a part of the proceeds subsequently distributed to the local units as state aid, seem generally preferable. Moreover, further use of state grants of the equalization type seems desirable as a means of assuring minimum service standards in the poorer communities.

In connection with state aid it should be borne in mind that even those grants made to other local units are by no means unrelated to the fiscal problem of municipalities. Thus, liberalized grants to counties for welfare purposes, or to school districts for education, may have the ultimate effect of making more property tax funds available to cities.

Excessive reliance upon state assistance, however, is scarcely conducive to local fiscal health. Municipal needs for additional funds should therefore be met in part through further exploitation of local revenue sources.

Local Supplements

Where taxes best adapted to state administration are used for both state and local purposes, an alternative both to local administration and to the ordinary state-sharing device is the local supplement to the state levy. Under this plan the state imposes and collects the levy for state purposes. Municipalities or other local units are authorized to impose their own levies, supplementary to that of the state, which are then collected by the state along with its levy and the proceeds remitted to the local units.

Such a plan secures the advantages of state administration while preserving the home rule feature of the local levy. For these reasons the local supplementary levy, as yet little used in this country but well known in Europe, deserves more widespread consideration.[11]

Finally, it may be observed that making the imposition of a new municipal tax contingent upon advance approval by the local electorate is likely, in practice, to nullify its use. Fear of a new and untried tax will often defeat a proposed new levy in a referendum election though a trial period might bring popular approval of the measure.

This is well illustrated by California's experience with the municipal sales tax. According to a survey of early 1948, two municipalities in that state had made their sales tax ordinances subject to referendum approval before the taxes could become effective. In both instances the proposed levy was rejected by the voters. On the other hand, not a single city in which the tax went into effect without voter approval had voted it out in subsequent referendum elections.

Such experience suggests that, if a referendum provision of some sort is considered desirable as a check on the city council, a provision for referendum vote on petition, after the tax has been in operation for a specified period of time, is generally preferable to a requirement that the levy be approved by the voters before it can take effect.

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[11] "Tax Supplements for Municipalities," by John F. Sly, *The Tax Review,* February 1947.

Westchester Likes Executive

Ten years with elected administrator brings efficiency but no lessening of political control to 'richest' county.

By **HUGH W. ROBERTSON***

IT IS now a decade since Westchester, one of the original twelve shires or "countyes" of the Empire State, pioneered with Nassau, suburban counterpart on Long Island, in administration of government under the county executive system. The two were the first counties in the nation to adopt the elective county executive form, differing markedly in authority and in responsibility to the public from the appointive county manager system.

Chapter 617 of the Laws of 1937, State of New York, provided the alternative form of government for Westchester, submitting the plan to the electors that November. Approved by the electors, it became partly effective January 1, 1938, and, with the election of the first county executive in November 1938, fully effective as of January 1, 1939.

What has been the result? Better county government? Cheaper? More responsive to the public will? Elimination of political domination? Greater efficiency?

We shall try to answer the questions as we go along with a "before and after" survey of Westchester County government, stressing at the start that the county is itself an unusually large and wealthy community. Boosters are fond of quoting statistics which purport to show that the county has more automobile registrations than any one of nine states, has more population than any one of ten states, a larger budget than any one of twelve states, a larger assessed valuation of realty —pre-World-War II was around two billions—than any one of 31 states. They do not always add that at one time—1936—it had a larger outstanding debt, $106,000,000, than any one of 38 states.

Further, there are complexities in administration of government. There are within Westchester six cities, eighteen towns and 22 villages. There are altogether 39 different police forces, as one example of diverse elements devoted to the same cause. There are, in addition to incorporated municipalities, a multitude of school, sewer, fire, health, old age and welfare districts. The county itself has six state assemblymen, three state senators and two congressmen. Population is around 600,000 and density of population about 1,340 per square mile.

From its creation in 1683 until adoption of the county executive plan Westchester had two branches of government, judicial and legislative, the latter including such execu-

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tive functions as were required for countywide purposes.

More than a half-century ago Westchester came under the domination of the Republican organization. For 37 years of that period it was under the direct control of a strongly entrenched and solidly integrated GOP machine headed by William L. Ward of Port Chester, one of the last of the "bosses," usually regarded by his intimates as a benevolent despot and under whose reign the great advances of the county were made. Mr. Ward, who was incidentally one of those in the "smoke filled room" which nominated President Harding, died in 1933. But the hold of the GOP remains. Of the county's 45 supervisors, only seven are Democrats this year.

"Boss" Ward tried on three separate occasions for a charter which would set up executive types of administration. Such came only after his death, but when it came it was to a large degree along the lines he had originally laid down. Failing in his three attempts, he had secured special state laws which bound into the budget committee of the board of supervisors practically all executive power. Not a dollar could be spent, in reality, without approval by that committee.

But with this board meeting only weekly from November elections until after the close of the state legislature, usually around the end of March, and with only monthly meetings during the rest of the year, executive control was slack. Many decisions were naturally delayed until board meetings. There were times when an applicant for office space in a county building was required to see as many as five officials and then await final approval by the board.

Committeeman As Manager

What this type of government under political control actually amounted to was that Westchester had an unelected county manager, the chairman of the Republican county committee, who met frequently with top-level county departmental heads, sometimes at Sunday morning breakfasts, to plan and to stamp the O. K. on budgets, equalization tax tables, public works improvements and other expenditures and appropriations.

It was, believe it or not, under this helter-skelter type of government that Westchester grew to stupendous size. It was this administration which built parks and parkways to which came foreign engineers and missions. (Hitler sent a delegation to study the parkways before he built his autobahns).

The same administration built its county trunk sewers to serve municipalities; created a county hospital, welfare and social service regime which Al Smith borrowed for the state and which, eventually, Franklin D. Roosevelt took to Washington in seed form; and set up parks, a county center recreation building which opened with Metropolitan grand opera, a modern home for aged indigent and paved the way for a $5,000,000 county airport. The latter was constructed only after Mr. Ward's death but along plans drawn by engineers he had sent to Europe to survey fields upon the continent. The Westchester children's court became almost as famed as the first in Denver.

Then came the county charter.

Judges, in accord with this state's tradition, remained elective, as did other law enforcement officials, sheriff, district attorney and county clerk. Supervisors, too, remained elective. But under appointment by the county executive, with confirmation by the supervisors, went a new personnel officer, county attorney, park commission, recreation commission, tax commission, budget director, commissioner of public welfare, public works commissioner, planning department, finance commissioner, health commissioner and what has been recently converted into a pathologist–medical examiner, exercising control over not only coroner's duties but also county laboratories.

It was, frankly, an extreme case of centralization. But the reform did not go nearly so far as the charter permitted. Within that instrument are three further improvements not yet called upon. One is for a county debt commission, which would have authority over bond issuance by subordinate governmenal agencies; the second is a department of assessment, which would centralize and standardize all realty valuations; and the third would create a smaller and less unwieldy county board of from ten to twelve members to replace the present 45-member board of supervisors, elected from cities and towns and not upon countywide basis.

Only this last permitted progress has been submitted to referendum, and defeated by a three-to-two vote. The dominant GOP opposed, and Democrats gave only lukewarm support. Westchester, apparently, takes its reform at slow gait. Not reactionary, but definitely conservative, would be our diagnosis.

Reviewing the last decade of county government in Westchester, it is fair to state that we have had better government, more efficient government, slightly more responsive to the public will—because of election of the county executive—but not cheaper government, and without elimination of a tight-rein political control.

Executives in Action

There have been two county executives during the period under study. The first was William F. Bleakley of Yonkers, former Supreme Court justice, the unsuccessful GOP candidate for governor in 1936 and undoubtedly the best known citizen of the county, so much so that he is sometimes called "Mr. Westchester."

Second, and incumbent, is Herbert C. Gerlach of Ossining, now in his second term, a Bleakley protege, a former chairman of the supervisors and Mr. Bleakley's commissioner of finance. The policies of the two have been greatly similar, a development not at all surprising since the present head of the Republican county committee is a law partner of Mr. Bleakley. He is Livingston Platt, who made of his home city of Rye a pattern for excellent bipartisan government before becoming Republican county chairman. (Mr. Platt, incidentally, is a grandson of "Boss"

PERIODICAL DEPT

Tommy Platt who once ran New York State from the sidelines.)

The county executive type of government has "jelled" nicely. A referendum today would undoubtedly return an overwhelming majority for its retention. And this in the face of budgets which increased from $11,731,000 gross in 1939 to $22,211,000 gross in 1949, from $7,750,000 net in 1939 to $12,450,000 net in 1949. Yet during only a little more than that period the county debt has been reduced from $106,000,000 to $71,000,000. How many other counties can match that record?

The angle of county executive appointments is worth attention. "Boss" Ward never limited his selections to county residents, although he frequently rewarded political aides. He went to the state for a budget director, and again to Albany for a health commissioner; he went to Rhode Island for a director of probation; he drafted bankers for his finance department; he brought in the late V. Everit Macy, millionaire philanthropist, to run his public welfare—after Mr. Macy had beaten the Ward candidate in elections—and later to head the park commission.

Many of those now in command date back to the Ward regime. A son of Mr. Ward now heads the park commission. And both Mr. Bleakley and Mr. Gerlach have, in the main, followed the Ward precedent in appointments. There have been exceptions, of course. The GOP leader in Yonkers is now the finance commissioner and the late GOP chairman of Mount Vernon was sheriff. But Ward himself usually rewarded the leaders of these two cities with either nominations or appointments. In matters of welfare, health, public works, the park commission, tax and recreation commissions, budget, planning and pathologist-medical examiner, appointments have been made without regard to political activity of the appointees.

Yet there remains an extremely close, friendly relationship between the county executive and the Republican chairman and his organization. This would not have been possible except for acceptance by Chairman Platt of "Boss" Ward's favorite saying: "Good government is the best politics."

Finance Headaches

There are, as always, problems. Westchester is having "state-aid trouble," claiming discrimination in Albany largess because of its reputation for per capita wealth. One or two of the cities are dangerously near constitutional limitations on budgets. After parkway pioneering the county decided any more through-traffic arteries would be at state expense—and the state has been slow in awarding contracts. Motor vehicle congestion on weekends is increasingly worse. Competition with state and New York City for hospital and welfare aides has produced personnel shortages. Increased salaries and a cost-of-living bonus of $1,095 annually—$300 of this integrated into base pay—have cured this headache slightly.

Parkway tolls returning $1,700,000 annually have helped financially, but Westchester looks with envy toward Nassau's rich dividends in the 5 per cent tax on pari-mutuel horse track betting. Westchester's track meets have been shifted to larger quarters on Long Island.

The county tax rate itself is not heavy, $6.52 per $1,000 valuation this year. But that is considerably more than the $4.91 in the last prewar year, and municipalities, required to collect this tax for the county or face delinquency certificates of indebtedness against their own credit, complain of the county's "extravagance" in salaries and bonuses.

Today's government in Westchester is, indeed, a far cry from the pence-and-shilling budgets which the historical societies show for colonial days. But then government has changed a lot elsewhere too. What is now the Bronx in New York City was once part of Westchester. And how many in Massachusetts know that Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket Island were once Duke's County of New York? Or that what is now the Pemaquid section of Maine was once New York State's Cornwall County?

New changes are, undoubtedly, ahead. It may be that the national trend to the left may endanger continued GOP domination of this Gibraltar of the party. But elections have not yet shown it. Westchester gave Wendell Willkie the largest majority of any of the more than 3,000 counties of the nation, and more than did eight of the ten states Willkie carried. It gave Tom Dewey last November an 81,000 majority, exceeding the figure by which he carried the state, and ahead of the 67,000 it gave him in 1944.

Today every judge, every elective county department head, and nearly all mayors and councilmen of cities and villages in the county are Republican, as is also a large majority of the board of supervisors.

In summation, the county executive type of government has done well in Westchester—although it has not achieved all the progress the sponsors of the charter had anticipated. There is work yet to do. But as for going back to the old days and ways—never!

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Candidates Won't Stay Out

Money deposit in place of petitions fails to discourage candidacies in Michigan; experience abroad reported better.

By HAROLD M. DORR*

THE money deposit as a means of qualifying for a place on the primary ballot was officially introduced to the state of Michigan in 1931. The proposals were enacted in an attempt to restore a degree of order and dignity to nominating procedures in Wayne County, including municipal primaries in Detroit.

Proponents of election reform, alarmed by the ease with which name-candidates, nonentities and other nuisance candidates were able to secure the required number of signatures on nominating petitions, sought to discourage them without placing unreasonable obstacles in the way of serious office seekers, and thus eliminate some of the elements of chance nomination inherent in the long, name-laden ballots.

The filing fee or the money deposit as an alternate to the nominating petition was recommended in the report of a special election commission appointed in 1930.[1] The commission in its report to the legislature recommended that the nominating petition be retained but that in Wayne County candidates be given an opportunity to qualify for a place on the ballot by depositing with the county clerk a filing fee of $250 in lieu of the petition. This recommendation was sympathetically received in the legislature and, after amendment reducing the deposit to $100, became law.

The law authorized the deposit as an alternative method only, restricted its use to districts entitled to elect more than three representatives to the state legislature (Wayne County, District No. 1) and required that the deposit "be returned to all candidates who shall be nominated and to a like number of candidates who are next highest in order thereto in the number of votes received."[2]

The provisions of the law were not applicable in Detroit's municipal elections. In the spring of the same year, however, the city charter was amended extending the optional deposit principle to municipal primary elections. Under the charter a candidate was permitted to deposit with the city clerk, in lieu of a nominating petition, a sum equal "to 2 per cent of the first year's salary for such city office." A fee of $50 was required in case no salary was provided for the office. All deposits made by both successful and defeated candidates were forfeited.

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[1] See also "Tightening the Direct Primary," by Harold M. Dorr, *American Political Science Review,* June 1936, pages 512-522; February 1937, pages 56-65.

[2] Public Act No. 200, *Public Acts, 1931.* Legislative district, Wayne County, District No. 1, comprised approximately the area of the city of Detroit and was entitled to seventeen representatives. State senatorial districts 1, 2, 4 and 5 were located wholly within this legislative district.

Neither the state law nor the charter provision was an effective deterrent to persistent office seekers. In the ensuing elections primary ballots, county and municipal, were overcrowded. Almost all continued to circulate petitions, some because petition-pushing was inexpensive, some because they believed that a candidate in circulating a petition was at the same time promoting his candidacy, while others were frankly exploiting an opportunity for professional or business advertising.

In the primaries of 1932 and 1934, a total of 400 candidates qualified for places on the ballots. Of these, only 24 (6 per cent) filed deposits. In the municipal primaries of 1931 and 1933, approximately 5 per cent of the 967 candidates used the fee system. Eighteen of the 88 candidates qualifying for the judicial primary of 1935 made deposits.

Use Made Mandatory

Friends of the deposit plan were disappointed but not discouraged. In February 1935 a bill was introduced in the state legislature making the use of the deposit mandatory for candidates seeking nomination to county office or to the state legislature in any county having a population of 500,000 or more (Wayne).

The bill was approved on May 17, 1935. It provided for a deposit of $50 in case the salary for the full term of the office sought did not exceed $3,000 and of $100 for offices with salaries in excess of that amount. Deposits were declared forfeited if the candidate did not poll 50 per cent of the number of votes required for nomination; i.e., 50 per cent of the vote obtained by the lowest contender who survived the nonpartisan primary and qualified for a place on the ballot in the final nonpartisan election.

Also in 1935, an amendment to Detroit's charter was adopted providing complete elimination of nominating petitions and substitution of a deposit as the sole method of qualifying in a municipal primary election. The proposal required a fee of $100 for salaried offices and $50 for unsalaried offices. Refunds in full amounts were permitted for successful candidates and for defeated candidates who polled 50 per cent of the votes which proved necessary for nomination. The mandatory deposit has been retained over the intervening years.

The state law of 1935 did not fare as well. In the primary election of 1936 approximately 300 candidates, county and legislative, qualified in the primary by depositing the prescribed fees. In 1938, however, sixteen candidates—ten for the House of Representatives, four for the Senate, one for sheriff and one for coroner—disregarding the mandatory act of 1935, circulated and filed petitions as required under the law of 1929 and permitted under the optional deposit law of 1931.

These candidates, challenging the constitutionality of the 1935 act, demanded that they be declared qualified candidates and that their names be printed on the primary ballots in accordance with the provisions of the legislation of 1929 and 1931. Their demands were rejected.

The candidates then sought in two separate mandamus actions to require the clerk to accept the petitions in lieu of the deposit required by the act of 1935.[3]

The court granted the relief and, in supporting its order to place the names of the petitioners on the ballot, declared the act unconstitutional. The mandatory deposit act of 1935, said the court, was obviously a local act passed by the legislature in disregard of the referendum provision of the state constitution governing enactment of local and special legislation.

Court Nullifies Act

The provision which limited the law to counties having a population of 500,000 or more was a mere subterfuge, the court said, deliberately designed to circumvent the constitutional restriction. The act must have been intended to apply to Wayne County and to that county only.

The decision of the Circuit Court was not seriously challenged. No appeal was taken. "Since there has been no appeal from this decision to our Supreme Court, we must take the judgment of the lower court as decisive of the question," the attorney general said in an opinion (No. 16430) made on May 31, 1940.

The court was requested also to declare void all attempts to qualify for the 1938 primary by deposit alone. The court refused to rule on this issue, but did order the refunding of deposits to certain candidates who had filed petitions and then insured their places by making deposits.

Qualifying regulations thus reverted automatically to the provisions of the optional deposit law of 1931. Candidates for county offices were again precluded from making deposits and candidates to the state legislature were free to choose between both plans.

In 1947 the legislature again gave its attention to the merits of the deposit plan and in the revision of that year extended and strengthened somewhat the earlier provisions. The act extended the option of filing a deposit, in lieu of the traditional nominating petition, to candidates in the party primaries for legislative offices, both House and Senate, in any county entitled to elect one or more representatives or senators.

The same option was made available to candidates for county offices throughout the state. The deposit was fixed at $100, to be paid to the county clerk and credited to the general fund. The law requires that deposits "shall be returned to all candidates who shall be nominated and to a like number of candidates who shall be next highest in order thereto." One primary election has been conducted since the law went into effect.

The use of the money deposit to qualify as a candidate in a primary

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[3] *Elmer J. Treloar* v. *Casper J. Lingeman, et al.,* Wayne County Circuit Court, No. 209-502 (August 5, 1938); and *Alfred Zickert, et al.* v. *Casper J. Lingeman, et al.,* Wayne County Circuit Court, No. 209-726 (August 12, 1938). Only fifteen of the sixteen contesting candidates joined in these suits.

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election has had a fair trial in Michigan. The principle has not been too enthusiastically accepted, nor can the experiment be called an unqualified success. In general terms, and as an alternative means only, it has slowly gained support, especially in the Detroit area.

Many serious candidates and conscientious public servants still prefer, because of alleged political advantages, to circulate petitions. Proponents of the nominating petition, while admitting its shortcomings, contend that the deposit plan encourages frivolous candidates, multiple-filing (filing for several offices or several names for a single office) and other manipulation, secrecy and confusion. The money deposit is still regarded as undemocratic.

Election administrators, in jurisdictions where the law requires the checking of petitions for fraud as well as for sufficiency of signatures, believe the deposit plan simplifies administration and reduces election costs. On the other hand, in those jurisdictions where petitions are checked for sufficiency of signatures only, it is contended that the bookkeeping required in accepting deposits and making refunds adds to the confusion, work and expense of election administration.

No Decrease in Candidates

Whatever may be the merits or shortcomings of the deposit plan, the Michigan experience does not demonstrate any decrease in the number of candidates. In Detroit, with the mandatory deposit the only means for qualifying, the situation is causing real concern.

From 1937 to 1947 the number of candidates for mayor and clerk show little change from the numbers for the earlier period—1931 to 1935—when candidates could choose between the deposit and the nominating petition.

Contests for council positions, however, have increased over the years. In the period 1931 to 1935, under the optional deposit law, there was an average of 4.3 candidates for each position to be filled. This average was maintained through the first three primaries under the mandatory law but the average has increased to 7.5 candidates per place over the last three elections. Although the average was aggravated by the unusual number of candidates seeking nomination in 1947—191 candidates for eighteen positions, an average of 10.6 candidates per position—the average for the ten-year period falls just short of six candidates for every position.

Only in the ward contests for the election of constables do the deposits and the threat of forfeitures appear to have had any sobering influence. Under the optional charter provision, a total of 1,215 candidates qualified for three primaries. In contrast, only 134 candidates, an average of less than one candidate for each position, have qualified under the present law in the course of six primaries.

There is likewise no evidence to indicate that the situation in Wayne County has improved under the influence of the state optional deposit law. In 1936 and 1938, the only primaries conducted under the mandatory deposit law of 1935, the number of candidates seeking nomination to county office was reduced by approximately 40 per cent. This apparent improvement should not, however, be credited necessarily to the deposit plan. During the war years, 1940-1946, after the act of 1935 had been declared unconstitutional, the average number of candidates was further reduced by approximately 40 per cent. In the election of 1948, following enactment of the optional law of 1947, the number of candidates increased to about twice the average for the previous four primaries.

Candidacies for legislative offices described a similar pattern. The number of candidates seeking nomination to seats in the House of Representatives from District No. 1, Wayne County, decreased in the primaries of 1936 and 1938 by about one-third from the average numbers standing in the two immediately preceding primaries. There were still fewer candidates, by some 20 per cent, in the three succeeding primaries. The number of candidates filing in 1948 under the optional deposit law exceeded slightly the average for the ten-year period.[4]

Deposit Method Extended

The deposit privilege was extended to out-state candidates by the act of 1947, reaching, exclusive of Wayne County, 53 House seats, four Senate seats, and approximately 800 county offices. Almost all candidates for these out-state offices filed the traditional nominating petitions. Only 41 out of a total of several hundred candidates made deposits: 31 in seven counties, one each in ten counties, and not a single deposit in 65 counties. Of the many candidates seeking nomination to the 57 out-state legislative seats affected by the law, less than a dozen qualified by making deposits.

This first use, however, may not be a fair test of the popularity of the plan. Candidates were confused. Several candidates who made deposits also filed nominating petitions.

In spite of the almost complete disregard of the law by out-state candidates and the continuing complaints against the deposit plan, more and more candidates in Wayne County are taking advantage of the simpler means for qualifying. Consequently, an increasing number of candidates are forfeiting their deposits.

In 1936, under the mandatory law, defeated candidates forfeited a total of $6,650. In 1948 in Wayne County approximately 75 per cent of all candidates for county and legislative offices made deposits. Of the 224 candidates who qualified in this manner, 111 losers forfeited a total of $11,100. In Detroit in 1947, under the mandatory deposit plan, 187 of a total of 350 candidates suffered forfeitures. Thirty-eight of the 45 candidates seeking nomination to fill a single council vacancy (June 18, 1946) forfeited their deposits.

Neither the deposit nor the risk of forfeiture deters eager candidates. In fact, because of the moderate fee and the ease with which candidates may be entered, switched and withdrawn, certain tavern keepers have been accused of entering candidates as a sporting proposition. One such candidate was actually nominated.

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[4] The figures used in these calculations have taken account of the increase in representation granted District No. 1, Wayne County, under the act of 1943.

Complicating factors preclude sound conclusions at this time. The conduct of primary elections has been little influenced by the deposit plan. Candidates have been numerous. In the optional jurisdictions, filing both by deposit and petition does confuse election administration.

On the other hand, the mandatory plan simplifies the process, reduces election costs and undoubtedly eliminates most of the cheaper and more common types of primary abuses.

Experiences in Detroit and Wayne County do not reveal any startling changes in the caliber, reputation or motives of candidates. There has been no political housecleaning. Protests of abuse directed against petition pushing and bogus candidates have been shifted to late and multiple-filing, switches and withdrawals of candidates.

Out-state courthouse opinion, in so far as opinion is available, is rather solidly in favor of the nominating petition. On the other hand, opinion at the city hall favors the deposit and, in spite of admitted shortcomings, there is no real pressure for abandonment of the plan.

The Detroit situation, with special reference to the multiplicity of candidates, has been the subject of official discussion. Thinking has been directed toward introduction of measures designed to increase the risk of forfeiture. Few proponents of the plan favor increasing the amount of the deposit.

Experiences in Detroit and Wayne County tend to indicate that greater risk of forfeiture, in the absence of an increase in the amount of the deposit, would not necessarily reduce the number of candidates. Political expediency and fairness to a class of candidates preclude any substantial increase in the amount of the deposit. Continued use may suggest other types of solutions. The plan has merit, but a bright future for the money deposit cannot be predicted from past experiences in Michigan.[5]

Deposit Simplifies Election Procedure

By RICHARD S. CHILDS*

PETITIONS?" snorted Theodore Roosevelt to a petitioner, "I could get up a petition to have you hanged!"

American nominating petitions mean even less—they are designed as procedural encumbrances to prevent frivolous nominations. Sometimes they are made impossibly onerous so as to discourage activities by insurgents and independents.

Sometimes the law demands a huge array of signers coupled with an impossibly short period for examining the petitions for fraud, and often the detailed requirements, such as that the signature shall be identical with a prior registration—"Alfred B. Jones," not "A. B. Jones," give an adversely minded election authority ample chance to invalidate enough honest signatures to throw the petitions out.

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[5] For an earlier and somewhat more optimistic conclusion, see Dorr, *op. cit.*, February 1937, pages 56-65.

*Mr. Childs, former president of the National Municipal League, is chairman of the League's Council and a volunteer member of its staff.

In New York City the number of petitioners for various candidates, all requiring "verification" by the board of elections, has sometimes exceeded a million at municipal elections. A highly organized machine can marshal its experienced workers and patronage beneficiaries to get up great arrays of proper signatures where insurgents must employ canvassers at ten cents a name to supplement the labors of amateur volunteers, a situation which fortifies the "ins" against dislodgement.

And the signatures mean little as to the intentions of the signers but prove only that a lot of utterly useless work was done! Frauds, abundantly demonstrated, are not pursued after election. The petitions become costly waste paper!

The sensible British do not mess up their electoral methods with such expensive and meaningless procedures for nomination to public office. The candidates and a few sponsors post a sum of money to obtain printing of the candidate's name on the official ballot. If the candidate gets votes enough to demonstrate that he deserves such consideration, his money is refunded. In certain by-elections for Parliament in 1947, the Liberal party, now in a minor and waning position as compared with the Conservative and Labour parties, put up candidates who failed to poll one-eighth of the total vote and thereby forfeited their election deposits of £150, a rare event for England.

In Eire candidates for the Dail get on the ballot by a deposit which they may forfeit if they secure only a low vote.

Canadian System

R. Grant Crawford, director of the Institute of Local Government, Queens University at Kingston, reports as to Canadian municipal elections:

"There is no official recognition of the existence of political parties or party affiliation. While it is true that candidates do obtain a certain amount of assistance from their party if they are active in the party, it is a most exceptional circumstance for a candidate for municipal office to suggest publicly that he is a member of any particular party. The few exceptions in recent years have been candidates who ran openly as being sponsored by labour organizations or the Canadian Commonwealth Federation and the reaction of the public has not been such as to encourage the practice."

Nominations may be made by from two to ten voters, sometimes none, at a "meeting" or filing hour at a certain time and place.

"Election deposits in municipal elections are not the general rule," says Dr. Crawford, "although in Quebec cities and towns all nominations must be accompanied by a deposit of $50 returnable if the candidate is elected or obtains votes equal in number to one-third of the number of votes polled for a candidate who is elected. In Winnipeg a deposit of $100 is required from mayoral candidates and $25 from aldermanic candidates, in the proportional representation elections, returnable if the candidate has received 15 per cent of the quota at the moment of being counted out. In Charlottetown the $100 deposits for mayoral candidates and the $50 deposits for aldermanic candidates are returnable under the same conditions.

"Although the figures are not available to sustain the statement, it is not usual to have more than twice as many candidates as there are offices to be filled despite the fact that in most cases there are only two nominators required and no deposit required."

Parliamentary Candidates

For members of the Dominion Parliament, the elections act provides that each nominee shall deposit $200 to get his name on the ballot. The deposit is returned if he gets one-half the number of votes polled for the winner. The candidate may withdraw at any time up to 48 hours before the polls open in which case votes cast for him are null and void but the deposit is forfeited. If a candidate has no opponent when nominations are closed, he is forthwith certified as "elected by acclamation."

For provincial parliaments the deposits are $200 in two provinces and $100 in the other four. Canadian candidates are usually sponsored by the regular parties but only name, address and occupation appear on official ballots and, as legislative posts are, with a few local exceptions, the only elective posts, ballots are short, commonly covering a single office as in England, and the voter does not need the party names on the ballot to enable him to identify his party's candidate.

H. McC. Clokie in his *Canadian Government and Politics* (1946) remarks: "This deposit serves nominally to discourage a multiplicity of candidates, many of whom could not be considered as serious contestants, but as this end could be attained with a much lower requirement as to votes secured it is evident that it is designed to protect the dominance of the two major parties."

In New Zealand each parliamentary candidate posts £10 which is refunded if he gets a quarter of the total vote. John H. Wigmore, as long ago as 1889, described Australian laws of Queensland, Victoria and West Australia calling respectively for £20 deposit for the state legislature, £50 to £100 "according to the office," and £25 for the state legislature, returnable to candidates getting 20 per cent of the vote.[1]

Provisions of Model Charter

The *Model City Charter* of the National Municipal League has had for some years provision for nomination by payment of a deposit—amount not specified—returnable to candidates who poll 5 per cent or more of the P. R. quota, or who withdraw before a certain pre-election deadline. The League's *Model Election Administration System* proposes a deposit of 5 per cent of the salary of the office, returnable if the

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[1] *Australian Ballot Systems,* 1889.

(Continued on page 255)

Women Get the Answers

Grinnell, Iowa, group gets many testimonials on manager plan from officials, editors, others to sell own city.

By BLANCHE S. LINDENMAYER*

Dear Sir:

The League of Women Voters of Grinnell, Iowa, with the cooperation of the service organizations of this city, is making a survey concerning the council-manager form of government. We understand your city has adopted this system.

To assist us in compiling information, we enclose herewith a questionnaire which we would appreciate your filling out. . . . We would greatly appreciate your including any specific suggestions or comments that may be helpful to us.

THUS Grinnell was launched upon a fact-finding campaign to substantiate claims that the council-manager form of government is the best devised to date. We had heard of the ferment of reform that has bubbled up all over the United States in local government; we had read the impressive figures of the National Municipal League on the growth of the plan; we had been impressed with the fact that, once a city adopted the plan, few reverted to old systems. But, we wanted to *know!*

At the outset it should be made clear that no one individual or group can claim credit. From the beginning, suggestions which came from within and without the League of Women Voters were considered and welcomed. While other cities are asking, "Why doesn't somebody get this organized?" the Grinnell league has attempted to do just that. Its position might be likened to the ball-carrier in a football game. Only one person can carry the ball but it takes team work to win the game. The League of Women Voters is soliciting from the citizens of Grinnell good team work on this project which could and should achieve much for the community.

The average person has been so carried away with the everyday responsibilities of balancing the household budget, keeping the family housed, clothed and fed, that he has too often failed to recognize that citizen responsibility for good government goes farther than paying taxes. As a nation we are guilty of an unhealthy disinterest in government. We are prone to "let John do it," complain and criticize, for to act constructively takes time and energy.

We can hardly be proud of placing in public positions officials elected by a minority, as we are doing, especially in local government, adding insult to injury by placing in their hands a faulty, outmoded structure of government. We are neither fair to them nor to ourselves.

Government of the people requires: (1) A system in which responsibility is clearly fixed; (2) a system which is responsive to the will of the people and which offers the voter more direct participation as a citizen; (3) a system which constantly seeks to operate more efficiently.

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*Serving her second term as president of the Grinnell, Iowa, League of Women Voters, Mrs. Karl Lindenmayer first became interested in civic affairs when her daughter became ill with brucellosis. To her dismay she discovered that the city's "excellent milk ordinance" was no ordinance at all because "they guessed they'd forgotten to have it published and couldn't enforce it." Since then Mrs. Lindenmayer has had a lively interest in local governmental affairs and has taken part in many community activities.

At every point the mayor-council form of government, which is in effect in Grinnell, is weak. The questionnaire mentioned previously, which is found below, further substantiates the fact that where the mayor-council form is weak the council-manager plan is doing excellent work.

Answers to Questionnaire

Here are the results of the questionnaire sent to the city manager, chamber of commerce, editor, mayor and superintendent of schools in 44 midwest cities, between 5,000 and 10,000 population, where council-manager government has been adopted.

1. *What was your previous form of city government?*

37 — Mayor-council.

3 — President and trustees.

3 — Commission.

1 — Village council.

2. *Does there appear to be any material dissatisfaction with council-manager form?*

43 — No.

1 — Yes, to some extent: "Those who get something for nothing at the expense of other taxpayers."

3. *Do you feel the position of councilman attracts high caliber candidates and makes service acceptable to men who value their time?*

35 — Yes.

5 — No.

4 — ? (Varied opinions and "no difference noticed.")

4(*a*). *Was there any significant increase in the cost of government the first year after adoption?*

38 — No.

2 — Yes, "but justified."

4 — ?—No comparative figures to go by, system either too old or too new.

(*b*). *If so, was the increase the result of the adoption?*

43 — No.

1—Yes, progressive projects were started.

5(*a*). *Did you experience difficulty in getting qualified applicants for the position of manager?*

31 — No.

7 — Yes—three of these indicated "for what we offer."

5 — ?

(*b*). *Present salary for manager of your city?*

$3,500-$8,500.

6. *Were there wholesale dismissals of city employees at the time of adoption?*

44 — No.

7. *Does there appear to have developed any serious flaws such as:*

(*a*) *Excessive spending?*

44 — No.

Kansas City,

(*b*) *Too much centralization of authority?*

44 — No.

(*c*) *Misuse of city funds?*

44 — No.

(*d*) *Deterioration of municipal services?*

44 — No.

(*e*) *Higher governmental costs?*

40 — No.

4 — ? Inflationary trend considered here.

8. *Have there been definite improvements such as:*

(*a*) *Improved municipal services?*

44 — Yes.

(*b*) *New services?*

43 — Yes.

1 — No, plan adopted 1948.

(*c*) *More for tax dollar?*

43 — Yes.

1 — No, plan adopted 1948.

(*d*) *Lower administration costs?*

26 — Yes.

7 — No.

10 — ? Inflation considered again.

(*e*) *Better long range and overall planning?*

44 — Yes.

Revealed by the questionnaires were such additional enthusiastic and informative comments as these:

"Immediately the cost of government dropped considerably."

"We do all our own sewer, water, paving, blacktopping, sidewalks ourselves and do not hire an outside contractor to do any of this work."

"We definitely would not return to the old ward system or operation by men who do not have the time."

"There is always someone of authority who can be reached at all times."

"City was in debt one million dollars —debt free today, due mainly to adoption of council-manager form."

"Intelligent directed spending."

"Closer inspection on city contracts."

"A run-down city which, it was found, cost the taxpayers just as much as the present well managed council-manager administration."

"Streets, water system and sewage disposal plant all being improved."

"Improvements are being made without further cost to the taxpayer; in fact, levy on real and personal property reduced for the coming year."

"Salaries and hourly wages for all city employees have been increased 38 per cent."

"Employees on cost-of-living wage plan now."

"Cement curb and gutter and asphalt surfacing constructed by city employees at cost."

"Water plant revenue previously transferred to general fund now being used for rebuilding water and sewage treatment plants."

"$38,000 saving the first year."

"First good police system we have ever had."

"Our services have increased and improved. Politicians don't like it because it is difficult for them to run things."

"This is a college town; prominent business men and members of the college faculty have been willing to serve as councilmen."

"As a newspaperman and council member, who has lived in two manager-type cities and two mayor-type, I am completely sold on manager plan. Would like to see a county manager installed here."

In 'Deplorable' Shape

"When the council-manager form took over, we were in a deplorable condition. Equipment in all departments had deteriorated. There was a $7,000 loan at the bank borrowed on anticipated taxes to pay city employees. Our first year we took up the loan, raised city employee salaries, ended the first year with $18,000 balance. First city had been in black for years.

"Second year, purchased all new equipment for all departments with added equipment for street, fire and police departments, redecorated and cleaned city hall. Put in modern radio equipment in police and fire department. Added street equipment: asphalt heater, chat spreader, diesel roll, road grader; fire department: new fire truck, 28,000 feet of new hose, resuscitator, fog nozzles, etc.; police department: new police car, new motor tricycle, new uniforms and all new office equipment in city hall. All this was paid for in cash and all employees had another increase in salaries with $9,000 balance at end of second year and a six-cent cut in taxes."

"When our city adopted the plan in 1921 it was the result of a deterioration in its financial structure and the electric utility system which it had acquired in 1911. Few local citizens had any idea whatever as to the amount their government was obligated for in bonds and outstanding warrants, at interest rates up to 7 per cent and on bonds that were discounted below par at the time of their sale. Indebtedness will be paid off this year.

"This has not been at the expense or sacrifice of municipal services and well-being as evidenced by our enviable park system, sewage disposal system, our fine swimming pool, airport, more than ten miles of wide street paving with 76,000 square yards now being constructed, a city hall and auditorium eleven years old.

"Not one member of our council would accept under the old form as all are businessmen and cannot give time to take over manager's duties. Everyone here likes the form. It is here to stay. . . . We had a 'city planner' in to check our needs, found that we had been planning for years ahead under our city manager form. Did not need his services. We highly recommend council-manager system to all our neighbors."

These are only a few of the many comments supporting the council-manager plan. Analyzing this proposed change for Grinnell carefully, we arrive at these conclusions:

Without too much hesitation we remodel or build new homes; replace furniture and household equipment which has served its day. There is almost a clamor for the new automobiles. Unfortunately, "government" is not tangible—cannot be seen. If it could, by some piece of magic, assume the shape of, say, a vehicle, it would not take a "campaign of education" to interest citizens in their own property.

Statistics point out that from 1903 to 1940 expenditures of local government mounted 522 per cent. It is estimated today that 90 per cent of local government expenditures are used for services which did not even exist two generations ago. Local government has grown to be big business—and it is here to stay. These services that require the greater portion of our tax money, for practical as well as economical reasons, require full time supervision by an administrator with technical knowledge.

Evidence Mounts

Certainly, heartening evidence favoring the council-manager plan has been, and is being, accumulated. It conforms to the sound principle that policy-makers should be *elected* and skilled administrators *appointed*. Councilmen, as policy-makers, are relieved of administrative duties. The council-manager plan is a responsible government and one more responsive to the people's will. It is efficient and economical. It provides much needed long range planning. City employees are benefited as well as the taxpayer. With it, apparently, it is easier to get good results and harder to get bad results. The League of Women Voters is in the process of presenting these facts to the citizens of Grinnell, and we believe when they, too, come to know the business-like structure of the council-manager plan, they themselves will want it.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Mayors Emphasize Housing, Representation

1949 Conference Covers Wide Scope of Subjects

ENTERING its seventeenth year of existence, the U. S. Conference of Mayors held its 1949 meeting in Washington late in March, with President Truman, Vice President Barkley and other invited speakers stressing the need of intergovernmental cooperation. A large attendance included as guests the mayors of many Canadian cities and of Oslo, Norway, and Berlin, Germany, and Dr. Emil Vinck, director emeritus of the International Union of Cities. The program discussed a wide variety of important problems.

Addressing the opening session, President Truman dealt with the continuing widespread need for comprehensive housing legislation and action and the opposition of real estate interests to public housing and national rent control. Several mayors spoke on the slum problem.

The retiring president of the conference, Mayor George W. Welsh of Grand Rapids, Michigan, urged the crying need of fair urban representation in state legislatures, in place of the present situation where the urban 59 per cent of the nation's population are permitted to elect only 25 per cent of the state legislators. He also stressed financial and housing needs of the cities.

Among important resolutions adopted at the conference were those with the following objectives:

Appointment of a joint congressional tax commission to study and make recommendations on intergovernmental tax structure,

Enactment of slum clearance and housing legislation,

A greater urban share of federal highway aid,

Loans and grants to cities for school construction,

A federal statement of policy as to what, if anything, cities should do in organizing civilian defense,

More rapid availability of federal airport funds and provision for loans to public agencies for construction of revenue-producing airport structures,

Continuation of public works advance planning,

Greater federal aid for correction of stream pollution,

Voluntary retirement coverage, by amendment of the social security act, of municipal employees not now under retirement plans,

Reapportionment of state legislatures to give urban representation on the basis of population,

Extension and improvement of federal rent control.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Voters of **Columbia, Missouri,** (population 18,399) adopted a home rule charter providing the council-manager plan on March 29. The vote was 4,323 to 3,553. First election for councilmen under the new charter will take place May 10.

The city council of **Monrovia, California,** (12,807) on March 21 approved an ordinance to establish the office of city manager. The ordinance becomes effective 30 days after third reading and a final vote.

Voters of **Merced, California,** (10,-

135) which has been operating for the past year under a manager ordinance, on April 12 adopted a new charter providing the council-manager plan by a two to one vote.

Hinsdale, Illinois, (7,336) by unanimous vote of its board of trustees has adopted an ordinance providing for appointment of a village manager.

Drumright, Oklahoma, (4,303) adopted a council-manager charter on April 12 by a vote of 504 to 149. **Britton** (2,239) adopted a council-manager charter by a vote of 409 to 333.

Bellaire, Texas, (1,124) on April 2 adopted a council-manager charter 493 to 162.

Voters of **Gaylord, Michigan,** (2,055) voted on April 5 to adopt the provisions of the state's optional council-manager plan law.

Gaastro, Michigan, (800) adopted a new council-manager charter by a vote of 253 to 39.

At the annual town meeting in **Waldoboro, Maine,** on March 14 the citizens voted 277 to 250 for the town manager plan, to take effect in 1950. Two other Maine towns, **New Gloucester** (2,334) and **Thomaston** (2,533) also voted to adopt the plan. **Southwest Harbor** (1,260) defeated a similar proposal.

Dillon, South Carolina, voted 813 to 197 in favor of adoption of the council-manager plan.

Opponents of the council-manager plan in **New Hampshire** formed a state organization to combat it at a meeting in Nashua on March 16 attended by officials or other representatives from some twenty cities and towns. It is headed by Mayor Oswald S. Maynard of Nashua as chairman, with former Mayor Mary Dondero of Portsmouth as treasurer and Councilman F. A. Tilton of Laconia as secretary.

Efforts are being made in the city of **Dover, New Hampshire,** to hold a referendum on repeal of the council-manager plan.

Bethel, Vermont, voted three to one on March 1 to continue the manager plan. Mayor Chauncey M. Willey of **Barre, Vermont,** has been authorized by a nearly unanimous vote of the city council to appoint a commission to investigate the feasibility of the manager plan for the city.

The **Massachusetts** legislature has before it a bill which would enable towns of over 5,000 to adopt the manager plan by popular vote.

There is strong sentiment for the manager plan in **North Adams, Massachusetts,** where the subject has been discussed by the city council as well as by civic groups. A permanent organization, Citizens for City Manager, has been formed and is circulating petitions to place the question on the ballot.

In **Chelsea, Massachusetts,** the Committee for Plan E is campaigning for adoption of the manager plan and proportional representation.

Public Library

The Mass. State Ballot Commission, before which hearings have been held in the contest between Plan A and Plan E petitions, to determine which form of government Boston may vote on, has decided against Plan E. (council-manager with P. R.) This means that Plan A (elected mayor and council) will appear on the November ballot unless court action by Plan E proponents is successful.

The **Woonsocket, Rhode Island,** Charter Revision Committee has held several open forums for discussion of different types of city government. The council-manager plan was presented on March 24 by Manager John F. Desmond of Mansfield, Massachusetts.

A bill to give **Pennsylvania's** 47

third class cities the right to adopt council-manager charters was passed by that state's House of Representatives on March 28 by a vote of 139 to 57, after having been defeated on March 22 by a vote of 99 to 85. The change was caused by a reversal of position by Philadelphia's representatives. The bill is now in the elections committee of the Senate.

The League of Women Voters of **Huntington, West Virginia,** is making a study of the manager plan.

Columbia, South Carolina, will vote on adoption of the council-manager plan on May 9, by virtue of a bill signed by the governor on March 21 and subsequent action of the city council.

Wyoming, Ohio, will vote June 7 on a proposed charter which provides the council-manager plan.

The governmental committee of the Committee for **Henderson (Kentucky)** City and County has prepared a report on the manager plan and its application to Henderson.

An advisory council-manager proposal was defeated in **Athens, Tennessee,** on March 24 by a vote of 1,652 to 517, in an election reported to be the largest ever held in that city.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Bucyrus, Ohio,** is studying a plan to circulate petitions for adoption of the council-manager plan. Four hundred signatures will be required.

The city of **Niles, Michigan,** voted April 5 for charter revision, with the idea that the charter commission would draft a council-manager charter.

Petitions are being circulated in **Ann Arbor, Michigan,** for a special election on charter revision and an advisory vote on the council-manager plan. Twenty per cent of the registered voters must sign these petitions to make them effective, and it is anticipated that they will be obtained in the next few months. The election will probably be requested for November 1949 or April 1950.

Voters of **St. Louis Park, Minnesota,** defeated a council-manager proposal by a vote of 2,050 to 1,345. **Park Rapids** in the same state defeated a similar proposal 481 to 242.

Numerous manager proposals were voted on in **Wisconsin** at the spring election, April 5. **Beloit** voted to retain its council-manager charter 3,866 to 3,717 but **Rhinelander** discarded its charter by a vote of 1,731 to 1,427. **Merrill, Monroe, Whitewater** and **Antigo** defeated council-manager proposals.

Voters of **Grenada, Mississippi,** will vote May 7 on amendments to the city's 113 year old charter to provide the council-manager plan. Since Grenada is a so-called private charter city—one of 23 in Mississippi—it may amend its own charter by action of the city council and popular vote subject only to approval of the governor after the state attorney general has passed upon the legal aspects of the amendment.

Chillicothe and **Trenton, Missouri,** recently defeated council-manager proposals, by votes of 1,549 to 1,087 and 1,637 to 706, respectively.

Voters of **Grinnell, Iowa,** defeated a manager proposal by 287 votes out of a total of 1,428.

Aberdeen, South Dakota, abandoned the manager plan at a special election on March 11 by a vote of 3,827 to 2,802. It had been adopted on March 5, 1946, by a vote of 3,783 to 1,831. According to W. O. Farber, professor of government at the University of South Dakota, an active campaign was carried on by the Junior Chamber of Commerce in behalf of manager government and the press was favorable to the plan. The opponents refused to accept an invitation to a public debate. One of the principal criticisms of manager government was the increase in taxes, although the increase was attributable to rising school costs rather than to municipal government.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Chadron, Nebraska,** plans to resubmit a petition requesting a special election on the council-manager plan to the city council. The petition was originally submitted earlier than the law permits.

A petition bearing the names of 450 electors, seeking a vote on the council-manager plan, has been submitted to the city council of **McCook, Nebraska.** The plan has been endorsed by all three local parties.

In **Columbus, Nebraska,** a committee of fourteen members has been appointed to study the manager plan as a result of a meeting called by a group of business and professional men.

A committee of the **Lawrence, Kansas,** Chamber of Commerce, formed in 1947, has presented a voluminous "fact-finding report" on the council-manager plan, without recommendations. The directors of the chamber have adopted a resolution calling for a special election in June on adoption of the plan.

The **Oklahoma** legislature has passed a bill (H. B. 209) providing the council-manager plan as an optional form which cities may adopt by popular vote. Cities are still free, of course, to write their own charters.

The **Tulsa, Oklahoma,** Chamber of Commerce has instituted a study of forms of city and county government, and has formed a large civic committee for that purpose and to make recommendations for Tulsa. Manager, mayor and commission plans will be investigated.

Lawton, Oklahoma, is interested in readoption of the council-manager plan, which it secured in 1921 but abandoned two years later.

One of the charter amendments to be voted on at the June election in **Arlington, Texas,** authorizes employment of a city manager.

Advocates of the council-manager plan have asked the city commission of **San Antonio, Texas,** to submit the plan to popular vote.

At the May municipal election in **Napa, California,** the voters will pass on the questions of appointment of a city manager and payment of $10 per meeting to councilmen. The manager proposal is opposed by the mayor and supported by the League of Women Voters, among others.

In **Sierra Madre, California,** in a report requested by the city council, Howard Brod, retiring from the office of city engineer to become city manager of San Carlos, recommended the council-manager plan, complete reorganization of the city government, separation of the street and water departments and improved conditions for city employees, including the 40-hour week and a retirement system.

A council-manager charter, drafted by a board of freeholders, will be submitted to the voters of **Sunnyside, California,** on May 10.

An intensive in-service training course in municipal management was held in **Santa Cruz, California,** February 18, 19 and 20 and was attended by 48 California city managers, eight city administrative officers and eleven assistant managers. It included open discussion of questions submitted by managers and administrative officers, a "managers' institute," and discussion of a report on training presented by a committee appointed a year ago.

Philadelphia Charter Bill Adopted

The Pennsylvania legislature has passed a bill authorizing appointment of a commission to draft a new charter for Philadelphia. It was adopted by a straight party vote in both houses—the Senate on April 4 and the House of Representatives on April 11. The Democratic minority and several Philadelphia civic organizations criticized the bill as giving too much power to the city council as to the charter commission and approval of charter amendments.

A new charter may be in the nature of a stop-gap, if a constitutional amendment for consolidation of the city and county of Philadelphia, approved unanimously by the legislature, is adopted at a statewide referendum.[1]

The charter commission may be established by a vote of two-thirds of the city council or on petition of not less than 20,000 voters. Upon such authorization the council president would name nine members and the mayor six. One-third of each group must be members of a minority party. The council will have the power to pass upon proposed charter amendments, a majority vote being required for approval.

A third Philadelphia proposal, to abolish the registration commission and transfer its duties to the county commissioners, failed. It had been urged by certain civic agencies and was at first backed by the Republican organization, but was killed in the Senate with the approval of the Republican city chairman of Philadelphia.

St. Louis Elects Charter Commission

On April 5 voters of St. Louis elected a board of freeholders of thirteen members to revise the city's charter. Nine of those chosen were supported by the League of Women Voters and other St. Louis civic organizations.

Home Rule Amendment Dies in Indiana Legislature

A constitutional amendment sponsored by the Indiana League of Women Voters, which would have permitted cities to choose their own form of local government including the council-manager plan, has failed of passage. Indiana has a 61-day session and the amendment was reported from committee on the 58th day, with no chance for adequate consideration. Many newspapers and radio commentators listed this as one of the failures of a "do nothing" assembly. Besides the league the amendment was supported by the Indiana Municipal League and the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Intermunicipal Council Urged in New Jersey County

A West Essex Administrative Commission for the consolidation of various operating functions of municipalities in the western part of Essex County, New Jersey, has been proposed by Councilman Donald C. Ryan of West Caldwell. He suggests that the commission be set up by the municipalities, with one representative from each and a chairman to supervise its activities. As proposed the latter would include:

Collection of taxes including water and sewer charges,

Joint purchasing of supplies,

A public health division and clinic,

Police service,

Engineering and public works, including garbage and refuse disposal, sewers, water supply, shade tree maintenance, a center for gasoline, oil and automobile service, and an equipment pool for large trucks, bulldozers, rotary snow plows, etc.

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[1] See page 245, this issue.

Important Legislation in New York State

The New York legislature, which adjourned on March 31, adopted a number of important and progressive laws, with few measures of broad significance that are generally regarded as bad.

A proposed constitutional amendment to replace the present absolute veterans' preference in civil service by a system of point preference was approved for submission to the people.

Among administration bills passed were:

A disability benefit bill requiring cash payments to wage-earners who become sick or disabled while working or drawing unemployment insurance,

A measure adding $300,000,000 to low-rent housing loan funds and increasing annual subsidies if the voters approve,

A measure permitting partial exemption of public enterprises from the debt limit to the extent they are self-sustaining, provided the voters approve,

A bill setting up a commission to promulgate a statewide optional building code using performance rather than specification standards (see the REVIEW, March 1949, page 138),

Extension of stand-by rent controls,

The Feinberg-Wilcox bill giving the State Power Authority the right to build its own transmission lines from the St. Lawrence River project if private lines are unavailable,

The Feinberg-Milmoe bill revising the formula for state aid to education, giving and apportioning an added $40,000,000, of which $23,600,000 goes to New York City the first year and $17,600,000 annually thereafter,

A board of trustees to administer a newly established state university under the general jurisdiction of the State Board of Regents.

Another important piece of legislation passed was the Feinberg bill, aimed at Communists, authorizing the Board of Regents to establish a list of "subversive" organizations, membership in which will be grounds for dismissal of public school teachers and bar applicants for teaching positions. The Scanlan bill to prohibit the use of various public buildings by subversive organizations for assembly purposes was passed but was vetoed by the governor as clearly unconstitutional. He signed without comment the other bill, which had been pressed by Mr. Feinberg, Senate majority leader.

The governor's suggestion for a single head to the Department of Civil Service (see the REVIEW, February 1949, page 86) did not bear fruit at this session. Talk of repealing the Condon-Wadlin act prohibiting strikes in public employment (REVIEW, April 1949, page 181) got nowhere; on the other hand, the law was not revised to include grievance machinery or other improvements.

Forces opposing liberalization of divorce succeeded in keeping the one basis permitted in New York, despite revelations of scandal and corruption in divorce procedure. A compromise form of permanent personal registration of voters failed to achieve a floor vote, although coming closer than heretofore.

Court reorganization in New York City, to distribute the burden of crowded calendars, was narrowly defeated.

State Reorganization under Study in Connecticut

A commission of five members to study the organization of the Connecticut state government, with a view to making recommendations for its improvement, was established by the state legislature on March 31. It is set up by a Republican-sponsored bill, following announcement of plans of Democratic Governor Chester A. Bowles to streamline the state government.

A $50,000 appropriation was provided for the commission, the members of which will serve without compensation. The commission is headed by Carter W. Atkins, executive director of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council. It is to complete its duties and report to the legislature by January 1951, with the possibility of interim reports to the governor.

Massachusetts Senate Alternates Party Control

An equal division between Democrats and Republicans in the Massachusetts Senate resulted in a most unusual method of organizing that body, reports *State Government.* After a deadlock on 114 ballots, a compromise was reached by which a Democratic senator will preside for one year and a Republican for the second. Party representation on committees will be equal as will committee chairmanships. Until the compromise was reached an even balance of twenty Democrats and twenty Republicans made it impossible to select a presiding officer and delayed organization of the legislature.

Aged Constitution of Wisconsin Called Good Enough

A move for a state constitutional convention to revise the basic law of Wisconsin was overwhelmingly defeated by the state assembly on March 2. Four weeks later the assembly killed a bill for appointment of a citizens' committee to study the need of constitutional revision.

The assembly's state affairs committee considered the present constitution good enough, and unanimously recommended disapproval of a convention. Representative Steffens, convention advocate, urged the need to consider reapportionment, a one-house legislature, a shortened ballot and state participation in works of internal improvement.

One assemblyman said at the committee hearing, "God pity us if the experts made a constitution for us. They don't know anything. . . . Those old trappers and hunters who wrote the constitution 100 years ago were smart."

A convention was advocated by representatives of the League of Women Voters, the city of Milwaukee, the Democratic party, the American Veterans' Committee, the CIO and the AFL.

Water Pollution Board Named

Members of the advisory board set up under provisions of the water pollution control act have been appointed although, according to the most recent information, Congress has not as yet actually appropriated any money for the program. Under the new law, the Surgeon General is to coordinate the activities of the states and interstate agencies and provide financial and technical assistance to them in the formulation and execution of their water control programs.

The board, which will advise the Surgeon General under the law, will be headed by Assistant Surgeon General Mark D. Hollis, chairman. Other government departments represented, in addition to the Public Health Service, are the Army Corps of Engineers, the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior, the Federal Works Agency and the Department of Agriculture. Six lay members were appointed by President Truman.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Counties Consider Vote on Manager Plan

Fulton County Charter Upheld by Local Court

THE Buchanan County, Missouri, Charter Commission has decided to recommend the manager plan rather than the elective executive plan which also was given serious consideration. The departments under the manager will include public works, public safety, health and welfare, finance, records, and law. There may be established also a department of personnel.

The commission has not determined whether under its charter there will be any elective county officials other than the members of the board of supervisors. It is considering a plan which would make the offices of sheriff and prosecuting attorney appointive.

The commission hopes to have a tentative draft of the charter prepared by July and the final draft by September, in order to allow sufficient time for campaigning before the November election. The League of Women Voters, the Parent-Teacher Council and the Women's Division of the Chamber of Commerce already are sending speakers to meetings of various groups throughout the county to acquaint voters with the need for a charter and for the manager plan.

The St. Clair County, Michigan, Board of Supervisors has created a commission to study and outline possibilities of a manager form of government.

King County, Washington, commissioners have appointed an advisory commission of 36 members to frame a tentative charter. According to the *Seattle Municipal News* of the Seattle Municipal League, this charter will be transmitted to a freeholders charter commission to be elected next year. The freeholders, in turn, will submit their final draft to the voters. Charter revision was made possible by adoption of a home rule amendment to the state constitution last November.

Three suggested plans of organization are set forth by the *Municipal News*: a county council which would appoint department heads and possibly also a county administrative officer or manager; a county legislative body with an elected county executive officer; a county legislative body plus numerous elected department heads (the present system).

The Governmental Research Committee of the Seattle Municipal League is studying the subject and will make its findings available to the advisory charter commission and the public.

Fulton Charter Upheld

The new manager government of Fulton County (Atlanta), Georgia, withstood the latest attack by its opponents recently when the judge of the county ordinary court refused to put the question of its abolition on the ballot in a referendum election. Judge Eugene Gunby stated that he did not believe he had authority to issue such an order and that he thought the county could not expend funds for such a purpose.

City-County Airport Project Succeeds

Development and management of the city-county airport under a commission representing Brainerd and Crow Wing County, Minnesota, jointly have proved to be successful, and on March 1 air mail, air express and passenger services were initiated from the new airport.

Wisconsin Governor Suggests Appointive County Officials

In his first general message to the Wisconsin legislature of 1949 Governor Oscar A. Rennebohm recommended that all county administrative officers except the district attorney and sheriff be appointed under a civil service law. He said: "It is my belief that elective county officials should be elected for four year terms. I believe further that the offices of district attorney and sheriff should continue to be elective, that the sheriff be permitted to serve for one term, and that all other county officers should be placed under civil service. It is my recommendation that this legislature take the necessary steps to effect this improvement in the administration of county affairs."

County Road Systems Revamped

Numerous states have reorganized or received recommendations regarding the reorganization of their county road and highway systems. A highway fact finding and research committee of the Kansas legislature recommended recently that statutory limits be removed in order to permit increases in local road and bridge levies. It also recommended that any gasoline tax increases be shared with local units.

The Illinois State Highway Study Commission recommended that in the future Illinois townships share in gasoline tax income. At present a three cents per gallon tax is divided into thirds, with equal amounts to the state, the counties and the cities. The legislature in the last two sessions, however, appropriated money for township roads from state general revenues. Under the proposed plan, the state would receive 37½ per cent of the gasoline tax revenue, counties 25 per cent, cities 25 per cent, and townships 12½ per cent. It is recommended that the tax be increased to five cents per gallon.

Minnesota's Governor Youngdahl in his biennial report proposed a constitutional amendment that would permit counties and municipalities to share in state collected motor vehicle license revenues. At present the counties receive one third of the receipts of a four cents per gallon gasoline tax. A proposal to increase this to one half was defeated by the voters last November.

Associations of county commissioners in Colorado and Mississippi recently have adopted resolutions recommending that the highway departments of their respective states establish units to assist counties which are unable to employ full time engineers or otherwise unable to provide themselves with modern highway construction and maintenance services.

In Kansas ten more counties voted on the question of the county unit plan of road administration last November. Eight voted for adoption of the plan, one voted to retain it and one voted to reject it. At present 51 Kansas counties operate their highway systems under the unit plan.

County Developments in Texas

El Paso County, Texas, commissioners have instituted a new plan of distribution of functions among themselves which resembles the commission form of municipal government. Each commissioner will make recommendations respecting his departments before action will be taken by the commissioners' court. One will be in charge of judicial matters and the insane, one of welfare, a third of finance, a fourth of roads, etc.

The Dallas County delegation in the Texas House of Representatives has introduced a bill sponsored by the Dallas County Citizens' Association which would give the commissioners' court more authority and, in general, would provide a greater degree of home rule. Certain county offices would be made appointive rather than elective. A referendum would be necessary before the bill became effective.

First-hand information about the government of Dallas County, Texas, is being provided by eighteen county officials who are the lecturers in a new county government course organized by Southern Methodist University's Dallas College. Citizens of the community have been invited to take the course along with university students. It is being conducted in the courthouse but carries regular university credit.

County Legislation in Washington State

Several measures affecting county government were passed by the Washington state legislature. The bill authorizing establishment of county park boards was enacted into law.[1]

The civil service reform bill for King County was killed, but it is believed the provisions it contained will be incorporated in the charter which is being prepared for probable submission to King County voters.

Consolidation of the Seattle and King County health departments was approved. The county's power to condemn private property for public use was extended, and salaries of some of its officials were raised.

Schools now are authorized to cooperate with cities and counties in pooling their recreational facilities and budgets. Counties are authorized to employ a psychiatric probation officer.

Larger School Districts Urged in Jasper County

Enlargement of Jasper County, Missouri, rural school districts is needed to obtain improved and equalized educational opportunities for children and greater equality of the school tax burden among taxpayers, the Jasper County Tax Economy Association declared in a survey report released recently.[1] In regard to the 1948 tax rates in Jasper County rural districts, the report emphasizes that the districts poorest in taxable wealth per child are, on the average, taxing at a rate more than twice as high as the districts richest in taxable wealth per child.

Philadelphia Merger Bill Gets Unanimous Support

Both the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Pennsylvania legislature voted unanimously to adopt a proposed constitutional amendment merging Philadelphia city and county governments. The amendment must also be adopted by the 1951 legislature and submitted to the voters of the state before it can become operative. It abolishes all Philadelphia county offices, assigning their functions to the city government "in a manner to be prescribed by the legislature," reports the Philadelphia *Inquirer.*

Connecticut County Described

In a recent pamphlet, the Institute of Public Service of the University of Connecticut has described the organization, functions and relationship of Connecticut counties with other governmental units.[1] A brief historical introduction is utilized to demonstrate the decline of the Connecticut county. The judicial authority of the county court has long since been transferred to the state courts. Even the sheriff's salary is paid by the state. The county merely provides housekeeping services such as space for a law library and for court sessions.

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[1] See the REVIEW, April 1949, page 187.

[1] *A Look at the Need for School Redistricting in Jasper County,* February 1949, 9 pages.

Control over county expenditures and taxation has been transferred from the abolished county court to the county delegation in the General Assembly. Such delegations supervise county affairs and have full power of investigation. In short, county government in Connecticut has no real legislative authority.

The Connecticut county is primarily an executive and administrative unit responsible for such activities as the management of county property, maintenance of jails and custody of prisoners, care of neglected children and provision of suitable quarters for state courts. Also, it has custody of agriculture funds, makes payments for extinguishing forest fires, compels repair of highways and sidewalks and enforces state weights and measures laws.

The county administration is largely state controlled. The three county commissioners are chosen by the General Assembly for four year overlapping terms. The commissioners appoint a treasurer and a county sealer of weights and measures. All five, however, are paid from county funds.

The sheriff, although paid by the state, is elected by the voters of the county for a four year term. Appointed and paid by state authorities are the coroner, the state's attorney, the public defender, court clerks, county investigator, probation officers, court messengers and jury commissioners. The independent auditor must be appointed annually by the county commissioners.

The report also analyzes county services by considering activities such as child care, operation of the jails and debt administration.

Missouri Group Summarizes County Budgets

The Missouri Public Expenditure Survey has issued its *Fifth Annual Compilation of County Budgets*[1] of the state's 109 rural counties. This publication presents the 1948 summarized budget of each county except the five urban counties, with a summary analysis of the more important data. Figures from four preceding compilations are used for comparative purposes.

The report reveals that, while in 1944 75 counties levied taxes below their limits, in 1948 only 25 counties had such a margin. Average tax rates for general funds had increased five cents per $100 assessed valuation in this period, while the assessed value itself increased 6 per cent. Some counties appear to enter a new fiscal year with excessive surpluses but others, even during the current years of relative prosperity, have deficits.

The report suggests that economies should be sought through: (1) improved budgeting, purchasing and other fiscal procedures, (2) cooperation and consolidation in local services, (3) abolition of township organization, (4) establishment of simpler forms of government and (5) increase of county control over local expenditures.

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[1] *The Connecticut County*, By Henry J. Faeth. Storrs, Connecticut, January 1949, 48 pages.

[1] Jefferson City, Missouri, January 1949, 32 pages.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Repeal Beaten in Massachusetts

House Upholds Right of City Home Rule

LEGISLATION to abolish the proportional representation election feature of Massachusetts' optional Plan E form of city government was defeated by a vote of 116 to 98 on April 14 in the state's House of Representatives.

Prior to its defeat, the measure, as previously adopted by the Senate, was amended to exempt the six cities which have adopted this form of government. The amendment, however, required these cities to hold a referendum on the elimination of P. R. at the 1949 election. Such a referendum is now possible under existing legislation upon petition of citizens of the city to adopt either Plan D, which now resembles Plan E closely except for its P. R. feature, or one of the other optional charters that are available.

On March 16 the House of Representatives, by a vote of 122 to 92, defeated a similar measure, which would not have made any exemption for the six Plan E cities. The Senate revived that measure, passing it by a vote of twenty to eighteen on March 30, after having substituted the bill for an adverse report of the Senate committee on election laws, and asked the House of Representatives to reconsider its action.

Cambridge and Lowell have operated under Plan E for a number of years and Worcester, Medford, Quincy and Revere adopted it by referendum in November 1947. The adoption of P. R. by substantial majorities in these four cities appears to have prevented the controversy from having the aspect of a straight party issue. Charles F. Sullivan, mayor of Worcester and lieutenant governor of Massachusetts, in a letter of April 5 to all members of the House of Representatives, protested "against the elimination of P. R. at a time when Worcester has not even had an opportunity to test the system for which it voted overwhelmingly and in good faith." Many representatives from cities that have voted for P. R., and also several representatives from Boston, likewise opposed the repeal legislation, in some cases in spite of party influence, as pointed out by W. E. Mullins in an article in the Boston *Herald* on April 8.

"The voters of Worcester adopted Plan E by a two to one vote, and only the voters of Worcester should decide on so fundamental a change as that of eliminating P. R.," said a letter by the Worcester Citizens' Plan E Association published in the Worcester *Telegram* on April 3. The Worcester *Gazette* took a similar view editorially on March 24.

The Quincy *Patriot-Ledger* voiced its protest on March 28:

> A year and a half ago the people of Quincy voted, by the ratio of seventeen to seven, to give Plan E and its component part, P. R., a chance. And when the people of Quincy took this vote, Plan E and P. R. were not exactly brand new: they had been tried and found successful in other communities. . . .
>
> Now, with Plan E and P. R. going into effect in Quincy and in some other cities next year, there is a

> flurry of propaganda seeking to divorce P. R. from Plan E. . . . Who is spearheading the drive against P. R.? You don't have to read much to know that, by and large, it is professional politicians who are fighting P. R. tooth and nail.

The Medford *Mercury* also made editorial protests against the proposal and referred to that city's vote of almost five to one for Plan E.

The Boston *Herald* on March 24 alluded to the arguments of the proponents of repeal as follows:

> This gross departure from the sound principle of home rule is being advocated almost exclusively on the grounds that P. R. is a Communistic system. And the argument is a phony. Proportional representation has, in fact, been formally opposed by the Communist party in Boston, because it would hinder rather than help their efforts to penetrate the city government. A similar Communist attitude may be assumed in the state as a whole. P. R. is the voting system in such solidly democratic countries as Ireland and Switzerland. It is not the system used in Communist countries.
>
> The professional opponents of P. R. attack it, not because it is less democratic than our present system but because it is more democratic. We believe that our cities and towns ought, at least, to be allowed to decide for themselves whether they want the P. R. system of voting.

Presidential Election Proposal Sidetracked

By an unprecedented step the proposed constitutional amendment sponsored by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts, to reform the Electoral College along proportional lines was subjected to 30 days' delay by a Senate judiciary subcommittee on April 14. The two-man subcommittee accepted an offer of the publisher of a New Bedford, Massachusetts, newspaper to conduct a survey of the subject at his own expense. The publisher had appeared before the committee five weeks previously in opposition to the proposed amendment.

The survey is being conducted by questionnaires addressed to editors and political scientists. The incident delay "will almost certainly kill any chance of Senate approval of the amendment this year," according to a report in the New York *Herald Tribune* on April 15.

A few days earlier the same amendment was approved by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives.

Unicameral Proposal Reintroduced in New York

Senator Thomas C. Desmond of Newburgh, Republican chairman of the Senate Committee on Cities, reintroduced in the 1949 session of the New York legislature,[1] which recently adjourned, his proposal for a constitutional amendment to establish a one-house legislature "elected by proportional representation with a single transferable vote for each voter."

The amendment proposes to use a uniform quota of 60,000 in the existing Supreme Court judicial districts, except that in the city of New York each borough (county) would be a separate district as in the last five elections of the New York City council. A total membership of perhaps 75 might be expected to result.

The proposal, which was known as Senate Introductory No. 1522, was introduced for educational purposes and was not reported from committee.

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[1] See REVIEW, April 1947, page 222.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

States Study Their Finances

Survey Revenues, Expenses and State-Local Relations

JUST as the deflation of the early 1930s turned state governments to an intensive study of their finances and organization, so the present period of inflation is having a like effect. During the early months of 1949 four states published studies on their fiscal problems, and several others have surveys in prospect.

In January the Connecticut State Tax Survey Committee appointed by the governor presented its study on that state's tax system. In Idaho the State Tax Commission has released a report on state revenues and expenditures requested by the legislature in 1947 and the Indiana Tax Study Commission created in 1947 presented to the legislature a study covering property assessments, the street and highway financing program and city and school financial problems.

At the same time two legislative committees presented reports to the Pennsylvania legislature, the Tax Study Commission delivering a two-part report covering selected state taxes, permissive local taxes and state-mandated local functions, while the Joint State Government Commission presented its biennial report and also a special report on state-owned tax-exempt property.

A commission to study state finances in Texas has recently been created; its chairman is Stuart A. MacCorkle, director of the Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas. And in Minnesota, where a study of state-local relationships has been urged by the League of Minnesota Municipalities, creation of a study agency is reported under consideration by the governor.

Roanoke Excise Taxes Upheld

Roanoke, Virginia, which has been encountering legal difficulties in its efforts to increase city revenues by imposing new charges, won the first round in the court test of several new measures.

In March the Roanoke Hustings Court upheld the validity of excise taxes imposed on transient rooms and floral designs. The court held that the general taxing powers granted the city in its charter were sufficiently broad to cover the new taxes, and that a 1915 state law purporting to restrict local taxation was not sufficiently definite to invalidate the charter provision.

The new taxes are both at the rate of 5 per cent and were opposed respectively by the hotel and motor court operators and the florists, who are expected to carry the cases to the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals.

A third excise, a two cents per package tax on cigarettes, is opposed by wholesale and retail tobacco dealers but hearings on this case were deferred pending the outcome of the hotel and floral piece tax cases.

City Levy Over Limits, State to Withhold Aid

The State of New York, according to press reports, has threatened to withhold from its state aid payment to the city of Yonkers an amount by which the state comptroller's office calculates that the city tax levy exceeds the amount legally allowable under the 2 per cent tax rate limit. The amount involved is not large—$6,506.92, to quote the reported figure—but the proposed remedy to force correction of the budget is believed to be one rarely used.

According to city officials, the final budget called for a levy within about $4,500 of the legal maximum under the tax rate limit, which is imposed by the state constitution. An appropriation item of $10,992 was changed from one classification to another by the state comptroller's office in examining the budget, however, and this had the effect of raising the tax levy with the result that it exceeded the allowable maximum under the law. It appears, therefore, that only minor adjustments will be required to assure the city of receiving its full share of state aid.

New York's means of enforcing compliance may recommend itself to taxpayers in other areas, since it insures that the adjustment made deals equitably with all taxpayers. In jurisdictions where a taxpayer may seek a mandamus compelling the taxing body to alter its levy the same result may be secured, but a more common remedy is that the individual taxpayer either withholds or protests that part of his tax representing the alleged illegal levy.

Under this procedure the taxpayer interposes as his defense, when the collector seeks foreclosure of the tax lien, that the tax withheld was illegal; taxpayers taking the action benefit if the court agrees with their contention, but most taxpayers do not bother or do not have taxes sufficiently high to justify the expense, so that the levying unit collects some of its excess levy.

Gasoline Tax Rates Raised

The 1948 legislatures in four states have acted to raise gasoline tax rates, according to the *Tax Administrators News*. Montana has raised its rate from five to six cents per gallon, effective July 1, while the North Dakota rate was upped from four to six cents. Idaho and Maine, both with temporary rate increases expiring this year, made the increases permanent. The Idaho rate would have returned to five cents but now will remain at six cents, while the Maine rate was kept at six cents rather than being allowed to drop to four.

New Taxes Here and There

The Alaska territorial legislature adopted, effective January 1, a personal and corporate income tax. It will be at the rate of 10 per cent of the income tax payable to the federal government. Georgia and South Carolina used the device briefly in the 1920s, but at present no state imposes a tax based on the federal income tax.

Kansas, no longer dry as a result of an amendment to the state constitution last November, has enacted taxes on manufacturers and wholesale distributors of liquor, ranging from ten cents a gallon on beer to two dollars a gallon on alcohol and spirits of more than 100-proof.

Arkansas has approved legislation establishing a state tax commission, which will administer corporation franchise and privilege taxes and take over the duties of assessment equalization and property tax administration formerly exercised by the Public Service Commission.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Boys and Girls 'Govern' Counties for a Day

Nebraska High School Pupils Learn Grass Roots Problems

YOUNG folks in Nebraska now have an opportunity to take part in government at the grass roots. A new program, under the auspices of the **Cornhusker Boys' and Girls' County Government,** was inaugurated last year in six counties—Box Butte, Dodge, Greeley, Hayes, Johnson and Phelps. This year the idea has spread to 26 counties.

The program is an off-shoot of the boy state idea of the **American Legion** and **American Legion Auxiliary** and is under the direction of Roy M. Lang. Its executive board is composed of four representatives from the legion and three from the auxiliary. All associations of county officers, bar, education and press are represented on the advisory council and local county officers and civic groups are participating in the program.

According to Mr. Lang, the basic thought underlying the activity is that "an informed citizen will strive to create a more perfect and effective county, state and national government." The program is being developed in the eleventh grade, with the hope that eventually all high schools—public, private and parochial—will enter into it.

One important aspect is development of a satisfactory textbook on county government. Supervision of the work on this was undertaken by a committee composed of the executive director of the Nebraska State Education Association and two members of the Legion Auxiliary.

In an address before a work shop at the University of Nebraska, Mr. Lang gave the following description of the working of the program.

"Members of the junior class (eleventh grade) in each high school in the county signified their participation by filing for the various county offices, campaigning for office, participating in caucuses and conventions, elections, etc. Those successful in the election studied the office in the county courthouse to which they were elected and there learned of the practical work of that office. They were asked to write a paper on their criticisms and commendations of the office and of the program. . . .

"All pupils in each high school in the county participated through party affiliation, registration, campaigns, elections and the reports of elected officials. Interest and enthusiasm in the lower grades was stimulated to the extent that they will look forward to participation when they reach eleventh grade status. Eventually each graduating class will have had four years of experience as voters, participating in campaigns, elections, active working knowledge of county government operation during one year and then the opportunity of demonstrating this knowledge and good citizenship through leadership in the final year in high school. . . .

"Teachers, county officials, attorneys, civic leaders and parents instructed the high school students in the aims and purposes and practical application of county government. Students received information on the principal duties of each county office and were given laboratory assignments to further acquaint them with the operation of the offices. Experts instructed the pupils about the election system and assisted in filing for office, campaigning, registering voters and conducting the actual elections. . . .

"Spirited campaigns were conducted among the student body by the juniors who had filed for office. One girl assembled friends from the orchestra and staged an old fashioned parade through the school. Another gave a coke party for workers who then went out to solicit support for the candidate. Posters, banners, advertisements and hand-out cards were ingeniously developed from all sorts of materials and most of them were made by the candidates and their friends.

"Party conventions developed some outstanding platforms which in the main contained provisions for improvement of local community or school conditions. Some of these proposals were so well presented that local officials took cognizance of them and have already taken steps to institute the improvements. Not all of the proposals were to fare so well. One boy presented a beautifully worked out program to the county board, but was stymied when one member asked where the money to pay for the project was to be found. . . .

"County officials explained to the boys and girls the inner workings of their offices and answered questions about operation, duties, finances, etc. . . .

"One county superintendent left all mail as it had reached the office that morning and took the boys and girls through the entire routine of work, even to opening the mail, distributing teachers' mail, entering cash receipts and banking the money, and preparation of material for distribution to the schools.

"A sheriff took the boys out to buy groceries needed for feeding prisoners and then had them see that the prisoners were fed; one had the students fingerprint and check in a prisoner; another took them out to arrest a bad check artist.

"A county judge stepped down from the bench to take a seat at the end of the rostrum where he could advise the boys and girls conducting court. A county attorney had the boys read complaints to the court. A treasurer had the boys and girls handle routine citizen calls to the office, look up tax records and make out receipts for money paid in. . . .

"The practical experience gained in the various offices by the many students was of value not only from an informational view, but also in knowing that, as one boy put it, 'The job of a county official is not all cake and pie.'"

A 'Village Council'

Boy Scouts of Wayne, Michigan, took over village affairs recently for two hours to commemorate the Scout's 39th anniversary.

Counties Studied

Following its highly successful seminars on city government for high school pupils,[1] Toledo has organized a similar series on Lucas County government.

As with the former seminars, high school classes in history and government send delegates to the meetings at city hall to report back to classes on the information they obtain. New delegates are selected for each meeting. The program has been arranged by high school teachers and city department heads working with the **Toledo Commission of Publicity and Efficiency.**

The first discussion, on the board of county commissioners, was led by

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[1] See the REVIEW, March 1949, page 148.

Miss Adelaide Schmitt, secretary of the board, who outlined its work.

According to reports in *The Toledo City Journal,* issued by the Commission of Publicity and Efficiency, "School authorities have expressed much interest in the courses because the work is lending a direct and comprehensive means of reaching a subject that has not been adequately handled by text books."

High School Forum

Over a hundred preparatory and high school student leaders from some 65 schools throughout the country participated in a three-day forum on democracy held at Columbia University. Among the speakers were Dr. Philip C. Jessup, United States delegate to the United Nations, and Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York City.

Youth Plans

The **Youth Planning Council,** a new affiliate of the **Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning,** will take part in a "planning presentation" at the "Schools on Parade" show in Philadelphia. The council's *News Letter* reports that: "The presentation will be in the form of a model planned city. As a narrator describes the gradual coming to life of the city, students will illustrate the story by placing in the proper places the houses, streets, parks, schools, etc. The lights will then be turned off and the models, painted with luminous paint, will stand out."

Cleveland Follows Through

Cleveland citizens have made up their minds that a comprehensive survey of the administration of their city by Griffenhagen and Associates, consultants on administration and finance, shall not gather dust on the shelves as have so many surveys made in that city and elsewhere.

At the suggestion of Mayor Thomas A. Burke, the **Cleveland Citizens League** appointed a "follow-up" committee to determine the extent to which the city has acted on survey recommendations. *Greater Cleveland,* organ of the league, comments that "the result has been a unique type of citizen endeavor that has had the dual advantage of focusing public attention on the internal workings of our city government and of creating strong support for implementing many of the recommendations."

The league has issued a 34-page mimeographed *Follow-up Report on the Griffenhagen Report by the Citizens Committee,* addressed to Mayor Burke. Key recommendations, as listed in *Greater Cleveland,* include: (1) designation or employment of a staff official assigned the responsibility of following up on the reports, to report directly to the mayor and be backed by executive authority of the mayor's office; (2) department directors should instruct their commissioners to reconsider every proposal and at least give most of them a trial; they should review debatable recommendations with their commissioners. A final decision should be made by the mayor's office in each instance where they do not propose to follow report recommendations.

* * *

Second Birthday

The Public Affairs Department of the *Ladies' Home Journal* has just had its second birthday. Editor Margaret Hickey has travelled over 100,000 miles in that time, investigating the public affairs programs of many communities. One of them is presented to *Journal* readers each month.

"We started with the conviction that good things accomplished in one community should be shared with other communities," writes Miss Hickey in the March *Journal,* "that a tried and successful plan would make similar progress easier for another community in need. Our first step was to seek out effective community planning, to find out the combination of circumstances that made them work so successfully, to study these patterns and, finally, to present one each month to our readers. From the laboratory of the community itself have come our discoveries. Great national agencies and readers in out-of-the-way places —over 3000 organizations and individuals—have written us of the ways and means they were using to make their towns better places in which to live."

* * *

Women Suggest Refuse Check

Dissatisfied with refuse collections, women of **Yonkers, New York,** at a meeting addressed by Dr. Jon Covell, have volunteered to make a check on the work of city refuse collection trucks. It was suggested that the women work in teams of two following collection trucks for several days in a car. In this way basic data on number of stops and employees, character of loads, trips to dump or incinerator and other useful statistics could be secured.

* * *

Ten Months of Activity

In its first issue of *Civic League News,* the **Lake County Civic League of Waukegan, Illinois,** recites accomplishments of its first ten months of activity. "The league has analyzed public budgets of townships, schools and cities over the county. . . . It is responsible for $18,000 in tax or budget cuts in townships and even more in school districts and cities. . . . Its survey of the city of Waukegan is resulting now in installation of improved methods of doing business—central purchasing, machine accounting, better licensing and the like."

* * *

Back to School

Members of the **League of Women Voters of San Francisco** are going back to school, reports John C. Bollens, of the University of California. Under the direction of Professor John M. Selig, they are studying municipal government and administration at City College. The course discusses the field in general and the problems of San Francisco in particular. So successful has it been that the **League of Women Voters of California** has secured installation of similar studies in several state and junior colleges.

* * *

Coming Conference

The **Fourth National Conference on Citizenship,** held under the auspices of the Citizenship Committee of the **National Education Association,** in co-

Citizenship Day

In accordance with the February 10 proclamation of President Truman, May 15 will be "I Am an American Day," or "Citizenship Day." "It is necessary for each citizen, native-born and foreign-born," reads the proclamation, "to meet his responsibilities of citizenship with intelligence, courage and unselfish devotion to the principles upon which this nation is founded. . . . I urge all Americans on that day to reaffirm their faith in the principles and ideals to which this nation is dedicated and more firmly resolve to discharge in full the solemn obligations of their citizenship."

operation with the **United States Department of Justice,** will be held in New York City May 14-18. Theme of this year's meetings will be "Responsible American Citizens." Speakers and discussion groups will deal with the job of citizens "in politics," "in the world today," and "in the community."

* * *

Blueprint for a State

The **Committee for Kentucky,** led by its president, Harry W. Schacter, has launched a long-range "Blueprint for a Greater Kentucky." A group of 45 top-flight experts and leaders representing a broad cross-section of the state will lead the study, according to Paul Hughes, who writes of the project in the Louisville *Courier-Journal.*

* * *

Strictly Personal

The New Jersey Citizens Conference, at its second annual meeting at Princeton, elected **Robert Hudson** of Radburn, director of education for the Columbia Broadcasting System, as its president. Other officers are: executive vice president, **Mrs. C. Bertram Flory**; secretary, **Arnold Harris**; and treasurer, **Charles W. McKeever. Mrs. Edna Howe Kuzer** is executive director of the organization.

The Young Charterites of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee have elected **Harris K. Weston** as their new president.

DEPOSIT PROCEDURE

(Continued from page 231)

candidate polls 10 per cent of the vote.[2]

In spite of our petition scandals, we know of no trials of the returnable deposit idea as a substitute or alternate system in the United States, except in Michigan as described elsewhere in this issue.

Hale G. Knight, former secretary of the Detroit Citizens League, says: "Our experience with the fee system indicates it has been subject to less abuse than the circulating of nominating petitions, and I would prefer it to the petition plan if we were to be limited to just one method. The filing fee system eliminates considerable expense in checking nominating petitions. The system of petitions was unsatisfactory because of the great difficulty of discovering fraudulent petitions. Sometimes the checking of petitions after the filing date resulted in holding up the printing of the ballots, which then had to be done later at a much higher cost."

Certain oddities in elections in Detroit have been described in an earlier issue of the REVIEW.[3] The popularity of running for office as an outdoor sport was a feature of Detroit politics before the deposit practice. In the 1947 elections for Detroit's nonpartisan council, 205 candidates ran for eighteen places in the primary! It remains to be wondered at why running for council or for the legislative delegation in Detroit should produce such a mob scene of candidates despite the fee when across the river in Canada no such phenomenon occurs although a maximum of ten signatures is the only barrier!

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[2] See also *A Deposit System for Independent Nominations,* City Club of New York, 1939, 12 pages.

[3] See "Long Ballot Burdens Detroit," by Donald S. Hecock. The REVIEW, July 1946, pages 344-346.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Are Government Costs Really Higher?

Pilot Study of Adjusted Costs of Local Services

HERE is a pioneer attempt to interpret what has happened to the dollar cost of government in a particular city in the light of the changing value of the dollar, the cost of living and increases in population and quantity of service rendered.

John C. Bollens and Stanley Scott, authors of this eleven-page study, *Effect of Inflation and Growth on City Costs and Services: Case Study of Berkeley, California,* issued in February by the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California (50 cents), are entirely right in suggesting that "the approach should be a helpful guide to mayors, city managers, budget officers and department heads in making surveys of their own local governmental operations [and] . . . in interpreting to the public what has been happening to city services and expenditures."

The principal findings of the study are summarized in the first three paragraphs, which read as follows:

"City governmental costs in Berkeley, California, have doubled in eight years, but the individual citizen, in return for a smaller percentage of his total income, is actually receiving more services. In 1939-40 city operating expenses were 2.3 per cent of the estimated total income of residents. In 1947-48 the comparable percentage was 1.66. The portion of the citizen's average income dollar used to support his city government thus dropped by more than one fourth.

"In addition, the city's governmental costs have not outrun the cost-of-living increases of the past eight years. City operating expenditures have risen from $1,738,157 in 1939-40 to $3,659,210 in 1947-48, a per capita gain from $20.32 to $34.85. However, the real significance of the 1947-48 expenditure figures is brought out only when they are adjusted to the value of the 1939-40 dollar. When the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics' local cost-of-living index is applied as a conversion factor, the 1947-48 expenditures shrink to $2,152,476, or $20.50 (adjusted) for each person. This is a per capita increase of only 0.9 per cent. Considered realistically, then, the per capita cost of Berkeley city government has remained about the same during the last eight years of economic inflation and of a population expansion from 85,547 in 1940 to an estimated 105,000 in 1948.

"Furthermore, an examination of the activities of three important city departments whose functions can be measured—garbage, police and fire—reveals that they are rendering a substantial increase in quantity of service. This rise in amount of service is proportionately higher than the increases in departmental expenditures. In all three departments the adjusted cost per unit of service was lower in the fiscal year 1947-48 than in the fiscal year 1939-40."

A concluding section outlines the techniques and sources employed in the study.

Financing Local Government—Especially in Maine

Financing Local Government, by Lawrence L. Pelletier, issued by the Bureau for Research in Municipal Government of Bowdoin College (1948, 190 pages) is a discussion of local financing methods in all the states, with particular reference to their application in Maine.

Chapter VIII presents a six-point "financial program for local government in Maine" calling for broadening of state and local tax bases; clear integration of state and local fiscal programs; state administration of welfare, education, health and highway services in rural areas unable to maintain standards; and a conscious choice between consolidation of local units into larger, more wealthy entities and an elaborate system of state grants. The appendices include convenient tables detailing recent local tax enabling legislation and the rate, basis and yield of various taxes and service charges in many municipalities.

Bureau Notes

The Dade County Research Foundation in Miami, John F. Willmott, executive director, has issued a leaflet describing the work it did in 1948. It also has released an outline of its proposed fourteen-point work program for the first eight months of 1949 which includes an appraisal of the city's manager charter, cooperation with other agencies to secure a satisfactory regional planning act for the county, and a study of the feasibility of further functional city-county consolidation.

The factors important in producing satisfactory conferences are being studied by the Conference Research project of the University of Michigan, under the direction of Harold Guetzkow, Roger Heyns and Jack N. Peterman of the university's department of psychology. Research under the three-year project is being restricted to an investigation of small group meetings called for making decisions as part of the administrative process within an organization and has been divided into three areas: activities preceding the conference which affect it, the relationships between what happens at a meeting and its outcome, and what constitutes a "good" conference. The Office of Naval Research is sponsoring the project.

William N. Ethridge, Jr., professor of law at the University of Mississippi, is directing a study of that state's 1890 constitution as a joint project of the university's Bureau of Public Administration and School of Law.

The Genesee County Taxpayers Association voted in February to change its name to the Civic Research Council of Flint. Its new address is 506 Metropolitan Building, Flint 3, Michigan. According to G. Keyes Page, who continues as executive vice president, the new name was thought to be "more accurately descriptive of the broader and more factual scope of activities which have been undertaken during the past three years."

The Governmental Research Association in New York, Louis D. Brown, secretary, recently sent out return post cards to directors of governmental research agencies in an effort to improve its information clearing house service. The cards asked for information on major projects just completed, currently engaged in and planned for the immediate future.

Strictly Personal

Robert H. Blundred has joined the Washington staff of the American Municipal Association. He was formerly director of the Committee on Governmental Affairs of the Trenton Chamber of Commerce.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Assessment

State Supervision of Property Assessment. By Jack F. McKay. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* March 15, 1949. 3 pp.

Budgets

Budget Backgrounds (1-6). City and School Appropriations. Operation and Maintenance Costs. City and Library Revenues. Number of City Employees. City Employees' Earnings. Detroit Teachers' Salaries. ("For effective control of the city budget citizens and members of the common council need facts concerning past trends in expenditures and city operations." In each case figures for several previous years are compared with the 1949-50 recommendations of the mayor.) Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, March 14, 17, 21, 23, 28, April 4, 1949. 2 pp. each, graphs.

Buffalo Adopts Capital Budget for First Time in City's History. Proposed City Budget for 1949-50. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* March 24, 31, 1949. 3 pp. each.

Connecticut's Proposed Budget, 1949-51. (Report on the state's "first consolidated budget.") Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *Your State and Local Government,* February 28, 1949. 2 pp.

The 1949 City Budget. (An analysis, with comments on the need for "an effective budget system under a budget director" and a thorough study of administrative organization and personnel policies.) Newark, Bureau of Municipal Research, March 1949. 15 pp.

Record Budget Requests Considered. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* March 21, 1949. 4 pp.

Building Codes

The Springfield Building Code: An Evaluation Study. (Six recommendations, including complete revision of the code and elimination of conflicting and overlapping state and local regulation.) By Emil J. Szendy. Springfield, Massachusetts, Future Springfield, Inc., 1949. 80 pp.

Education

Average Salaries of Teachers and Principals for the Current Year By Counties. Expenditures, State Educational Institutions and Rural and Municipal Elementary and High Schools. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* April 1949. 8 pp.

Elementary School Teacher Shortage. Portland, Oregon, City Club, *Bulletin,* March 25, 1949. 15 pp.

A Master Plan for School Construction. The League Suggests a Countywide Guide for the School Districts. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* March 1949. 6 pp.

School Aid, Pressure Politics and Governmental Distortion.[1] Rochester, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Bulletin,* February 1949. 4 pp.

Election Administration

Consolidation of Election Administration. ("Must await city-county consolidation.") Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* March 22, 1949. 2 pp.

Municipal Government

Governmental Organization Within the City of New York. (Includes a large chart of the city's government. "As a matter of historic interest, attention is directed in the pamphlet to the major structural changes within the last ten years.") Prepared by Jane E. Rinck. New York, Institute of Public Administration, March 1, 1949 (5th ed.). 21 pp.

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[1] See the REVIEW, April, page 202.

Grenada (Mississippi): An Administrative Survey. (The report recommends appointment of a charter commission to prepare changes in the existing private charter so as to strengthen the executive by adoption of either the strong mayor or council-manager plan and to correct other deficiencies. The report points out that Grenada is one of 23 cities in Mississippi which enjoy virtual home rule by reason of an unusual provision of the state constitution permitting local amendment subject to certification by the governor that the amendment is not unconstitutional.) By Edward McKenna Johnson, Jr. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1948. 35 pp.

Mayors and City Managers of Large U. S. Cities. (Salaries, terms of office and procedures for election and removal of mayors in the thirteen largest cities and city managers in five large cities.) Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* March 15, 1949. 3 pp.

Problems of Florida Municipal Administration. Studies Resulting from the Second Annual Short Course for City Managers. "Departmental Organization Under the City Manager" (with charts showing deviations from standard practice), A. J. Waterman, Jr.; "Comparative Wage Scales and Retirement Systems for City Employees," J. E. Dovell; "New Sources of Revenue for Florida Cities," C. H. Donovan; "Planning in Municipal Government" (Why not "make the position of planning director bear a staff relationship to the executive authority?"), W. G. Schaeffer; "Fiscal Planning," W. K. Doyle. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1948. 43 pp.

Some Defects in City Organization. (Too many boards, too much administrative detail in the charter.) Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* February 1949. 3 pp.

Metropolitan Areas

Metropolitan Charleston. (A gradual merger of the South Carolina city and its neighboring communities is advocated.) By Christian L. Larsen and Robert H. Stoudemire. Columbia, University of South Carolina, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 48 pp.

Personnel

Salary and Wage Data: Michigan Cities of More Than 10,000 Population. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, March 1949. 26 pp. tables. $1.25.

Public Welfare

Old Age Assistance in Oregon. Portland, Oregon, City Club, *Bulletin,* April 1, 1949. 8 pp.

Should the Bars Be Let Down Further on Old Age Assistance Eligibility? (A criticism of two bills which would loosen eligibility requirements.) Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, March 1949. 6 pp.

Research

Municipal Research Service for Small Cities. An Opportunity for State Supported Educational Institutions and State Leagues of Municipalities. By Walter J. Millard. New York, *The American City,* March 1949. 1 p.

Retirement Systems

Retirement of Public Employees. (A proposed statewide system for all employees not now covered is analyzed and compared with other state systems. An analysis of the federal system is included.) Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, February 1949. 67 pp.

Tampering with the Pension Systems. (Report on pending legislation.) Hartford, Governmental Research Institute, *Taxpayers' Business,* March 1949. 2 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Appropriations and Expenditures, State of Iowa. For Year Ending June

30, 1948; With Tax Yields and Other Data. (Includes a comparative summary of state income tax laws, rates and receipts.) Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, January 1949. 26 pp. $2.50.

Digest of House and Senate Bills Passed by the 86th General Assembly Affecting Taxation Which Became Laws. (126 bills affecting taxation directly or indirectly.) Indianapolis, Indiana Taxpayers Association, *Bulletin,* March 28, 1949. 9 pp.

Expenditures of Oklahoma State Government, 1939-1948. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, *Your Report on Government,* March 1949. 4 pp.

Legislation Affecting State, County, Local and School Finances and Government. (Including revision of school financing to equalize facilities through preferential aid to poor counties.) Helena, Montana Taxpayers' Association, *Montana Taxpayer,* March 1949. 4 pp.

New York City's Exemption from Federal Transportation Tax. (The city could save almost $100,000 a year by taking advantage of its exemption from the 3 per cent federal transportation tax through incorporation of suitable provisions in construction contracts.) New York, Citizens Budget Commission, *Bulletin,* December 10, 1948. 5 pp.

Pennsylvania's Act 481: Developments to Date and Bills Pending. (Report after 20 months' operation of the law granting wide taxing authority to local governments.) Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, *Legislative Service Bulletin,* March 11, 1949. 4 pp.

Pertinent Financial Data, City of Baltimore. As at January 1, 1949. (Convenient annual compilation offered as a basis for evaluating the city's credit and for use of officials and citizens. Includes community characteristics, business trends and outline of governmental structure.) Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, 1949. 16 pp.

Should Connecticut Have an Income Tax? ("It seems clear that the sales and use tax has a far less detrimental effect upon the economy of the state and the living standards of the people than would a personal income tax designed to raise the same amount of money.") Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *Your State and Local Government,* April 1, 1949. 2 pp.

Traffic and Parking

Report on Chicago's Traffic Program. First quarter of operation, October-December 1948. Prepared for Mayor Martin H. Kennelly. (Report on operation of program serviced by the I. A. C. P.; includes a copy of a general order of the Chicago police commissioner outlining the traffic law enforcement policy of the department.) Evanston, International Association of Chiefs of Police, Traffic Division, 1949. 9 pp.

Surveying a Borough's Parking Requirements. Philadelphia, Institute of Local and State Government, *Borough Bulletin,* April 1949. 2 pp.

Utilities

Sewer Rentals in Pennsylvania Municipalities. ("If the tremendous undertaking of providing a sanitary environment for everyone is to be achieved it is quite evident that municipalities in greater numbers will soon be adopting sewer rentals.") By David L. Cowell and J. Edwin Slupecke. State College, Pennsylvania State College, Institute of Local Government, 1949. 45 pp. $1.

Books in Review

State Government Today. By Roy Victor Peel. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1948. viii, 176 pp. $3.

In the preface to his latest volume, Professor Peel writes: "This little book aspires to nothing more than raising some questions about our American system of state governments." The author easily fulfills his modest aspirations. His book is brief, but it is pungent and provocative as well, and it raises basic questions about the place of the states in our federal system.

Despite the self-imposed brevity of his assignment, there is nevertheless ample evidence of the author's wide-ranging interests and broad-gauged approach. He is eminently successful in making the subject of state government genuinely interesting to scholar and layman alike. In his pungent way Peel makes many a significant point: to wit, "Only here and there, in the maudlin enthusiasm of a Mencken for his 'Free State of Maryland,' or in the half-humorous state patriotism of Texas, does one find any nostalgic devotion to the idea of states' rights. Our resources, our cultures, our demands, our immediate concerns are regional, but every day that passes makes us more of a nation, capable of rising to new heights of responsibility and efficiency through the intelligent organization of component parts." Or, "As independent units of government, states are presumed to be nourishers of tradition, crucibles of amalgamation and experiment stations." And, "Kentucky has a curious attitude: supporting itself on its income from tobacco, whiskey and horses, it is always on the verge of denying these satisfactions to its own citizens."

After ranging through state service and finance problems of the postwar era, Peel in his concluding chapters tackles the basic ills of American federalism. In a stimulating final chapter, he discusses the remedies proposed by reactionaries—such as Congressman Rankin, by the evolutionaries—Council of State Governments, and by the radicals—those who go to the root of political problems.

The author does not fear the term "planning"; he stresses the success of TVA and the value of the scientific-prudential method developed by Merriam, Ruml and Delano in the National Resources Planning Board.

Although he ventures the belief that radical changes will slowly be adopted and then, like the manager plan, spread rapidly, his final view is that "the outlook for really intelligent effective action in the whole domain of government is not promising."

Two valuable appendices include a list of institutional sources of information and a selective bibliography.

Joseph E. McLean
Princeton University

More State Aid or More Local Taxes? New York 7, Tax Institute, 1948. iii, 28 pp. 50 cents.

If any reader is of the opinion that there is a simple and clear-cut answer to the question posed by the title of this pamphlet, he may peruse the five papers presented therein and be quickly persuaded to the contrary. In fact, one common denominator of the papers is the frank admission in each that there is no "either or" answer to the problem of meeting the increased financial requirements of local government.

Equally striking is the recurring emphasis on the improvement of existing revenue sources—especially of the property tax by better assessment methods—and the insistence that as state aid is increased it should be accompanied by a more effective arrangement of functions at the several levels of state-local government.

Broadly, one of the papers advocates the expansion of locally-collected revenues as the most desirable way to provide the needed additional funds at the local level; one advocates increased state aid (both grants-in-aid and state-collected locally-shared revenues); and the other three advocate an admixture of the two in varying degree.

Such a summary is an over-simplification of the position of each of the writers, however, for each is informed and perceptive of the unbelievably complex phenomenon which local government in the United States has become. Further, the differing points of view are fairly and temperately stated and the language is non-technical—features enhancing the pamphlet's usefulness to lay groups interested in a concise statement of the problem.

Contributors to the work are Welles A. Gray, director of the State Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc.; Laurence B. Johnson and Robert D. Bole, in collaboration, of the New Jersey Education Association; James A. Maxwell, professor of economics at Clark University; C. Emery Glander, tax commissioner of Ohio; and Harold L. Henderson, executive director of the Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, Inc. There is a brief foreword also by Alvin A. Burger, chairman of the Tax Institute's Forum Committee.

W. S. S.

Budgeting and Accounting. A Report to the Congress. **Task Force Report on Fiscal, Budgeting and Accounting Activities** (Appendix F). Washington, D. C. The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, 1949. 101 and 110 pp. respectively. 35 and 25 cents.

These reports of the popularly known Hoover Commission cover two of the most important phases of government finance — budgeting and accounting. Both are ineffective under present practices. They have not kept pace with recent developments; indeed, the accounting has grown quite archaic from the standpoints of both organization and technique. The government has been handicapped by these outmoded methods for many years. It is high time that something should be done about them.

The commission recommends that the budget be modernized by setting it up on a performance or functional basis, with the emphasis on work programs rather than on objects to be acquired. It also proposes that both the budget and the accounts should be set up to show capital outlays separate from operating expenses. Except in the case of some of the government corporations, capital and current expenditures are intermingled at the present time.

The commission also urges that the appropriation structure be modernized in keeping with the performance budget. It is impossible in many instances to fix administrative responsibility under the present form of appropriations, which is largely the result of accident rather than design.

The commission departs from the findings of its task force report in recommending a further elaboration of the functions of the Budget Bureau. The task force report maintained that budgeting should be the essential function of the bureau and that all unrelated or fringe activities should be placed elsewhere in the executive offices or departments. The task force report also suggested that the major part of budget preparation should be done in the operating departments and that some of the bureau staff could properly be transferred to the departmental budget offices to assist in this work. But the commission emphasizes managerial duties not closely related to budgeting, presumably requiring an increased staff. Under this arrangement it is doubtful if budgeting would actually receive any more attention than it does at present.

On the reorganization of accounting work, the commission split three ways. Since accounting is essentially an executive function, the task force report had proposed that the prescription of administrative accounts and the preaudit and settlement of claims should be transferred from the Comptroller General, who is an agent of Congress, to the Treasury Department where these functions would be under the general supervision of the President.

It was proposed further that a new office of Accountant General should be set up in the Treasury Department to supervise all departmental accounting and reporting, to see that all claims were properly paid and to produce the summary financial reports of the government for the guidance of the President and of Congress. The Comptroller General would thereupon concentrate upon spot-check postauditing of departmental accounts and records, and make financial investigations for Congress.

Two members of the commission were in favor of the task force proposals on accounting. Three others felt the Comptroller General should retain his existing powers over accounting and preauditing but that he should promote a cooperative arrangement with the Treasury Department and the Budget Bureau for developing an improved accounting system. The remaining seven commission members recommended establishment of an Accountant General in the Treasury Department with power to prescribe administrative accounts subject to approval of the Comptroller General. In the settlement of all claims and accounts, they proposed that the Comptroller General should use the spot-check method of auditing, thus obviating the necessity of shipping all vouchers and documents to Washington. It is questionable whether this procedure would prove adequate as a method of final settlement of claims and accounts.

A. E. Buck
Institute of Public Administration

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Business and Government

Business and Government (Fifth Edition). By Charles C. Rohlfing, Edward W. Carter, Bradford W. West and John G. Hervey. Brooklyn, Foundation Press, 1949. xii, 808 pp. $5.50.

Child Welfare

Children's Playgrounds in Boston. An Evaluation of Space and Location. Boston, City Planning Board, 1948. 79 pp. illus.

Comics, Radio, Movies—and Children. By Josette Frank. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1949. 32 pp. 20 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

Courts

Forms and Outline of Procedure for Magistrates and Courts of Special Session (Third Edition). By Daniel J. O'Mara. Albany, New York, Association of Towns, 1949. 78 pp.

Crime Statistics

Uniform Crime Reports for the United States and Its Possessions. By Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1949. 124 pp.

Housing

A Method for Employing Sampling Techniques in Housing Surveys. New York 7, New York State Division of Housing, 1948. 30 pp.

Rental Housing—Direct Investment by Insurance Companies and Savings Banks. A List of Selected References. Washington, D. C., Office of the Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1948. 47 pp.

International Affairs

Beyond the Marshall Plan. By John Kenneth Galbraith. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1949. iv, 27 pp. 50 cents.

Municipal Government

National Municipal Policy for 1949. A National Program for American Municipalities. Chicago 37, American Municipal Association, 1949. 6 and 10 pp. respectively.

Public Employee Unions

The Firemen's and Patrolmen's Unions in the City of New York. A Case Study in Public Employee Unions. By Emma Schweppe. New York, King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1948. xv, 395 pp. $4.50.

Public Health

Public Health in the World Today. Edited by James Stevens Simmons. Foreword by James Bryant Conant. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1949. xviii, 332 pp. $5.

Public Welfare

Community Organization—Its Nature and Setting. By Kenneth L. M. Pray, Wilber I. Newstetter and Violet M. Sieder. New York 10, American Association of Social Workers, 1949. 28 pp. 40 cents.

The Content of the Public Assistance Job: The Shift from the Old to the New; Present Philosophy and Practice. By Elizabeth and Karl de Schweinitz. New York 10, American Association of Social Workers, 1948. 18 pp. 25 cents.

Old-Age Security for Farm People. A Statement by the NPA Agriculture Committee. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1949. 18 pp.

Schools

Insurance Committee Report on Insuring the On-the-Job Liability of School Employees. Kalamazoo, Michigan, Association of School Business Officials, 1949. 99 pp.

Insurance Committee Report on School Fire Insurance 1938-45. Kalamazoo, Michigan, Association of Public School Business Officials, 1948. 39 pp.

Taxation and Finance

American Public Finance (Fifth Edition). By William J. Shultz and C. Lowell Harriss. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949. xx, 798 pp. $7.

License Fee Regulations (Initial Promulgation) and Ordinance 112, Series 1948, Ordinance 165, Series 1948. Louisville, Kentucky, Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, 1948. 45 pp.

State Tax Legislation 1947. Chicago 37, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1948. 22 pp.

Tenth Annual Report of the Division of Local Government, State of New Jersey. 1947 Statements of Financial Condition of Counties and Municipalities. Trenton, the Division, 1948. xx, 656 pp.

Traffic Safety

Check Your Car—Check Accidents. Operation Safety—Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion for May. Chicago 6, National Safety Council, 1949. Variously paged.

Enforcement: Key to Safety. By J. Dewey Dorsett. New York 7, Association of Casualty and Surety Companies, 1949. 8 pp.

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PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXVIII, No. 6 **Total Number 389**

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

National Conference on Government to Be Held in St. Paul November 28-30

The 1949 National Conference on Government will be held November 28, 29 and 30 in St. Paul, with the Hotel Lowry as headquarters.

The Conference, which has been called annually by the National Municipal League since 1894 (with the exception of the war years 1942-45), will be attended by business and professional men and women, educators, experts on government, representatives of local, county and state civic organizations, public officials and other interested citizens.

The Executive Committee, meeting at the League office May 11, voted to accept the invitation submitted by St. Paul, Minneapolis and Minnesota civic and educational groups. It will be called "The Twin Cities Conference."

This is the first time that St. Paul has been chosen as the conference city. Minneapolis had the second Conference, late in 1894, and a six-state regional Conference was held in Minneapolis in 1940.

Lent Dayton Upson

Lent D. Upson, for many years a prominent figure in governmental research and civic fields, died suddenly in his sleep the night of May 9, 1949. Dr. Upson, who was 62, had a long and distinguished career in his chosen field, beginning with the directorship of the Dayton Bureau of Governmental Research from 1912 to 1915, following his education at the Universities of Wisconsin and Illinois and studies at the New York Training School for Public Service.

In 1944 Dr. Upson resigned as director of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, a post he had held since 1916, to become director of the National Training School for Public Service. He was also dean of the School of Public Affairs and Social Work, Wayne University, at the time of his death.

During his long career he was frequently called to direct surveys of local, county and state government. Among the most notable of these was the study of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Ohio, which led to the adoption of a modern city charter in Cincinnati in 1924 that helped that city lose its reputation of being "the worst governed city in America." Another notable service was Dr. Upson's examination of the operations of the National Municipal League which led to basic changes in policy and the transfer of the League's office from Philadelphia to New York in 1920.

Dr. Upson was actively associated with the League for many years, serving at various times as member of its Council and of technical committees. He was an honorary vice president at the time of his death.

Carl Esselstyn McCombs

Dr. Carl E. McCombs, public health authority on the staff of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research—later the Institute of Public Administration—since 1912, died May 6, 1949, at the age of 66 after an illness of several years. Dr. McCombs had made many studies of public health and welfare administration and at various times wrote for the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and other publications.

Millard Harrison Satterfield

M. H. Satterfield, professor and acting head of the Department of Political Science at Vanderbilt University since 1948, died late in April after a brief illness at the age of 45. In addition to teaching government at several universities, he had at various times served government in research, consultant and administrative capacities and was the author of works on municipal and county government, particularly in the Tennessee Valley area. He was a Tennessee correspondent for the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

Good-bye, Mr. Hague

SOME observers see little more than a palace revolution in the recent overthrow of Boss Frank Hague, who ruled and all but ruined Jersey City in autocratic, bruising, everything-goes fashion for 36 years; but this is an over-simplification.

It is quite true that John V. Kenny, wealthy contractor who led the "Freedom Ticket" to victory, was until recently a Hague ally and is the son of the man who gave Hague his political start sweeping out the city hall.

But Mr. Kenny and Mr. Hague are not the same kind of men. For one thing, Mr. Kenny has never made it a practice to use the knuckle and boot on foe and henchman. For another—and this can promise much for the thousands of once abject subjects who danced in the streets the night the tyrant fell—close advisers of Mr. Kenny sought conferences with experts on government weeks ago when it began to become apparent that he might pass the miracle.

The people of Jersey City, most heavily taxed of any United States metropolis, have paid enough to get a good city and a high order of service. They haven't had either.

Mr. Kenny has an opportunity, by eliminating the vast seas of political gravy, to make a great name for himself. But the clear vision and high courage he will need to change the political philosophy and habit of a people who have known nothing but the spoils system, the paying of tribute to the monarch and the fear of his vicious wrath for any disobedience are not easy to achieve in Jersey City.

That the people hated the king and that the loyalty of his army of paid mercenaries was forced was shown by the way in which they flocked to the standard of the first strong man with the intestinal fortitude to lead a revolution that they thought had a chance to win. They knew what would have happened to rebels who lost; theirs would have been a traitor's end.

So the Jersey City vote was, more than anything else, the achievement of freedom from fear. For fear of reprisal was the chief weapon in Jersey City as it is in Boston and is or has been in a great many other communities, large and small.

There were other factors, too, of course, such as prosperity making the small jobs and favors less attractive, substitution of voting machines for the old paper ballots, resentment against paying a high price for a product that was not delivered, loss of state prestige and local power because of a series of governors, beginning with Charles Edison, whom Hague did not "own," and finally the blatant nepotism when the dictator passed his scepter to Frank Hague Eggers, his nephew.

But the feeling that a champion had arisen who could and would protect them from the dictator's displeasure was probably the chief factor in emboldening the electorate to cast off the chains they had worn for a full generation.

Some newspapers hailed Hague's fall as the passing of "the last of the old-style bosses." A pleasant thought but, unfortunately, not true. Curley reigns in Boston. Crump, although shaken by his defeat in the state election last fall, still calls the tune in Memphis. The Philadelphia machine, loaded to the gills with old-style political bosses, is half-blinded by the glare of the searchlight of exposure but can still make the legislature protect it from the voters. And, sh! There are scores of other places where bossism still rides high, where "to the victor belongs the spoils" is accepted doctrine and where "good" citizens submit to blackmail rather than risk tangling with the boss or his friends.

A Bad Job in Hollywood

IN "Colonel Effingham's Raid" Hollywood proved that a motion picture dealing with the fight to achieve good city government could be made popular, entertaining and effective. But those fine results may be brought to nothing by a film now playing the neighborhood theaters.

"Henry the Rainmaker" is the first which frankly sets out to equate a struggle for decent government with crude farce comedy.

Henry, an honest, eccentric attorney, is running for mayor on a platform of better garbage collection and is doing well until the incumbent leaves him without an issue by letting a sanitation contract. Henry continues by capitalizing on a drought and, calling in a professional "rainmaker," invokes a deluge through the use of an impressive display of fireworks.

His apparently assured election boomerangs when the cloudburst takes on the volume of a flood. In a romantic subplot, a young civil engineer, in love with Henry's daughter, is hired by the venal mayor to institute a system of flood control. At the fadeout, Henry, target of the flood-soaked citizenry, has flown to Yellowstone Park, apparently relinquishing his bid for office.

What are the ideas disseminated in this mercifully short yet effective film, the thoughts left in the subconscious minds of those who see it?

First: The good government protagonist is an eccentric, bumbling jackass and is set up for comparison with his campaign manager—a "solid citizen" type—who wishes he had never tied up with the campaigner.

Second: The incumbent, the personification of corrupt venality, is also a fool who, it is clearly implied, is not worth fighting.

Third: The good government force has no issue except an act of God and must resort to charlatanism, quackery and happy coincidence.

Fourth: At the fadeout it is demonstrated that the demands of good government have been satisfied when the young, progressive engineer has taken a job with the corrupt administration and when Henry has abandoned his fight, thus leaving the *status quo* intact.

It is regrettable that Hollywood, probably unwittingly, has chosen to make fun of such a vital matter.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

Des Moines Drops Own Plan

City which set style in commission government in 1908 finally wins council-manager form after bitter campaign.

By KATHERINE R. STROUD*

WHEN the voters of Des Moines adopted the council-manager plan on April 30, many realized they had taken a historic step. They had rejected the form of government which civics textbooks called the "Des Moines Plan."

In 1908, when Des Moines citizens adopted that plan, they made genuine improvements upon the first commission government as originated in Galveston, Texas. Perhaps Des Moines voters deserve special praise for having been willing to relinquish their proprietary rights to the commission form in favor of good government.

Graft and corruption which could not be proved in court, bad streets, poor garbage collection, failure to adopt adequate planning and zoning ordinances, and an ever-increasing tax rate were some of the irritants which ultimately produced the movement to adopt the council-manager plan for Des Moines.

An election in 1938 gave the city its first opportunity to vote for the council-manager plan but left the Des Moines plan in the saddle by a vote of two to one. Apparently the voters were not ready to admit that what was needed was a change in form of government rather than a new set of commissioners.

But in the summer of 1948, when one of the newly elected commissioners was jailed on a liquor pay-off charge and then released in a fashion which did not prove his innocence to the average citizen, a new peak in indignation was reached which made the time ripe for a renewed attempt to change the form of government.

In September a group of people gathered to talk about the council-manager plan. By October enough interest was aroused to start a Citizens' Committee for the City Manager Plan. Except for the League of Women Voters the people asked to join were invited as individuals rather than as representatives of organizations.

The preceding spring the league had adopted as its local program the study of the council-manager plan. Information had been gathered during the summer and study groups held in early fall. In November the league polled its members to learn whether they wished to go on record in favor of the council-manager plan. The answer was an overwhelming "yes," and from then on the league was formally a member of the Citizens' Committee. At a luncheon later that month the league introduced the committee to the

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*Mrs. Theodore Stroud is president of the League of Women Voters of Des Moines, the organization given major credit for the adoption of the council-manager plan in that city. Previous to her marriage Mrs. Stroud was assistant editor of *State Government,* editorial assistant of Public Administration Service, and staff assistant in public relations for the Chicago Housing Authority.

public and presented the results of a survey it had made of some 70 council-manager cities.

Although Des Moines is not primarily an industrial city labor union members constitute an important political entity, and a sincere effort was made to get labor representatives to join the committee. From the start, however, labor was opposed and each labor union member invited to join replied he could not do so unless labor groups as a whole endorsed the plan.

Labor Opposes

It was decided to go directly to top labor representatives for a conference. Three men were named by labor's coordinating committee to meet with three persons from the Citizens' Committee. As a result of the first meeting, labor's representatives drew up a formal statement to the effect that they would oppose the plan unless eleven specific amendments were made to the Iowa council-manager enabling act for cities of Des Moines' size.[1]

Two more meetings brought substantial agreement on all but one point—however, the Citizens' Committee representatives steadfastly maintained that the enabling act was a good one and that they would seek change only in order to insure united support for the plan. The point on which it was not possible to reach agreement concerned salaries of councilmen. The code provides for $300 per year but labor's representatives felt the job would be full-time and should carry a $5,000 salary.

Representatives of the Citizens' Committee maintained that the job would be part-time and should carry a part-time salary so that it would attract candidates seeking the post as a means of public service rather than for the sake of salary. Although replies to a questionnaire sent to the sixteen cities of 100,000 to 250,000 population using the plan proved the job to be part-time, labor leaders still insisted on $5,000. The Citizens' Committee offered unsuccessfully to compromise. By early January negotiations had ceased and the Citizens' Committee commenced to circulate the petitions necessary to call a special election.

In February a state legislator from Waterloo, Iowa, where the plan had been defeated a short time before, introduced a bill that would have met labor's demands on virtually every point at issue in the Des Moines campaign. The Citizens' Committee then invited labor's coordinating committee to join hands and work for passage of the Armstrong bill. But once more there was refusal and it was obvious that the campaign must be fought with labor in the opposition camp.

Although this was disappointing to the Citizens' Committee it was no surprise, for labor had fought the plan in every city in Iowa where a similar movement was started and had spearheaded movements to abandon it in other Iowa towns and cities. In the Des Moines campaign it seemed apparent that labor leaders were opposed from the first but had sought acceptable reasons for opposition by cavilling over the law.

In addition to fighting the cam-

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[1] Chapter 419, Code of Iowa, 1946.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

paign with labor opposition, supporters of the council-manager plan found themselves faced with fierce opposition from the elements. The worst winter in decades put thick layers of ice and snow on the streets and it took real courage to trudge up to houses and get petitions signed.

It was necessary to secure signatures equal to 10 per cent of the number of registered voters in each of the two townships which compose Des Moines. Labor's stronghold lies historically in Lee Township—east of the Des Moines River—and opponents of the plan were quick to stir up ancient east side vs. west side sentiments. Many were afraid to sign petitions and there were weeks when all but the most stout-hearted wrote off the campaign as a lost cause.

Break in the Weather

The delay in securing the required number of petition signers proved to be a blessing since it gave additional time for needed education of the voters and put the election date well into spring and good weather. The date was finally set for April 30, a Saturday, chosen because the council hoped it would help bring out the "no" votes among labor union members. Actually, Saturday was a good day for bringing out "yes" votes, with warm sunny weather all day long.

In the months which preceded the filing of petitions, various media were used for education purposes: a comparatively small number of talks by supporters before miscellaneous club groups, dozens of debates before groups who felt they must not "take sides," a brief general leaflet about the plan, a letter to all city employees reassuring them of their civil service and veteran's preference guarantees, radio programs on public service time, and statements issued to press and radio.

But from the first the League of Women Voters realized that it would be necessary to get into the homes of Des Moines with the message. They therefore prepared for the Citizens' Committee a twenty-page booklet telling how the plan would work and assumed responsibility for securing precinct captains and block workers to cover the city as thoroughly as possible. They addressed penny postcards to petition signers and, so far as possible, looked up their phone numbers.

Once the election date was set, the committee had to make several quick decisions about the conduct of the remainder of the campaign. Old newspaper files revealed that the 1938 campaign had centered on the graft and corruption of the incumbent council and that public debates had been almost the only educational technique.

In contrast, except for the opening speech, the 1948-49 fight concentrated on the faults of the commission plan rather than on the defections of council members. Furthermore, since the debate experience of the current campaign had proven that more heat than light was generated, the committee decided to refuse all debate invitations during the last month.

Opponents of the plan began to attack the personalities of supporters but the Citizens' Committee

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concluded it would be best to ignore the irritating lies and half-truths rather than try to answer each one and, in so doing, lose sight of the major points at issue.

Walter J. Millard of Cincinnati, who was called to make a series of talks during the final week, focussed attention on reports that gambling interests were filling opposition campaign coffers. His rhetorical skill, his knowledge of municipal government, and his calmness in the face of rowdyism on the part of opposition leaders threw the "no" crowd completely off balance.

During the last two weeks the opposition highlighted its campaign with talks by a dozen or more lawyers almost none of whom had previously said anything publicly about the proposal. In addition, it plastered "no" signs—in violation of a city ordinance—on almost every telephone pole in town.

Arguments of the opposition ultimately boiled down to two points: first, the council-manager plan is a dictatorship; second, everything's lovely as it is. It put out a flamboyant publication, in newspaper format, and paid a miscellaneous assortment of people to leave it on door steps. And it used a great deal of paid radio time and newspaper advertising in contrast to the minimum use of these media by supporters of the plan.

Meanwhile the league and the groups and individuals whose support it had enlisted made their rounds of the city, ringing doorbells and giving voters the illustrated booklet *Let Your City Serve You.* They put across this message: "Get the facts. Then vote as your conscience guides."

The postcards addressed to petition signers were mailed carrying a message reminding them to vote and to get their friends to vote. Then the phones began ringing the night before election day and all election day, reminding thousands of registered voters to go to the polls.

It is never possible to say what has won an election. But it is apparent that widespread dissatisfaction with the then current council was not sufficient to win in 1938. Perhaps the complexion of the opposing groups in 1949 was a deciding factor for many voters, since the vocal "no's" amounted almost entirely to lawyers, officeholders and city employees afraid of their jobs; while leaders of the "yes" group included ministers, educators, mothers and housewives and a good sampling of professional workers and small businessmen and women.

Women the Victors

But the big difference between the two campaigns would seem to center on the role of the women. In 1949, to quote the Des Moines *Sunday Register* on the day after election: "From start to finish, it was the women of the city who played the major role in obtaining the city manager form of government for Des Moines. The league initiated the manager move five months after the present council took office, organized the campaign, enlisted the support of organizations and individuals—and delivered the all-important vote which carried the plan."

(Continued on page 277)

Spending for a Better Flint

Costly improvement program to make up for 'drought' of depression and war years guided by taxpayers' group.

By G. KEYES PAGE*

SPURRED by a reawakening of civic pride and a keen realization of how much "deferred maintenance" has accumulated in the physical plant of the city and its schools since the early 30s public-spirited citizens and officials of Flint, Michigan, have taken a long step forward toward the solution of that community's improvement problems.

During a depression-born and war-extended period of fifteen years, the "Motor City" has suffered from one of the most completely arid droughts in public improvements on record. Its last new school building was constructed in 1929. Its ever swelling volume of traffic has been snarled and disrupted both by lack of adequate parking facilities and lack of capacity and numbers of bridges over the Flint River which bisects its business district. Its park system has not kept pace with population moves and increases.

Many of its public buildings have outlived their usefulness. Its water and sewage disposal systems have been outdistanced by the growing demands on existent facilities and, despite valiant efforts by its department of public works, many of its streets have attained a startling resemblance to the design of one of grandmother's more ambitious patchwork quilts.

A few simple statistics emphasize the story. With a population of about 160,000 and an assessed valuation approaching the $300,000,000 mark, expenditures for public improvements since mid-depression days have averaged about FIVE CENTS PER CAPITA PER YEAR.

The fault has not been lack of appreciation of the needs or of adequate planning to meet them. Flint boasts one of the most effective and able planning commissions among cities of its size. Its park and hospital boards have more than kept pace, in their planning, with the growing burden of the functions which they administer. And the department of public works, with long-range, over-all plans always on tap and up to date, has repeatedly performed miracles with the limited number of dollars and materials at its disposal.

There have been three main causes of the atrophy. First, and regardless of need, there could have been little serious thought given to construction plans during the late 30s when the population was primarily concerned with the survival problems of meals and roofs. Second, the wartime shortage of labor and materials, coupled with all-out efforts toward national survival, left neither room nor time for other considerations.

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*Mr. Page has been executive vice president of the Civic Research Council of Flint (formerly Genesee County Taxpayers Association) since 1946. Prior to that time he was, successively, a field representative of the Citizens Public Expenditure Survey of New York State, the first director of the Lackawanna, New York, Tax Research Bureau, associated with the Missouri Public Expenditure Survey and executive secretary of the Good Government Association of St. Joseph, Missouri.

And then there was the problem of funds—Flint and other so-called 15-mill cities in Michigan were prohibited from increasing tax rates above the level of $15 per $1,000 of assessed valuation for the combined purposes of city, county and schools except by a two-thirds majority vote of the electorate and then for a period not to exceed five years.

Tax Limitation Relaxed

Much of the rigidity of these restrictions was eased by action of the 1948 special session of the Michigan legislature and a majority vote of the state electorate at the November 1948 election. But the very loosening of the controls poses the potential threat of too much license and therefore makes doubly important a careful, impartial scrutiny of proposals for major expenditure increases.

Prior to the action of the legislature and the election, however, forces had been started in motion to overcome some of the community's most glaring physical deficiencies on a balanced, businesslike and economically sound basis. As has been said, comprehensive plans were not lacking and the needs were many and patent.

But there was the danger that, if separate programs were launched by the city, the schools, and the park and hospital boards, the pendulum of drought would swing too quickly to the flood stage and the most vitally needed projects and programs would be drowned out in the deluge of requests for unaccustomed millions of dollars.

Reactions both locally and abroad advance the probability that, as a news item, the well worn phenomenon of a man biting a dog is completely overshadowed by the spectacle of a taxpayers' association assuming a position of leadership in a program to spend money—for almost any purpose.

Be that as it may, it was the Research Council of Flint—then the Genesee County Taxpayers Association—which initiated the movement to coordinate the plans, hopes and desires of the various local, official groups to the end that a sane, impartially classified program might be evolved with sufficiently varied appeal to receive wide public support and with costs well within the ability of the community to pay.

In December 1947 invitations were sent by the organization to representatives of the planning commission, the city commission, the board of education, and the park and hospital boards to meet informally and discuss the possible merits of the idea. The response was unexpectedly enthusiastic and the first meeting led to others during the first three months of 1948.

All agencies readily submitted their immediate and long-range plans, tentatively rated as to priority of need and accompanied by various suggested ways and means of financing the estimated costs. This material was assembled by the Research Council staff for the use of the group and, by late March 1948, had reached the sizeable total of 127 separate projects with an estimated cost of $40,739,843.

The requests comprised 23 sanitary projects (including storm and sanitary sewers and expansion of the water department); 36 projects for off-street parking, new bridges and cross-town routes; eighteen new city buildings—including endorsement of a comprehensive civic center development and expansion of airport facilities; 27 park projects; five proposals for expanding the capacity of the city-owned hospital and construction of a convalescent home; and nine new school buildings as well as complete rehabilitation of the existing school plant.

Citizens Committee Appointed

The group unanimously concluded, at a final meeting in March, that the material needed careful study and impartial but substantial screening which should most properly be undertaken by a qualified and wholly unprejudiced group having a quasi-official standing but wholly devoid of controls over its independent thinking.

It was therefore recommended that a Citizens Committee be appointed by the mayor; that its composition include no representatives from local officialdom or any of the boards, agencies and commissions participating in the informal discussions; and that the findings and recommendations of the committee be used ultimately as the basis of a community-wide selling campaign for the program by a second and much larger committee of widely representative citizens. The informal group then disbanded.

On May 12, 1948, the Mayor's Fact Finding Committee was appointed by Mayor Edward J. Viall. It consisted of 37 men and women and included representatives of business, industry, banks, the legal and medical professions, organized labor, women's clubs, veterans and the parents' and teachers' council.

At the organization meeting Robert E. White was selected as general chairman and committee members were assigned to six main study groups: sanitary projects; streets, bridges and parking; civic center, airport and other buildings; parks; hospitals; and schools.

In addition three advisory groups were designated covering financing, legalities and research. The services of the Research Council staff and the facilities of its office were made available, without cost, to the Fact Finding Committee.

The subcommittees were directed to study the material and requests assembled and to classify approved projects into three groups: (1) those needed immediately, (2) those having the next greatest importance; and (3) those which, although desirable, could be deferred.

The financial and legal advisory groups were directed to study the subcommittee findings and recommendations and evolve an equitable, long-range plan for financing top priority projects within the limits of existing taxing authority.

During the period of study and analysis, subcommittee progress reports were made and the over-all program continuously coordinated

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through bi-weekly meetings of the general chairman and subcommittee chairmen.

Report to Mayor

The final report of the Fact Finding Committee was submitted to Mayor Viall on October 27, 1948, after approximately five months of effort involving an estimated 1,200 to 1,500 man-hours of work.

The committee concentrated on those top priority projects which, in its opinion, could be financed only through direct tax levies or the issuance of full faith and credit obligations of the city of Flint and the Flint school district.

It was the committee's thinking that projects for which an equal need existed, but the financing of which would logically take the form of revenue and special assessment obligations, diversion of state-collected taxes, federal and state grants and private bequests, required additional technical engineering studies, special elections and extended negotiations which the Fact Finding Committee was neither qualified nor appointed to develop.

The specific top priority recommendations comprised city, park and hospital improvements estimated to cost $5,884,350 and school buildings and rehabilitation estimated to cost $3,769,052—a total of $9,653,402. Individual undertakings on which immediate action was urged included seventeen storm and sanitary trunk sewers; fourteen bridges, new cross-town routes and intersection realignments; acquisition of the site for the civic center and a start on expansion of the airport; twelve park developments; addition of two wings to the city hospital; and construction of three elementary schools, an addition to an existing high school and more than $1,000,000 of rehabilitation of the present school plant.

The recommended financing plan was expressed in terms of twenty year, 2½ per cent general obligation bonds of the city and the school district. It was pointed out that this method would involve an annual additional cost to taxpayers of $2 per $1,000 of assessed valuation for the city, parks and hospital program and $1.25 per $1,000 for the school program.

Financing Future Projects

It was recommended that, in order to provide for the construction of "next most important" projects prior to the maturity of the twenty year bonds, an aggregate of $5 per $1,000 (rather than the minimum requirement of $3.25 per $1,000) be earmarked for public improvement purposes. The conservativeness of the financing proposals was emphasized by the statement that, after giving effect to the issuance of the general obligation bonds, Flint's debt would amount to only $72 per capita and be equivalent to only 3¾ per cent of present assessed valuation.

In contrast to the unenviable record of practically no public improvements during the past fifteen years, the city of Flint and Flint schools now have a sane, carefully screened and economically sound blueprint for a better community. Sincere, unselfish effort on the part of a thoroughly representative, impartial and businesslike group of citizens produced that blueprint.

Action on the recommendations of the Fact Finding Committee is now squarely and properly the responsibility of the city commission and the board of education. Their problem is by no means an easy one. Flint taxpayers are facing the practical certainty of an increase in their tax bills because of the action of the 1948 legislature and the voters at the November election.

Now Up to Officials

It remains to be seen whether or not city and school officials can successfully withstand pressure for increases in their respective operating budgets and thus make possible direly needed capital improvements without exceeding the relatively moderate local tax limits which now prevail.

One thing is certain. Through the voluntary, spontaneous action of civic minded groups and individuals, a long step forward has been made. Another thing is highly probable. The effective nucleus of citizens, welded together through five months of study and resultant appreciation of the community's needs, can undoubtedly be expanded and rallied to the support of any constructive program which may ultimately be advanced by local officials for a better Flint.

DES MOINES

(Continued from page 272)

The fact that the plan carried by a margin of only 810 votes has made a good many slightly cynical voters realize that their votes do count. And the fact that the election was won by amateurs has renewed their faith in the democratic process.

There is a real awareness on the part of those who favored the council-manager plan that the events of election day are the beginning rather than the end of the campaign for good government in Des Moines. Between now and the next city election in March 1950 a way must be found to draft a slate of candidates who will represent adequately all sections of Des Moines and who will, when elected, appoint a capable city manager.

To quote the *Register* editorial of May 2, "Des Moines in 1950 has been handed a fresh opportunity to rise above mediocrity in its government and become one of the most distinguished cities in the nation. Let us use this opportunity wisely and well, all working together as good citizens."

If the women of Des Moines wish to keep their laurels for winning the April 30 election, they must accept the role of "watchdogs of good government." It seems likely that they now have a mind to do so.

500 'Non-political' Elections

Model Charter cities find choosing a good council needs no selfish guidance; but high-minded leadership helps.

By RICHARD S. CHILDS*

THE PURPOSE of the *Model City Charter*[1] is not to ensure good government—after all no automobile can be so designed that it will take you willy-nilly to church on Sundays. The purpose is to make the municipal mechanism sensitive to local mass opinion, when there is any; sensitive to mass opinion as distinguished from that of some self-serving 3 per cent called "politicians," "bosses," or "machines," who may have been misusing the powers of office to intrench themselves against dislodgement.

The National Municipal League's remedies consist of so correcting the all too common defective mechanisms of popular action so that democracy can "democ" without dependence upon a tight little ruling class of political machinists. Efficient high purposed administration is merely the incidental result to be anticipated if the elective officers are all indebted for their posts to the rank and file of the voters rather than to self-serving powerful political go-betweens.

In its attempt to make life so easy for the voters that the whole mass of them can do what they please and know what they are doing on election day, the *Model Charter* provides a "short ballot" for the election of a small number of councilmen, whose importance is calculated to be sufficient to attract intensive public scrutiny.

This condition facilitates the use of *nonpartisan* elections since the voter can accumulate and carry in his head his brief list of personal preferences and do without guidance of party names and symbols on the ballot or voting machine. Nonpartisan elections are in use in 58 per cent of American cities and, in the southern one-party states, the Democratic primaries provide a similar condition in many more.

A questionnaire from the League's office to newspapers, chambers of commerce and managers in January 1949 brought replies from 48 cities of over 5,000 population which have had ten years or more experience with the nonpartisan council-manager plan.

I

The answer to the query, "Do Republican or Democratic city committees throw their weight, officially or unofficially, openly or covertly, despite the nonpartisan theory of the elections?", was universally "no" with these three partial exceptions:

AUBURN, Maine, (population 19,817; plan adopted 1918): "Sometimes the Republican or Democratic committees will take a hand in the election and endeavor

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*Mr. Childs, chairman of the Council of the National Municipal League, is chairman of the Citizens Union of New York City and of the Institute of Public Administration. He is well known as the "father of the council-manager plan."

[1] National Municipal League, 1948. 172 pages. $1.50.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

to get a particular candidate to run but we believe that this is the exception rather than the rule."

DUBUQUE, Iowa, (43,892; 1920): "There was an unexpected shake-up in the March 1948 elections. A young attorney and a filling station operator were elected to the council with the backing of the Democratic central committee in Dubuque County . . . the first time there was any contest."

CLIFTON, New Jersey, (48,827; 1934): "In our last election, 1946, the Democrats did endorse and sponsor one candidate, but that situation was without precedent."

The testimony from the 45 others runs typically as follows:

MINOT, North Dakota, (16,577; 1933): "I do not believe that the Republican or Democratic organizations pay any attention whatever to the elections of city officials."

VISALIA, California, (10,363; 1923): "The Republican and Democratic committees take little if any interest in the city elections; they never express themselves publicly and since our town is only a little over 10,000 population and about evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats, the men run on their own merit and reputation for past civic service."

WATERTOWN, New York, (33,385; 1920): "It is an unheard of thing to have a Republican or Democratic city committee become interested as such in municipal elections."

II

In 22 of the 48 cities candidates usually or always just get on the ballot by petition as individuals and scramble for votes on their own initiative:

PITTSBURG, California, (10,841; 1919): "All councilmen in our city get on the ballot as individuals and scramble for votes on their own initiative. In some cases citizen groups select citizens and persuade them to run. Candidates do not get together and campaign as slates or tickets."

NACOGDOCHES, Texas, (7,538; 1932): "The candidates announce for office at their own discretion in most cases. To the best of my knowledge the practice of party or group sponsorship has never been followed in this city."

CORAL GABLES, Florida, (8,294; 1925): "Candidates merely announce and pay their qualifying fee before the final date. There are no parties and no groups sponsoring candidates. At one time there was a taxpayers association which sponsored a group of candidates but it no longer is in effect."

FORT ATKINSON, Wisconsin, (6,153; 1931): "To date no candidate has been publicly sponsored by a group or organization."

WAYCROSS, Georgia, (16,673; 1923): "In Waycross candidates announce as individual candidates in the Democratic primary, and nomination in the primary is tantamount to election. Slate of candidates is rare. Three candidates ran on an 'all for one—one for all' slate in the last primary, two years ago, and slate was defeated to the man."

MIAMI BEACH, Florida, (28,012; 1933): "Individuals who wish the honor of service on the city council and who usually have a 'cause' or two to promote, which they feel would improve conditions or correct what they consider municipal operation evils, announce their candidacies. Each conducts his own campaign, appearing before any groups who will hear him and participating in a series of rallies in various neighborhoods where local business or social groups arrange for the rally. There have been no candidates proposed by citizens groups. Since 1943 there have been no instances where candidates got together and ran as a 'ticket'; it is every man for himself."

III

The marked strength of incumbents when coming up for reelection under *Model Charter* conditions is a feature of this and other evidence. When all the incumbents seek reelection, they seem to enjoy a decided advantage, so much so that frequently no equally responsible candidates, and sometimes no candidates at all, take the field against them. The incumbents sometimes link arms and act as a team, defending each other, speaking from the same platform and letting themselves be listed together as a slate.

If a vacancy occurs in mid-term, they have power to fill the vacancy and the man thus chosen benefits by coming to the next election with the prestige of being an incumbent. Thus incumbents, filling the vacancies in their own ranks, may procure the persistent reelection of a slowly changing council in a considerable succession of uncontested or easily won perfunctory elections. These quotations illustrate the phenomenon:

SAN DIEGO, California, (362,658; 1932): "All of the city councilmen, except one, and the mayor have originally gained office by being appointed to councilmanic and mayoralty vacancies and have subsequently been elected while running as incumbents."

KALAMAZOO, Michigan, (54,097; 1918): "We have a 'slate' form of choosing candidates. As a general rule, some of the commissioners run again and they choose or ask others to 'run' with them. Labor usually puts up a candidate and may choose several of the present commissioners to serve on their 'slate.' There is an overlapping as a result."

So the evidence of this sampling is that under the conditions set up by the *Model City Charter*, nonpartisan elections are practical, voters need no partisan label and it becomes feasible for candidates and voters to transact their mutual business through ten to thirty years of biennial municipal elections without aid or intervention of political machines or even of organized leadership!

IV

However, there is evidence that in these simple and open political arenas a committee or civic association can perform high service and that in lack of it a city may elect mediocrities from a list of self-advanced mediocrities and provide the manager with dull-witted cooperation. A committee of citizens who have no private axes to grind and whose ability and selflessness are widely recognized, can under these conditions exert a wholesome influence by providing a little timely leadership. Of course, to be able to lead they must be leaders; the three tailors of Dooley Street can't do it!

The committee or the governing board of the citizens association must be of suitably mixed character, above wards and factions and beyond reproach. It can watch and review the performance of councilmen and, when election approaches, it can urge good incumbents to run again. It can single out citizens and ask them to run and engage to make the campaign easy for them by raising the campaign funds and providing experienced guidance.

The best men are unlikely to have the kind of brass it takes to seek office unasked. But a considered request from such a group is a fine compliment and able men will assent as they do when a nominating committee asks a member to be deacon of the church or treasurer of the hospital. The committee can assemble a balanced ticket and focus the good government vote on its candidates, preventing its scatteration to other good candidates, which might let in political adventurers.

The great effectiveness of a citizens committee to focus the good government vote is exhibited over 34 years by the experience of Dayton where the people have followed such leadership so consistently through eighteen successive biennial elections that committee-endorsed men have always constituted a majority of the council.[2]

Something of this sort is habitual or invariable in 23 of the 48 cities, and is thus described:

Citizen Slates

Hays, Kansas, (6,385; 1919): "I doubt seriously whether there has been a time when anyone has allowed his name to be placed on the ballot without more or less a promotion of a group of progressive citizens."

San Diego, California, (362,658; 1932): "In four of the six districts, alert civic-minded neighborhood organizations seek acceptable candidates, circulate petitions and finance the primary campaign. In two councilmanic districts, neighborhood interest is less evident. In these districts candidates must take more individual initiative and thus the primary campaign may be frequently lacking in civic zeal. These latter two present a city-wide civic problem because of the cosmopolitan character of the residents."

Janesville, Wisconsin, (22,992; 1923): "Down through the years in Janesville very few have voluntarily submitted themselves as candidates. For the most part, the men that have served on council have done so at the insistence and inducement of a group of citizens interested in good government. In Janesville this group is called the Public Relations League. It is a voluntary group that operates without officers or memberships. In order to belong, the only requisite is to be interested in good government.

"When the time for filing for candidates comes around, any one of a number of persons may call a meeting of this group to discuss possible candidates. After the prospects have been thoroughly thrashed over, the committee will decide on certain prospects to fill the vacancies and then endeavor to induce their prospects to run. Once committed to run, the committee will back their choices with ads in the paper saying that they have been endorsed by the Public Relations League. They will also see to it that some leg work in the various wards is done for the men, if it is necessary."

Visalia, California, (10,363; 1923): "Usually a group of responsible citizens confer with persons who they feel could adequately fill the qualifications, to find out if they would serve if elected. Sometimes there are competing groups of citizens, although not always. Occasionally individuals file and run on their own initiative."

Wichita Falls, Texas, (45,112; 1928): "Leading business men try to induce substantial men to permit their names to go on the ballot and in the majority of cases this is what happens. Occasionally, an off-brand fellow representing some minority group or with a selfish motive just cracks down and announces. Seldom does one like this get elected."

Gastonia, North Carolina, (21,313; 1919): "Another method which has worked with better results than any other in Gastonia is the 'slate' conceived and planned by a group of honest local citizens. It's easier to get good candidates by this method where they know that they will have the support of outstanding citizens. We have never had any scandals in our city government, nor any axes to grind by local people whereby they would want to stuff the council and this slate method, when employed, has brought us good councilmen."

Teaneck, New Jersey, (25,275; 1930): "The Teaneck Taxpayers League has consistently sponsored a group of able men whom their committee on candidates selected after a real search to find men who would make good councilmen, who would take the job and who could be elected. In 1930 they elected their entire ticket, in 1933 they beat a recall, in 1934 they elected their entire ticket, in 1938 they elected three out of five, in 1942 they elected four out of five and in 1946 they again elected their entire ticket."

East Cleveland, Ohio, (39,495; 1918): "In 1916 and 1917 about two dozen prominent public spirited East

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[2] See "It's a Habit Now in Dayton," by Richard S. Childs, National Municipal Review, September 1948.

Cleveland citizens campaigned successfully to have a charter commission elected which in turn drew a city manager plan charter which was adopted by the voters effective January 1, 1918. The same citizens drafted five prominent and able citizens to run for city commissioners and they were elected. The same group of citizens and their successors over the years have continued to seek out and draft prominent citizens to run for city commissioners."

Escanaba, Michigan, (14,830; 1922): "It very seldom happens that a man decides to run for councilman of his own accord and without the backing of one or more organizations. This has happened, but is more or less exceptional. Ordinarily the business group tries to obtain a distribution of men covering labor and business and will back up such a slate. This does not happen, however, at every election."

Salina, Kansas, (21,073; 1921): "There exists a group of public spirited citizens that try to prevail upon some prominent citizens, who they feel will make good commissioners, to run and then throw their support back of the individuals' campaign. Most of our elections are quiet with very little publicity. It is more a matter of getting high class, public spirited citizens to run for the office than it is in fervent, highly activated campaigns. The people usually support the high caliber type of man if one can be prevailed upon to run."

St. Joseph, Michigan, (8,963; 1929): "In promoting the plan prior to its adoption, a citizens committee, largely self-appointed, of 49 civic minded members, was formed, which committee . . . with other like-minded citizens, campaigned for its adoption and the election of a charter commission. This campaign was successful and the charter was approved and the plan went into effect in October 1928.

"This committee approved and backed the members elected to the original commission, who were elected over a large field of other candidates, each running for their own specific reason. There is still a nucleus of this committee, with additions of like-minded citizens, which is still very active and keeps in close touch with city affairs and when there is to be a vacancy have always selected a candidate for replacement.

"Over the years there have been many individuals running on their own initiative and there have been some running with the backing of selfish groups but there has never been a candidate elected who did not have the approval of the citizens committee."

The largest of the cities reported on here is San Diego, 362,658 population. The principle alters when cities reach such size as Philadelphia or Boston for there is a limit to the area beyond which the mere size and cost of the task of conducting an effective canvass deter independents and amateurs and leave any standing army of political mercenaries with a monopoly of hopeful nominations.

Summary

In the 48 medium-sized and small cities, this testimony covering over 500 elections demonstrates that politics without politicians is actually with us! It can be found in lucky cities under other types of charter too, no doubt; particularly in cities of homogeneous population like some of our suburbs and in stable old communities.

Under ideal *Model Charter* conditions the election process can run alone, it seems; that condition removes the adventitious powers of vested intrenched interests and facilitates appearance of natural leadership by making the duty and effort to lead less intolerably burdensome to capable responsible citizens who have other things to do.

Conditions in which the natural leaders of all groups who come forward to get a hospital built or to conduct a community chest drive can figure effectively in

(Continued on page 316)

Better Look Before You Fly

Communities should make careful survey of airport needs and not 'plan by intuition', says aeronautical consultant.

By **WALTHER PROKOSCH***

DEVELOPMENT of airports in the United States is undergoing rapid expansion. In 1945 there were some four thousand airports of all types in the nation; by 1949 this figure had increased to approximately six thousand. It is estimated that the expenditure of federal and local funds for airport construction under the federal airport act will exceed $70,000,000 this year. In the recent authoritative book, *Terminal Airport Financing and Management,* the authors estimate that capital investment in terminal-type airports will exceed three-quarter billion dollars by 1960.[1]

The reasons for this rapid growth are not difficult to determine. Developments in commercial-type aircraft over the past two decades have been significant. Greater comfort, greater speed and greater safety are offered. Parallel with these technical developments has been the growth of commercial air transport companies. Less significant has been development of the private airplane and the increase in private flying.

Development of all types of flying was greatly accelerated by wartime activities in the air. Finally the national airport plan providing federal aid to local communities on a 50-50 basis over a seven-year period is a stimulus of real strength.

The majority of civil airports are financed and sustained by local governments. Thus the municipality is faced with the problem of providing funds for a new type of civic development in addition to meeting increased costs in other public services.

Not too long ago a community of moderate size in a populous eastern state built a modern airport with paved runways 4,000 feet long, a terminal building and several hangars. Pressure from well intentioned but not well informed civic groups resulted in the rapid development of the airport to "keep our town on the air map." Unfortunately the airport commission, with the best of intentions but with understandable lack of technical knowledge, called for a type and size of airport far in excess of the needs of the community—another "monument to progress" which is consuming municipal funds at a greater rate and for more years than necessary.

This community could have been spared the investment of a sizeable amount of public funds by first authorizing an economic survey to de-

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[1] Lynn L. Bollinger, Alan Passen, and Robert E. McElfresh. Harvard University Press, 1947.

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termine its air traffic potential and airport needs.

Such a study would have explored the relationship between expenditure and income of this new facility and would thus have given the taxpayers a more concrete picture of what they were getting into when they voted for the bond issue. Such a survey would have provided facts and figures justifying the new undertaking. Instead, planning was done by intuition with a consequent better than average chance of missing the mark.

Any airport planning study should be composed of three major divisions: (1) the economic survey already mentioned, with which this article deals; (2) planning and engineering should be undertaken based upon the statistics provided by the economic survey; (3) cost estimates and a projected income statement should be prepared based upon the results of (1) and (2).

Major objectives of the economic division of a survey are these:

1. Forecast of commercial air traffic (passenger, mail, cargo),
2. Forecast of private airplane ownership and use,
3. Forecast of local non-private flying (charter, crop dusting, etc.),
4. Area location of airports to permit generating the maximum traffic,
5. Determination of types of airports required to satisfy forecasts, and approximate dates when increases in size or number will be required,
6. Estimate of approximate size of terminal and airplane parking apron,
7. Estimate of hangars required by type.

First step in the preparation of the survey is collection of data of a pertinent nature. Unfortunately, no fixed definition can be offered for the word "pertinent." Here the skill, judgment and experience of the surveyor must be fully employed. Each community has its own make-up, its own set of characteristics that "make it tick." The engineer must assess each community or region in the light of these characteristics; he must become acquainted with its history, since in history there lies a lesson for the future. When he has gotten the feel of the area, the engineer can select indices with greater assurance that they will be valid.

Suggested Indices

As an illustration of the type of indices used, a survey recently completed for a large metropolitan district of predominantly industrial character used retail sales, consumer income, bank deposits, payrolls, value of products, value added.

The indices are assembled for the area under study, the region in which it is located and the nation as a whole in order to evaluate the economic strength of the area relative to its region and the nation. By comparing economic indices with past activity in aeronautics it can be determined whether the community is holding its own in this respect.

Next, national forecasts must be prepared for commercial air traffic in passengers, mail and cargo. These are based upon a correlation of available authoritative estimates tempered by the national and international outlook.

Local traffic figures can then be projected by applying the local factor for the pertinent indices to the national forecasts. The resultant figures can be checked by requesting airline estimates of traffic forecast for the same period. If the community has no air service at the time of the survey, forecasts can be requested from those carriers who have made application for service.

Use of Questionnaires

A further check on these forecasts, as well as those for other types of aviation activity, has been used with success. Questionnaires may be sent to a cross-section of the community, preferably under the aegis of the local chamber of commerce or business association. This procedure has an added benefit—the feeling of participation and personal interest in the community's air problems which is generated by a well constructed questionnaire.

The extent of ownership of private airplanes can be gauged by the "ability to buy" of the local populace and by the "willingness to buy." Ability to buy can be measured by per capita indices such as bank deposits, retail sales, consumer income as related to trends in costs of aircraft and costs of operation. Willingness to buy is influenced by local geography—proximity to other populous areas, weather and terrain favorable to flying, airport location with respect to residential areas, availability of competent maintenance service and similar factors.

The correlation between local and national plane ownership in the past can be plotted. Future national estimates are projected in a manner similar to commercial estimates. Local indices based upon ability and willingness to buy are applied to the national figures. The resultant estimates can then be checked by projecting the trends indicated by the past relationships.

Other factors can be applied to help define the problem. If available, figures on home and automobile ownership may provide clues. If the community has access to water, data on motor-boat ownership will be of interest. Again, these estimates of plane ownership must be prepared with a full knowledge and use of the individual characteristics of the area.

No fixed rules can be laid down for the forecasting of commercial flying activity. Even more than the previous estimates, these activities are influenced by local conditions. In some areas agricultural uses of flying will assume importance; in others, the demands of recreation. Or again, the aggressiveness of a local airport director or chamber of commerce may induce a manufacturer or feeder line operator to establish a base at the airport, radically altering the program for airport usage and development.

The engineer preparing the survey must explore the local scene with all thoroughness and exercise mature judgment if his evaluation of this type of flying activity is to be sound. A large share of the income of an airport may develop from a fixed base operator; he can become a serious factor in making the airport a successful enterprise.

Many surveys have as one objective establishment of an airport site. Others are confronted with endorsing the location of an existing airport which is to be expanded or determining which of two airports is to be expanded. To solve the problem two devices have been used with success. One is plotting the centers of gravity of a number of indices which apply to the type of airport for which a location is required. Thus, if the airport is to be primarily commercial, indices used should include consumer income, value of products, manufacturing employment. If the centers of gravity of the various indices fall within a restricted area, the optimum direction of development will be indicated.

A second method is to plot the per cent advantage of various industrial and economic factors of half of a community as against the opposite half. If all or most of the advantage lies within one half, its economic superiority will have been demonstrated. It hardly appears necessary to point out the importance of locating an airport near its estimated source of income.

Airports have been classified primarily according to their runway lengths. These, in turn, are determined by the type of aircraft which it is anticipated will use them. And the type of aircraft serving or operating in a community can be forecast by the economic survey discussed before. Thus, one result of the survey is a clearer definition of what should be provided in the way of an airfield, engineering-wise, than could otherwise be obtained.

The needs of the smaller community will usually be met by a single airport strategically located. The larger metropolitan district will require a constellation of airports of all sizes, each one catering to a relatively limited range of aeronautical interests. The techniques previously discussed can readily be adapted for analyzing the airport requirements of a community of any size or economic complexity.

Engineering Problems Aided

In addition to providing data which will assist in the determination of airport types and locations, the economic survey will serve to crystallize numerous engineering problems. As an example, the commercial air terminal has a need for numerous "airplane parking positions"—the paved apron required to accommodate the airplane plus a building structure for passenger handling and airline operation.

The cost of one "position" can range from $50,000 to more than a quarter million dollars. Obviously, great care must be exercised to keep the number of positions at a minimum consistent with sound operating practice. The accurate determination of this number is compounded from traffic forecasts, a study of the relationship of the community to the airline route structures of the region, forecast of airline airplane sizes, number of airlines serving the terminal, etc.

One important by-product of an economic aeronautical survey is the volume of statistics and material made available, which can and should be used to produce a better understanding on the part of the public as to what the local airport problem is. The importance of keeping the electorate well informed in municipal affairs is being realized with increasing force. At some stage in airport development the public will be asked to vote on a bond issue, or on the establishment of an airport authority, or some other phase of activity. The public which has been presented with facts will make the right decision.

An airplane is independent of local or state boundaries while in transit. The air passenger, likewise, is disinterested in what political subdivision his arrival occurs as long as the airport is located conveniently to the city of his destination. It is encouraging to note, therefore, the creation of airport authorities which have power to build and operate an airport serving jointly several cities in one or more states.

An outstanding example is the Metropolitan Airports Commission serving Minneapolis, St. Paul and the surrounding area. Spreading the cost of construction and maintenance over a wider base is not the only benefit from such an arrangement. By serving a large population air carriers are able to offer more frequent service than if each community were separately served. Thus, the economic survey should be conducted with a wide angle lens, and economies which can result from joint operation should be fearlessly explored.

In some cases an economic survey will disclose that no airport will be required for another decade, perhaps. While this may appear to be a negative result, it will have positive benefits. It will still the forces which call for "progressive action" irrespective of need and it will save the community unnecessary public expenditures.

Even if these are the results, however, the community may do well to option or purchase land for an airport so that the site will be available when required.

Forecasts Difficult

The forecasting of anything aeronautical is difficult and hazardous. The industry is still so new that records of past performance are, in many cases, scanty or meaningless. The rate of growth has been spectacular in the last decade; airlines are constantly opening new routes and terminals; new uses for aircraft are being developed at a rapid pace. The machine itself is undergoing constant and rapid development, and it is the basic characteristics of the aircraft which, in the final analysis, determine traffic volumes and airport configuration.

Thus, preparation of an economic aeronautical survey must be approached with all armament available in the way of experience, knowledge and judgment. And it must be approached, finally, with the understanding that no standard set of formulae can be applied if valid answers are sought. Each survey is a new problem requiring original thinking.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Manager Plan Advocate Sweeps San Antonio

Des Moines, Other Cities Vote to Join Growing List

BY THE overwhelming vote of 41,734 to 11,211, **San Antonio, Texas,** elected as mayor a council-manager advocate, A. C. (Jack) White. Mr. White resigned the presidency of the chamber of commerce to accept the challenge of Mayor Alfred Callaghan to run as his opponent with the manager plan as the campaign issue. Petitions for a charter election had been contemplated prior to the election, to force action by the administration.

Des Moines, Iowa, (population 159,819) voted 20,686 to 19,876 to change from the commission plan to the council-manager plan, effective in April 1950 (see also page 269, this issue).

Cameron, Missouri, (3,615 population) voted 523 to 188 to adopt the council-manager plan, at a special election on April 4. The election was called as the result of a petition containing 532 names.

On May 2, voters of **Napa, California,** (7,740) adopted charter amendments providing the council-manager plan of government. The vote was 1,042 to 769.

An ordinance providing a city manager for **South San Francisco, California,** (6,629) was passed by the city's council on May 2.

Sunnyvale, California, (4,373) approved a council-manager charter 398 to 276 at an election held May 10.

Dunn, North Carolina, (5,256) adopted the council-manager plan on May 3 by a vote of 255 to 44. It will become effective this year.

Jackman, Maine, (1,200) has adopted the manager plan by a vote of 132 to 82, to become effective immediately.

The city council of **Monrovia, California,** (12,807) adopted a manager ordinance on April 18, four to one, to become effective in 30 days (see May REVIEW, page 236). An amendment to the ordinance, however, restricts the power of the manager to hire or discharge employees except with council approval. The one dissenter opposed the ordinance because of this amendment; he was in favor of a city manager without such restriction.

The town of **Ludlow, Vermont,** voted at the April 12 town meeting to abandon the manager plan. The village of **Ludlow** did likewise on the same day.

A bill passed by the **New Hampshire** House of Representatives to permit a city to hold a special election on the question of abandonment of the manager plan on petition of 3 per cent of the voters was amended in the Senate to apply only to **Keene** and to require 10 per cent on the petition. The House voted 178-138 against concurring with the Senate amendments and later (April 14) declined to reconsider the vote. Thus the bill is dead. A group of Keene citizens has formed an organization to defend the manager plan and strengthen the charter.

The Central Labor Union in **Concord, New Hampshire,** has gone on record in opposition to both the strong-mayor and council-manager plans, and to other change in Concord's charter. Both plans have been urged as improvements on the present cumbersome government.

A proposal to eliminate from **Massachusetts'** optional Plan E charter (council-manager and P. R.) the safeguard that no elective official can be appointed a city manager until two years after his term has expired, was killed on May 5 in the Senate by a voice vote without dissent. Previously the House had adopted the amendment 103 to 92. Another Plan E amendment, which the Senate defeated on voice vote, would have established salaries for city managers and city councils.

The Committee for Plan E of **Chelsea, Massachusetts,** has secured over 3,000 signatures to a petition seeking a November vote on the council-manager plan and P. R. They will be filed with ceremonies in the office of the city clerk.

On May 4 petitions for an election on council-manager Plan D in **North Adams, Massachusetts,** were certified by the board of registrars as containing 1,475 valid signatures; 1,150 were required. The city council at its June meeting is expected to arrange for placing the question on the ballot at the November election.

The **Rhode Island** legislature adjourned May 7 without enacting any home rule or manager legislation. A council-manager charter for the town of **Jamestown** was killed by the Senate unanimously although passed by the House of Representatives and twice approved by the town council and town meeting. Bills introduced by Representative Harvey of Newport, providing an optional charter bill for cities including the manager plan and for a commission to study home rule, were killed in committee.

The Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee in **New Britain, Connecticut,** is drafting a council-manager charter with the assistance of Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed of Wethersfield, Connecticut. The city has granted the committee a $5,000 appropriation.

In **Norwich, Connecticut,** the chamber of commerce has voted in favor of a bill providing for consolidation of the city and town of Norwich; later the city council adopted a resolution disapproving the bill, with one dissenting vote. The resolution alleged that the bill would "disenfranchise the fundamental rights of popular vote for the governmental leadership and responsibility."

The **Watervliet, New York,** city council on April 21 adopted an ordinance creating the position of deputy general city manager, and appointed the city chemist to the office, which carries no additional salary.

In announcing his unavailability as a candidate for mayor of **Binghamton, New York,** in response to urging by the Democratic minority leader, former chamber of commerce president Paul F. Titchener advocated a return to the council-manager plan, which had been in effect from 1932 to 1937.

A petition containing 4,050 signatures, asking for a referendum on adoption of the council-manager plan for **Passaic, New Jersey,** was filed on May 2 by the Association for a Better Community, Inc., organized by six young Passaic mothers. Passaic is now governed by a five-man commission.

The bill to permit third-class cities in **Pennsylvania** to adopt the council-manager plan by local referendum died in the Senate elections committee when the legislature adjourned. It had first been defeated but later was passed in the House. A Senate bill to permit a third-class city, under the present code, to hire a manager and fix his duties, also died in committee.

According to information from the **North Carolina** League of Municipalities, the town of **Cherryville** has secured legislation permitting the town council to call an election on the council-manager plan at its discretion; the town of **Ahoskie** is having an election on the plan this spring but the entire town council has expressed opposition to it; the city of **Greenville** had legislation introduced for holding an election for city manager government but then had it killed before passage; the town of **Jacksonville** is interested in the council-manager form but has taken no definite steps for an election; **Roanoke Rapids** conducted an election on the manager form but it was defeated almost three to one; the towns of **Concord, Dunn, Mooresville, Newton, Oxford** and **Sanford** secured legislation providing for council-manager elections.

The vote in favor of the manager plan in **Dillon, South Carolina,** reported last month, was an advisory vote taken at the Democratic primary for mayor and aldermen as a guide to action by the new city council.

On May 10 **Spartanburg, South Carolina,** voters rolled up a seven-to-one vote—3,222 to 463—to retain the manager plan adopted in 1945.

All members of the Charter Revision Commission of **Holland, Michigan,** have gone on record as favoring the council-manager plan of government. The commission has also voted to recommend that the city council be limited to nine members including the mayor, two councilmen-at-large, and one from each of six wards.

A council-manager proposal was defeated in the village of **Franklin Park, Illinois,** on April 19, by about two to one. According to reports, the political machine of the township in which the village lies threw its forces into the effort to defeat the plan.

One of three optional forms of government provided for villages by the 1949 **Minnesota** legislature in its new village code is the council-manager plan.

Ashland, Wisconsin, which adopted the manager plan a year ago, retained it at the polls on May 3 by a vote of 2,100 to 944.

Voters of **Grenada, Mississippi,** rejected a proposed council-manager amendment to the city's charter 382 to 374, a margin of eight.

Rapid City, South Dakota, voted on April 25 to retain the manager plan, 1,895 to 1,064 (unofficial). The issue is thereby decided for at least two years. The vote was on a petition to substitute an aldermanic form, with two aldermen from each ward and no city manager.

McCook, Nebraska, will vote on the council-manager plan on June 7. The Beatrice *Daily Sun* reports that in **Beatrice** and **Nebraska City,** the only cities in the state that have the commission plan, the manager form is being considered.

Wellington, Kansas, voters rejected a council-manager proposal on April 5 by a vote of 1,355 to 739. The total vote was the heaviest in the city's history.

A council-manager proposal was defeated in **Stuttgart, Arkansas,** by 252 to 140 on April 19.

A bill to provide an optional council-manager charter available to all **Oklahoma** cities has been passed by the legislature and signed by the governor.

The city commission of **Port Arthur, Texas,** voted four to three on April 27 against holding a "straw vote" on the council-manager and strong-mayor forms of government. Port Arthur now has the manager plan; the office of manager is being administered temporarily by the city clerk since the manager's resignation in March 1948. A charter commission is working on a charter designed to improve the present manager setup.

The metropolitan development conference of **Ogden, Utah,** which is made up of representatives from various clubs and other organizations, on April

14 authorized a panel to make a special study of the council-manager plan. Ogden now has the commission plan.

In **Springfield, Oregon,** which adopted the council-manager plan in 1947, a proposed charter amendment for reversion to the mayor-council form is expected to be voted on at an election June 24.

Staunton, Virginia, on April 22 celebrated the 41st anniversary of the pioneering employment of a "general manager" by its then bicameral council—thus being the precursor of the simplified council-manager plan. The celebration was a part of the semiannual meeting of the Virginia section of the International City Managers' Association, attended by some 50 city managers.

Grand Rapids Seeks Recall of Mayor

Citizens of Grand Rapids, Michigan, circulated petitions late in May for the recall of Mayor George W. Welsh because of his alleged interference with appointments by the city manager. Mayor Welsh, it is reported, attempted to dictate the appointment of city assessor and, when the manager refused his suggestion and named an experienced assessor from elsewhere, led in the manager's dismissal.

Planning Group Recommends Local Consolidation

A preliminary report of the Lower Peninsula Planning Commission of Virginia recommended on April 21 the formation of a consolidated city, under the council-manager plan, to include the cities of Newport News, Hampton and Phoebus and the counties of Elizabeth City and Warwick. Each of the five components would constitute a "borough" and have one representative on a nine-member council, the other four members to be representatives at large. A final report is expected soon.

Cities Increase Size by Annexation

A survey made by the International City Managers' Association for its 1949 *Municipal Year Book* finds that more than 145 square miles of fringe area have been added to 289 cities of over 5,000 population during the past year. Action of some cities to discontinue out-of-city service has spurred many of the annexations.

Roanoke, Virginia, added the greatest amount of territory, 11.83 square miles. Albuquerque, New Mexico, added 7.38 square miles and El Paso, Texas, 7.26. Nineteen cities increased their areas more than 25 per cent. Among cities over 100,000 El Paso made a 42 per cent gain in area, Oklahoma City, a 9.5 per cent gain, and Milwaukee 7 per cent.

In most instances cities supported annexations so as to control future development of their areas through zoning and building regulations and planning techniques. Chief reason for fringe area opposition was fear of increased taxes. Territory outside the city limits of Burley, Idaho, however, favored absorption into the city mainly to lower its taxes and fire insurance rates. The fringe area of Eugene, Oregon, desired annexation after it discovered that the total tax rate paid to special districts was greater than the city tax rate.

The usual process for annexation of unincorporated territory in most cities involves some combination of (1) majority vote in the area or petition by a certain percentage of fringe residents or property owners, followed by (2) passage of a city ordinance or majority approval by city voters.

Merger of Tarrytowns Receives Setback

A bill to permit merger of the villages of Tarrytown and North Tarrytown, Westchester County, New York, (see the REVIEW, May 1947, page 274; February 1947, page 93) was vetoed April 28 by Governor Thomas E. Dewey on the grounds that it was unconstitutional in various particulars. Proponents of the merger said they would seek to remedy the defects of the measure in time for the next legislative session.

New Orleans Fights Forced Government Change

A new state law that would change the form of government in New Orleans, Louisiana, without local consent is to be tested in the courts by that city's commission council. The city attorney's office has given the opinion that the law is unconstitutional. New Orleans is now governed by a five-member commission elected at large, which plan was ratified by popular vote in 1912. The new statute would create a board of eight aldermen elected by districts. Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison has denounced the statute as undemocratic in making no provision for a local referendum.

Smoke Control Bureau in New York City

Responsibility for smoke and soot control in New York City, formerly scattered among various subdivisions of the city government, is now centered in a bureau of smoke control in the department of housing and buildings by virtue of a bill recently adopted. A smoke control commission will draw up a code of rules to combat the smoke nuisance and the bureau is empowered to enforce the code. The bill was drafted and promoted by the committee on smoke abatement of the Citizens Union of the City of New York, in collaboration with Joseph T. Sharkey, majority leader of the city council, and his legislative assistant.

Cities Win Traffic Enforcement Awards

Awards for outstanding performance in the field of traffic law enforcement in 1948 were made by the International Association of Chiefs of Police in May. First place awards were given in each of six city population groups and in each of four divisions of states.

State winners were: Eastern Division—Connecticut and Pennsylvania (tied); Southern Division—Oklahoma and Texas (tied); Midwestern Division—Minnesota; Western Division—Colorado; City winners: Group I (500,000 and over)—Washington, D. C.; Group II (200,000-500,000)—Portland, Oregon; Group III (100,000-200,000) Grand Rapids, Michigan; Group IV (50,000-100,000)—Pasadena, California; Group V (25,000-50,000)—Plainfield, New Jersey; Group VI (10,000-25,000)—Longview, Washington.

These awards were given this year for the first time. The IACP cooperated with the National Safety Council, sponsors of the National Traffic Safety Contest, in making them.

Enforcement sections of the National Traffic Safety Contest reports were used in the judging for the awards. These reports are part of the National Inventory of Traffic Safety Activities.

No Illinois Constitutional Convention

The Illinois House of Representatives on May 3 defeated the proposal to submit to popular vote the calling of a convention to revise the state constitution. The vote was 89 in favor and 54 against, but a two-thirds vote of 102 was required to carry. A previous effort, on April 13, had indicated 96 in favor, including eleven Cook County Republicans and nine "downstate" Republicans.

Governor Adlai Stevenson, a strong advocate of the convention idea, announced that despite his preference for comprehensive revision he would urge the Democratic party to join the Republicans in securing ratification of the so-called gateway amendment in 1950—which would facilitate piecemeal revision at least.

Revision of Kansas Constitution Discussed

At the eighth session of the Kansas Conference on Government, held in Topeka in April, there was a panel discussion on "Basic Needs for Revision of the Kansas Constitution." Dr. Hugo Wall, vice chairman of the conference and head of the political science department of the University of Wichita, outlined possible basic changes in the Kansas constitution and listed the following categories: (1) reorganization of the executive branch, which contemplates a short ballot; (2) changes in the judicial article to include different methods of selecting judges; (3) legislative apportionment; (4) home rule for cities and other units of local government; (5) initiative and referendum.

Colorado Approves Code Adoption by Reference

Legislation permitting adoption of building codes and certain other documents by reference, without the expense of publishing them in full in a local newspaper, was adopted by Colorado's 37th General Assembly. It was the product of cooperative work by the Colorado Municipal League and the Colorado Press Association.

The types of documents that may be adopted by reference include building codes, promulgated by either a governmental or a non-governmental agency; statutes, ordinances, rules, regulations or standards promulgated by the federal government, the state of Colorado or any agency of either. The law also facilitates codification of existing municipal ordinances.

Copies of the published code must be kept on file for public examination and copies must be offered for sale by the city clerk. A public hearing is required before adoption.

Another important piece of Colorado legislation is a law authorizing cooperation between local units of government through contracts, thus permitting existing functions to be done more effectively and often at lower costs than previously. It allows employees of one political unit to retain rights such as workmen's compensation insurance while performing services for another unit.

Merit System Restoration Sought in Louisiana

The Louisiana Civil Service League is working for the restoration of the merit system in the state service, where it was scuttled by the legislature last July by repeal of the state civil service law. The league has sent out a statewide call for citizen support of a movement for a self-operative constitutional amendment embodying the main features of the original civil service law, with certain improvements.

North Carolina Sets Up Personnel Department

The legislature of North Carolina has established a state personnel department, to be headed by a personnel director advised and assisted by a seven-member council and employee representatives from each of the state departments, agencies and commissions, according to the Civil Service

Assembly of the United States and Canada.

The various departments will continue to select and appoint personnel but subject to the approval of the personnel director, who is also to set up qualifications, standards, salary schedules and a job classification plan. The new law will not affect the operation of the Merit System Council.

States Set Up "Hoover Commissions"

Committees to study state governmental functions, patterned after the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government headed by Herbert Hoover, have been set up in several states. At least seven states have formally established such commissions or have directed their legislative interim committees to make such studies, according to the Council of State Governments.

State surveys now under way have the same broad objectives as the so-called Hoover commission, including elimination of duplicating functions and overlapping operations and establishment of organizational responsibility as a means of increasing the efficiency of governmental operations.

New Hampshire's survey calls for scrutiny of the organization of the state government by a seven-man group, to report by June 1949. Unlike its prototype, the committee's recommendations become effective if either house of the legislature approves them.

A special legislative committee on state operations was set up in Arizona for a thorough investigation of the affairs and operations of state departments and institutions. Objectives include consolidation, curtailment of operations or elimination of departments to increase efficiency and economy.

Wisconsin's Legislative Council recently voted a two-year investigation of administrative departments, to be carried on in cooperation with the state division of departmental research.

Idaho's legislative interim committee received a $25,000 grant to finance a two-year study of how to simplify the state government.

A nine-member commission has been established in Iowa to investigate all branches and agencies of state government and to recommend a program for their consolidation and coordination. It is comprised of three state senators appointed by the lieutenant-governor, three representatives appointed by the speaker of the House and three persons named by the governor, and will report to the 1951 legislature.

In North Dakota the Legislative Research Committee has been directed to make a general study of governmental reorganization. This committee, re-established at the end of the 1949 legislative session, was given a variety of research problems.

Connecticut has authorized a committee for the purpose of streamlining and modernizing the state government (see the REVIEW, May, page 241).

A reorganized state administrative structure was effected in Michigan last August. A new department of administration was established and all housekeeping functions of the state, other than personnel, were merged in the new department (see the REVIEW, July 1948, page 357).

On May 9 a resolve was filed with the Massachusetts legislature to set up a bipartisan commission to make recommendations for the streamlining of state services and the reduction of expenditures to an amount consistent with efficient performance.

(Continued on page 299)

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Charleston County Manager Charter Upheld

Declared Constitutional by South Carolina Supreme Court

THE South Carolina Supreme Court unanimously upheld the constitutionality of the statute under which the newly-elected Charleston County council is exercising powers formerly held by the state legislature. The court found that the general assembly acted in an unconstitutional manner in only one particular. It could not delegate police powers to one specific county.

The council-manager form of government provided by the act under attack was approved by the voters of Charleston County in September 1948[1] and became effective this year. The council is vested with authority to make appropriations, levy taxes and otherwise conduct the affairs of the county.

The court, in concluding its ruling, said: "The system of county government which we have upheld is apparently without precedent in this state. The general assembly has thought highly enough of the plan to make it possible for the people of Charleston County to try the experiment, and the people of that county, having peculiar knowledge of local needs and problems, have, by a majority vote, signified their desire to put it to a test."

County Manager Plan Recommended

The county manager plan has been recommended to the board of supervisors of Tulare County, California, by a planning consultant retained by the board to advise it on county needs. The report states that the county government needs "complete revamping" through adoption of a home rule charter. It was proposed that the county heads of departments, now elective, be made appointive and responsible to a single manager. The five-member board should be restricted to policy matters and all administrative officers should be responsible to the manager only.

Dallas County Seeks Home Rule Charter

In Texas the Dallas County Citizens Association, organized last year to promote and secure a home rule charter for the county, has sponsored a bill in the legislature which would allow the county to adopt a charter by a simple over-all majority vote. Present constitutional provisions require that the vote in the incorporated areas and the unincorporated areas be counted separately and approval secured in each.

King and St. Louis County Commissions Begin Work

The unofficial advisory charter commission appointed to draft a tentative charter for King County, Washington, is composed of 35 members elected by the county commissioners from a large list of recommendations of the Seattle Municipal League, League of Women Voters, community clubs, labor and other organizations. Since the commission is unofficial—it will present its findings to a freeholders board to be elected next year—the prosecuting attorney has ruled that the county may make no appropriations for its work.

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[1] See the REVIEW, October 1948, page 513.

The Bureau of Governmental Research and Services of the University of Washington has therefore assumed responsibility for office space and clerical assistance. Donald C. Sampson, of the bureau staff and a member of the commission, has been appointed secretary.

St. Louis County's board of freeholders, appointed May 3, scheduled three meetings during May.

Report on Birmingham Area Published

Results of a survey of government in the Birmingham, Alabama, area, made in accordance with an act of the 1945 legislature providing a legislative committee to study local government in Jefferson County, have been published by the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama.[1]

In 1948 the people of the state voted on two constitutional amendments necessary to the execution of the survey recommendations. However, these recommendations did not secure the popular approval necessary for ratification.[2] Since the problems that led to the study therefore remain to be solved, the bureau believed that publication of the report would assist future leadership in achieving these objectives for the area.

Two alternative courses of action are presented in the recommendations. The first involves more effective and efficient management of the existing county government. This would include adding further governmental improvements to the already effective merit system and centralized purchasing in the county.

Further strengthening of the county's government is necessary through establishment of: (1) a department of finance, (2) a legal department, (3) a chief administrative officer and (4) a combined city-county planning agency and single planning staff coupled with development of community councils.

Also recommended are: (1) extension of municipal boundaries, (2) intergovernmental contractual agreements in law enforcement, licensing and operation of parks and recreation, (3) changes in personnel practices including extension of the merit system and consolidation of the four retirement systems, (4) adoption of intergovernmental joint purchasing, (5) limitation on the establishment of additional school systems in municipalities and (6) cooperative housing management among the several governmental units.

Changes of an entirely different nature from those listed above, constituting a fundamental change in local government structure, are offered as an alternative plan. These recommended changes include the alternatives: (1) a consolidated city-county government covering an area embraced by the present city boundary lines of Birmingham, (2) a consolidated city-county government covering the area of the present metropolitan district, (3) a consolidated city-county government embracing all of Jefferson County or (4) the federal plan which involves the concept of dividing governmental powers between the county and its subdivisions. The administrative structure under any of the consolidation plans provides for a manager to be administrative head of the city-county government.

The report is a most comprehensive study of the county. It is divided into 22 chapters and five appendices, with many statistical tables. The five major parts of the study include

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[1] *Metropolitan County,* by Weldon Cooper, 1949, 165 pages.

[2] See the REVIEW, December 1948, page 615.

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finance and financial administration, state and local activities, the public school system, the Bessemer division, and conclusions and recommendations.

Michigan Townships Surveyed

The Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan has published a thorough study of Michigan township government.[1] It is an attempt to make available, in a single reference work, a concise and comprehensive description of all township offices and boards. These agencies are described by a summary or digest of their personnel, compensation, powers, duties, administrative organization and the methods by which they are financed.

The author has pointed out that (1) townships may be organized under the general laws or (2) townships which meet certain population and geographical requirements may be organized under the charter township act of 1947.

Under the general law the township meeting, of which all electors of the township are members, has the power to: (1) raise taxes, (2) create debt, (3) issue by-laws and orders regulating township affairs, (4) provide a building for a community center, and (5) acquire and hold real and personal property for public use. The township board, however, consisting of the supervisor, treasurer, clerk and two or four justices of the peace, depending on circumstances, retains many of the other local government functions.

The annual township meeting is held on the first Monday in April. Formerly it elected township officers, but now they are elected at a biennial election in odd numbered years. In larger townships, however, the meeting is authorized to appoint a clerk to assist the township supervisor.

The township supervisor is elected for a two year term. He assesses township property, serves as an agent of the township in the transaction of its legal business and represents the township on the county board of supervisors.

A township clerk also is elected to serve for a term of two years. He keeps records of all important township transactions. The township treasurer is provided for in the constitution and is elected to serve a two year term.

The constitution provides for the election of not more than four justices of the peace and four constables in each township. They are compensated on a fee basis.

There are numerous other township officers provided by the constitution and by statute. Traffic officers may be employed singly or jointly by several townships. Many townships still elect a commissioner of highways, although the functions have been transferred to a large extent to the county. Townships are authorized to employ a public nurse.

Any township having a population of 5,000 or more or a township having a population of 2,000 or more which borders on a city with a population of at least 25,000 is authorized to incorporate as a charter township. Action for such incorporation may be initiated either by petition of the electorate or by resolution of the township board. It must be ratified by referendum. The authorization given to the township board to appoint a superintendent and delegate broad managerial powers to him has been discussed previously in this section.[2]

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[1] *A Manual of Township Government in Michigan,* by Claude Tharp. Michigan Governmental Studies No. 18, Ann Arbor, 1948, 142 pages.

[2] The REVIEW, September 1947, page 470.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Prescribed for Part of German Parliament

Half of 400 Members to Be Elected by List System

A LAW providing for the election of 200 of the 400 members of the new German *Bundestag* (popularly elected house of the *Bundesrat* or Parliament) by single member districts and the other 200 by the list system of proportional representation was adopted on May 10 by the Parliamentary Council at Bonn. Under article 137 of the new constitution this law will govern the election of the first *Bundestag*.

The new federal republic is composed of the American, British and French occupation zones in Germany. The present constitution is to go out of effect when a government for all Germany is chosen by its people.

According to the *New York Times,* in the election of the *Bundestag* each voter will have two votes, one of which will be cast for a candidate in a single-member district election, the other of which will count in a proportional representation election.

List systems of P. R. were in use in the Weimar Republic from 1919 to 1933 and have been used in the American and French occupation zones since the end of World War II.

Massachusetts Cities Prepare for P. R.

In anticipation of Worcester's first P. R. election under its new Plan E charter next fall, the Women's Forum of Worcester County recently sponsored a model city-wide P. R. election for a council of nine and a school board of six (as provided by the charter). There were 3,202 votes cast, of which less than 2 per cent were invalid, although for many of the participants it was the first election of this type.

The Worcester *Telegram* of April 24, which made a full report on the mock election, reproduced the tally sheet of the school committee election in its entirety. The election was supervised by City Clerk Malcolm C. Midgley.

Students of the Medford, Massachusetts, vocational school will make cabinets, trays and compartments for use in the conduct of the P. R. count under the city's Plan E charter next November. The plan was advanced for reasons of economy as well as a measure to promote civic interest.

Massachusetts House Reaffirms P. R.

The defeat of the Senate-approved measure to repeal the provision for P. R. under Massachusetts' Plan E optional charter, reported in this department last month, was confirmed by a reconsideration vote in the House of Representatives on April 20. The vote was 114 to 100.

The Worcester *Gazette,* in its editorial of April 21, "There's a Bright Side to This Controversy," commented:

"The pressure is off at last and Worcester has retained proportional representation voting. There should have been no doubt about it from the beginning. The only distressing result of the whole controversy is that 100 members of the Massachusetts House of Representatives should have voted to repeal P. R.

"Though the bill as finally rejected

did exempt Worcester and other Plan E cities, it provided for an automatic referendum to determine whether the people wanted to continue P. R. That's the thing that rankles—that and the would-be final pronouncement that no other city in the state should ever again adopt P. R. Actually, as has been pointed out time and again, if Worcester or any other city wants a city manager government without P. R. it need only select Plan D. Proceedings to get a Plan D petition on the ballot can be initiated tomorrow, if there is enough opposition to P. R. to get the requisite signatures. We don't need the state legislature to tell us what we want and what we don't want.

"Come to think of it, though, this vote is encouraging in a backward sort of way. No progress is ever easy, and the fact that 100 politicians should oppose P. R.—with typically red herring cries of 'communism' and 'foreign systems'—seems to confirm the fact that we must indeed be making progress. If our new government met no opposition we'd be suspicious. As it is, P. R. is looking better all the time."

Toledo P. R. Referendum Set for November

In response to petitions filed in April, the city council of Toledo has set a referendum for the fall election on a proposal to repeal P. R. for the election of the council. The petition would substitute a nonpartisan primary followed by a nonpartisan election, both conducted at large. Members of the council also agreed not to advance any other election plan of their own.

Some doubt as to the constitutionality of the proposal has been voiced by the Toledo Municipal League.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 294)

Four States Join Northeast Forest Compact

The legislatures of Maine, New Hampshire, New York and Vermont have ratified the Northeastern Forest Fire Protection Compact, according to *State Government*. Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island are also eligible for membership.

International Governmental Training Center Planned

Formation of an international training center in public administration is in prospect next year as a result of a resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations. It directs the secretary general to present a program for training in the principles, procedures and methods of modern administration for persons of proven ability, who would be recruited on a wide geographical basis with emphasis on "those countries in greatest need of access to the techniques of modern administration," according to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

It has been proposed that the center may consist of an international administrative staff college for outstanding senior civil servants which would offer intensive training lasting from three to five months. Provision may also be made for fellowships under which promising younger civil servants could study public administration in various outstanding existing institutions, and combine such study with an internship in an appropriate national or international agency.

The center may also provide technical aid to governments wishing to establish or improve national institutions for training in public administration.

Revenue Needs Spotlight Tax Exemption

Federal in Lieu Payments Sought Through Congress

INCREASES in municipal expenditures resulting from postwar inflation, and the pressure on local officials to find additional revenues to finance higher budgets, have served to emphasize the potential income which might be realized at the local level by a curtailment of property tax exemption. Interest extends both to property which is exempt from ad valorem taxes because it is government-owned and to property privately owned but exempt because of its use.

The federal government, by far the largest owner of property exempt from taxation, has in recent years been increasingly receptive to pleas that its immunity from property taxes works a hardship on local government, especially when federal installations are themselves the cause of expansion in services and facilities.

During the war a rather comprehensive system of so-called in lieu payments was developed, partly in connection with emergency housing developments and later in connection with war plants and other large installations. The Lanham Act provided a broad basis for federal subsidies to local units where war expansion had occurred, but from the local point of view both these payments and the payments in lieu of taxes had a common defect—they were determined mainly by negotiation rather than by placing federal property on the same footing as privately owned property subject to ad valorem taxation.

Several bills are pending before the present Congress which if enacted would authorize federal payments in lieu of property taxes on a more extended scale. A stumbling block with Congress, however, seems to be that no one really knows just how much the cities and other local units lose in taxes because of the government's exemption. A figure of $250,000,000 has frequently been mentioned but it is questioned in some congressional quarters, and a proposal has been made to have the Federal Works Agency survey the situation.

The American Municipal Association, in its *Washington News Letter* of April 29, suggests a simpler procedure: to permit the local units to compute their tax claims on the basis of their own assessment procedures and tax rates, and then pay such claims pro rata from an initial appropriation. Since local officials could be expected to submit the data with alacrity, comprehensive factual material for further study would be received and could form the basis for later appropriations.

Another proposal is that payments in lieu of taxes be made generally first to school districts, which in many sections are most spectacularly affected by federal installations which have caused large population increases in formerly small communities with limited resources. In some instances the states themselves have authorized a form of tax exemption which has operated to reduce greatly the productivity of the property tax. For a decade or more, some thirteen states have either exempted so-called homestead property from taxation or granted homesteaders a preference in computing their tax bills.

A summary of the situation by the National Association of Assessing Officials states that ten states exempt homesteads up to a certain value, that two—Iowa and West Virginia—grant preferences, and Minnesota has both an exemption and a preference law.

Exemption and preference laws vary widely. In Wyoming, Oklahoma, Minnesota, Iowa, West Virginia and Florida, the laws are applicable to all state and local levies while in Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana they apply to state taxes and to some local levies. South Dakota, Texas, Arkansas and Alabama give exemption and preferential taxation to state levies only.

Homesteads constitute 27 per cent of Florida's total property value. Value limitation on an exemption in Florida is $5,000. In Georgia, where value limitations are $2,000, homesteads make up 21 per cent of the total taxable property value in the state.

In Louisiana with a $2,000 exemption limit and in Mississippi with a $5,000 limit, homesteads comprise 19.6 and 19.5 per cent respectively of the states' total property value.

Eight of the states — Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Iowa and Texas —limit the area of land occupied by the homestead. Area limitations range from 40 acres in Iowa to 200 acres in Texas.

Iowa's preference law allows homesteaders a special credit which is deducted from the total tax bill. Minnesota homesteads are assessed at a lower percentage of full value than non-homestead property.

The West Virginia preference law is part of a comprehensive tax rate limitation scheme. The maximum tax rate on homesteads is lower than the maximum permitted on other property. The state sets no limitation on the value of property that may be claimed as a homestead. Its more than $470,000,000 of homesteads is 16.1 per cent of the state's total property value.

Iowa's homesteads make up 17.8 per cent of the total property value in the state; Alabama's 17.7 per cent; Oklahoma, 14.8 and Texas 13.5. Wyoming, where value limitations on homesteads are $500, has only 2.8 per cent of its property value in homesteads.

South Dakota, which gives $5,000 exemption to homesteads, has collected no state property taxes since 1938 while Arkansas, which gives a $2,000 homestead exemption, has levied no state property tax since 1947.

Kentucky Gets a New Assessment Policy

The special session of the Kentucky General Assembly, which adjourned in March, enacted legislation having more than local interest. Four bills concerned property tax assessment, carrying out a three-plank platform advocated by the administration.

First element in the program is a greatly modified tax calendar so that a calendar extending over twelve months replaces one covering twenty months. Most property will now be assessed as of January 1 and the tax will be payable by December 31. The bill makes numerous changes incidental to the main purpose: It eliminates contradictory statutes, rationalizes assessment and collection with levy requirements, dispenses with superfluous procedures, requires the recording of exempt property, and contributes substantially toward making it convenient for cities to use state-county assessments rather than those made by overlapping city assessment districts.

The second objective is to tighten administration at numerous points,

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

partly in areas concerned solely with local action and partly in those relating to state supervision.

Perhaps the most significant changes are the provisions for better tax assessor compensation and for more exacting assessor and deputy assessor qualifications. As to assessor qualifications the major changes are to invalidate examination certificates for 1920 to 1949, except that present incumbents are "covered in" so far as qualification is concerned, and to make examinations other than written ones legal. The legislation attempts to enforce a requirement that the assessor work full time.

The third element provides the financing involved in implementing the authority of the Department of Revenue to assist local assessing officials. One suggestion as to the new aid setup would provide for a new technical services unit in the Division of Property Taxation whose head would supervise a field staff of about ten regional assessment consultants and a technical valuation staff.

Each of the experts would work on the development of standards and would assist the field staff to help individual assessors with technical problems. The exact complexion of the management may take a considerably different form, but the plan under consideration is suggestive of purposes and over-all policies.

It has become increasingly apparent in Kentucky that the method of distributing state school funds among the various districts has contributed to assessment shortcomings. Specifically, local governments have reduced the assessment level in order to secure additional educational support from the state. The General Assembly has undertaken to alter the state's school aid program to defeat this practice.

In one of the school equalization measures adopted, the legislature provides for a reduction in aid each year the average assessment ratio multiplied by the nominal tax rate in a school district fails to equal a specified rate of levy. The minimum rate of levy required for full participation in state school aid, although it becomes gradually higher over a period of seven years, never reaches a point approaching the legal maximum possible in a district having full-value assessments.

To avoid disruption of the school support program, the new legislation provides for a gradual reduction in the amount distributed to districts which fail to meet local tax effort requirements—95 per cent of the maximum available the first year, 90 per cent the second, 80 per cent the third, and less and less in each succeeding year until, in 1955 and after, no aid would be distributed unless the rate of levy were brought up to the statutory minimum.

There was some opposition to the assessment bills on the ground that they would operate to increase taxes whereas there seemed to be no such complaint from any source about the school aid legislation which expressly required higher taxes in a majority of the school districts. There was nothing in the tax assessment measures to prevent local reduction of rates whenever there should be an increase in assessments. On the contrary, there was a declaration of policy to the effect that tax-levying authorities should reduce rates to compensate for higher valuations.

JAMES W. MARTIN, *Director*
Bureau of Business Research,
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Civic Conference Plan in Action

Leonia, New Jersey, Gets Government by the People

HOW can leading citizens in our home towns be induced to accept their civic responsibilities? Must all candidates for local office be selected by "leaders" before the people themselves are permitted to vote for them? Is there no practical way for the people to take charge of their local government? Is it necessary that capable and prominent citizens be deterred from accepting office because of the expense, recriminations and unpleasantness incident to partisan political campaigns?

Leonia, New Jersey, a community of some 7,500 just across the Hudson River from uptown New York, has found the answer to these questions by employing a method known as the civic conference plan.

The plan came into being as a result of two things: first, observation by the writers that, in spite of New Jersey primary laws, candidates for local offices were being selected by small groups of from two to ten politically active persons in each party without primary contests; second, the premise that the principles and issues which divide the citizens of the United States into two great parties are national and international in scope and have no applicability to local municipal affairs.

The plan as finally adopted after several months of struggle and a close vote in the Republican Association was patterned after a similar plan in effect in Glen Ridge, New Jersey, for many years.

Under this unusual plan outstanding Democrats are elected to office in a predominantly Republican town with the blessing of the Republicans. No man seeks an office—the office seeks the man best suited for the requirements. Every man in elective office in town has been sought out and asked to make his contribution to sound local government by his neighbors.

Organized in 1939, the **Leonia Civic Conference** has suffered but one defeat of a candidate and that in a school board election where some unusual circumstances entered the picture.

The membership of the conference is composed of 24 delegates and 24 alternates, four each from the Republican Association and the Democratic Club, and the same number from each organization in town which has been in existence one year and has over 500 members, whose membership is open to citizens generally in all parts of the borough, and which desires to participate. At the present time, the Women's Club, Men's Neighborhood Club, Home and School Association, and the local post of the American Legion each send representatives. The Players Guild, which sponsors amateur theatricals, is the only qualified organization which does not participate.

In 1944 some who objected to the conference pointed out that, unless a citizen belonged to one of the member organizations, he had no voice in the selection of candidates. To remedy this provision was made by constitutional amendment for the selection of not

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EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article is reprinted from *The American City* for March 1949. Anyone interested in further information about the conference may obtain a brochure and a copy of the constitution and by-laws from its chairman, Victor E. Ferrall, 382 Summit Avenue, Leonia, New Jersey.

more than two delegates and alternates from each of the four election districts in town simply by having a petition signed by 25 qualified voters in the district presented to the conference. One delegate and one alternate enjoy membership by virtue of this provision.

In addition to these delegates, any person who has served the borough in an elective office for which the conference makes recommendations becomes, upon invitation and acceptance, a delegate for one year immediately following the end of his term of office. The objective here is to bring to the conference the benefit of his knowledge of the capabilities of his former colleagues in the event of their consideration for re-election or advancement in office.

No person holding any salaried or elective public office in the borough for which the conference makes recommendations is permitted to be a delegate or alternate. Not more than one member of any family may sit in the conference at the same time. No delegate may hold office as such for more than three consecutive years. By unwritten rule, the chairman of the conference holds office for one term of one year.

With these safeguards it is impossible for any small clique to gain control. The membership of the conference is ever-changing, and thus far some 200 citizens have served.

How Plan Works

Prior to each election the conference meets to consider candidates for the offices to be filled. Notice of the meeting is sent not only to each member but also to the head of each participating organization with the request that his group consider possible candidates so that delegates will come to the meeting with definite suggestions.

Notice of the meeting is published on the front page of the local newspaper, and a general invitation is given to all residents to send in nominations. The meeting is opened with a public hearing at which any citizen may present the name and qualifications of any person for any of the offices.

Then the conference goes into secret session so that a full discussion may be had. Here it considers the names which have been submitted, together with any others that may be presented by any member of the conference. If the persons suggested are not sufficiently well known to members, an information committee is appointed by the chair to get the facts. The meeting then adjourns to another date.

When all the information is in, and a full discussion of each proposed candidate has taken place, a secret vote is taken. The first proposed candidate to receive a majority vote of the entire conference membership becomes the candidate to be sponsored.

Qualifications of each suggested candidate are fully discussed but the principal question to be answered is, "Is he the best man available in town for the particular position?" Politics, religion, economic status and such matters are not discussed.

After the conference has acted a notification committee is appointed to wait upon the selected candidate in order to secure his consent to run. Usually this is the first intimation he receives that he has been considered. If he refuses, the conference calls another meeting and starts over again. This rarely occurs. If he accepts, the conference finances, manages and carries on his campaign for him. No conference candidate is ever asked to contribute to his own campaign nor is he ever expected to work for his own election.

Under this plan business men, bankers, engineers, professors and just plain citizens interested only in the welfare of their home town are the officeholders in this community. Under this plan a Nobel prize winner and the head of the chemistry department of a great university served on the board of education. Under this plan Republicans and Democrats live in harmony—at least for four years—and both contribute their talents to the welfare of the community.

All elected officials except the tax collector serve without compensation and rarely for more than two terms. Men and women who would never seek office in the usual way are persuaded to accept their share of the responsibilities of local government—and the home town is much better for it.

In Leonia the people *select* as well as *elect* their local officials. They have done so for the past ten years, and there is no indication that they want to go back to the old system.

H. E. A. Forsthoff, *Mayor*
L. Stanley Ford, *Councilman*
Leonia, New Jersey

Citizens Support Hoover Executive Recommendations

President Truman has endorsed the educational program on government reorganization proposed by the new **Citizens Committee for Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government.**

In a letter to Dr. Robert L. Johnson, president of Philadelphia's Temple University and national chairman of the new committee, Mr. Truman said: "I shall send down a number of reorganization plans just as soon as a bill authorizing me to do so passes the Congress and of course I shall be most happy to have all the help possible in pushing these plans through."

The committee has been formed to develop public understanding of the report presented to Congress by the bipartisan Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government headed by former President Herbert Hoover.[1] With a nucleus of a thousand outstanding citizens—national leaders in agriculture, business, education, labor, women's and other groups—it is planning an extensive informational program to interpret and maintain public interest in the commission's report.

Workshop in Government to Meet in Michigan

The fourth annual **Workshop in State and Local Government in Michigan,** featuring as "faculty" outstanding governmental leaders and educators of the state, will be held at Michigan State College, July 5-22.

Intended primarily for teachers of civics, government and social studies, the workshop is aimed at promoting a more informed and active citizenry in relation to public affairs. This year, for the first time, administrative policies will be discussed by officials representing the two major parties of Michigan.

Among those taking part are: Governor G. Mennen Williams, Lieutenant Governor John W. Connolly, Secretary of State Fred M. Alger, Jr., State Treasurer D. Hale Brake, State Supreme Court Justice John R. Dethmers, and many other state and local government leaders.

Educators and laymen participating are: John Huss, director of the Michigan Municipal League: A. O. Cuthbert, president of the Michigan County Roads Association; Dr. Ernest B. Harper, head of the Department of Social Service at Michigan State University; Robert S. Ford, director of the University of Michigan Bureau of Government; and

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[1] See the Review, March 1949, page 140; May, page 262; and this issue, page 313.

Jay Sherman, head of the Wayne University Department of Government.

Fifteen major fields of study will be on the program including: the role of the governor, legislature and courts; procedures of county, township and city governments; administration of agencies charged with health, child and adult welfare; education; roads; state and local finances; responsive and responsible government; and the role of schools in promoting more intelligent and active participation in public affairs.

The workshop is sponsored by Michigan State College and the Michigan Institute of Local Government, in cooperation with more than a dozen other institutions and agencies.

Charter Ticket

The **Cincinnati City Charter Committee** urges interested citizens to offer recommendations for the 1949 charter ticket for city council. Qualifications for nominations, as reported in the committee's *Charter News Letter,* include: (1) ability, integrity and devotion to the city's advancement; (2) support of proportional representation, the merit system of civil service appointments and the principles of honesty, efficiency and non-interference with administrative authority.

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New County Association

The **Bexar County Citizens Association** (San Antonio, Texas), organized this spring, has these objectives set forth in its constitution:

> To promote a more active interest by the citizens of Bexar County in the affairs of local government;
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> To investigate the administration of local offices and the operation of local laws;
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> To collect and disseminate impartial and accurate information relative to local government;
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> To promote the businesslike, honest and efficient conduct of local government;
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> To encourage competent men and women to stand for public office; and to support wholesome leadership in public affairs.

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With the Civic Groups

Inspired by a talk by Professor Arthur W. Bromage of the University of Michigan, a group of women in **Norway, Michigan,** interviewed the ten candidates running for city council in the spring elections, seeking their stand on various aspects of local government. With the election of the new council Norway inaugurated its council-manager government adopted at the polls last November. . . .

The *Seattle Municipal News* of April 2, published by the **Seattle Municipal League,** carried a "Know Your Local Government" quiz so that the citizenry might figure out how bright—or dull—it is so far as civic affairs are concerned. Twelve questions are listed. Correct answers to eleven or twelve rate excellent; nine or ten, good; seven or eight, fair; and six or less, "not so hot!" Answers are listed on another page. "No cheating now!" says the *News*. . . .

The **Wayne, Michigan, Junior Chamber of Commerce** held an open forum for candidates running for village council in the spring election. Voters were urged to attend in order that they might become personally acquainted with candidates. . . .

A ten-year study on the costs of county government was made by the **Anderson, Indiana, Chamber of Commerce.** . . . The **Central Atlanta Improvement Association** has issued a mimeographed report of six pages on its 1948 activities. . . .

"Why I Like the City Club" is a new feature of the *Bulletin* of the **Chicago City Club.** One-sentence comments are sought, for instance: "The City Club," says Dr. W. P. Cortelyou, head of the chemistry department of Roosevelt College and club governor, "is one place where I can have heated discussions with people of opposing opinions and still remain friends with them." . . .

The **Cleveland Citizens League** has made one issue of *Greater Cleveland* a "Directory of Public Officials," listing all 1949 principal officers for the city, county, state and federal governments. . . .

The **Independent Citizens party** and the **Democratic party of Hastings, New York,** in a coalition movement "to bring economy and efficiency into our village government," elected all their slate of local candidates but one at the spring elections. . . .

The **New Haven Citizens' Committee for a Council-Manager Charter** has undertaken an intensive educational advertising campaign to inform the public of the proposed charter's provisions. The program is in line with the committee's plan to work now for success in a referendum which it is hoped the legislature will grant to the voters. . . .

According to *Taxtalk* of the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations,** new taxpayer associations have been organized in Dudley, Franklin and Lakeville. Numerous local groups, including those in Cohasset, Marblehead, Marshfield, Needham, Plymouth, Raynham and Sturbridge, held "pre-town meetings" to discuss articles in the town warrants for the official town meeting.

We Stand Corrected

To the Editor:

We were delighted to see the fine top billing you gave the *Citizen's Date Book* in your "New and Interesting Citizen Publications" column in the April NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. We'd like to add, though, that the *Date Book* fits equally well in a man's vest pocket; and certainly the information is also necessary for men. Just thought you'd like to know that we are happy to—and do—sell this handy little book to men too!

ERNA STERN, *Secretary*
League of Women Voters
of New Jersey

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Strictly Personal

William H. Mortensen, former mayor of Hartford, has resigned as chairman of the Citizens Charter Committee because of ill health. "It is no exaggeration to say that no individual has done more to promote council-manager government in Hartford than former Mayor William H. Mortensen," says the Hartford *Courant,* editorially. "As mayor Mr. Mortensen appointed the original commission to devise a new charter. As a private citizen he helped organize the Charter Committee to help put over the charter. Subsequently he worked to see that the infant government had a fair chance to grow to maturity." Mr. Mortensen has been succeeded by **John Hugh Hurley,** acting mayor of Hartford.

The Connecticut Merit System Association announces that **Charles G. Morris,** its president, will become president emeritus on July 1. Mr. Morris has been associated with the organization ever since its beginnings when he became secretary of the (then) Civil Service Association in 1901.

Research Examined by Political Scientists

Panels Report on Major Needs in Varied Fields

THE Research Committee of the American Political Science Association has sponsored a series of panels of political scientists to discuss various aspects of political science research. Reports on the panels have been published by the University of North Carolina Press, *Research in Political Science* (238 pages, $3).

Dr. Ernest S. Griffith, director of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, has edited the ten reports and written an introduction and two final chapters on scope and method. Each panel was asked to "formulate a strategy of research . . . in terms of major areas rather than of desirable thesis topics, in broad outline rather than in detail."

Typical Findings

Much more research on the concept of representation is needed, according to the panel on representative government and the legislative process reported by Roland Young.

A continuing agency for research planning and promotion in public administration is advocated by the panel led by William Anderson. Other measures designed to promote closer relations between those concerned with the practical and the more theoretical aspects of administration are suggested. Professor Anderson was also chairman of the session on state and local government, which concluded that students should examine more thoroughly the influence of various organizations and institutions on state and local government and should study the behavior of people as revealed in their varied responses to manifestations of government and authority which affect them.

Harwood L. Childs presents a list of suggested research projects in political communications made up of suggestions from all members of the panel on that subject.

Technical Services Directories Issued

The results of political science research, study and experience are made more readily available to state and local officials in Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee[1] and Virginia, and of course to other officials in the rest of the country, by a series of technical services directories for each of those states. The volumes, published by the bureaus of public administration of the state universities, are the result of a cooperative project involving the Tennessee Valley Authority.[2]

The directories are organized in a similar manner. Agencies providing information and assistance are classified by fields of activity and cross referenced where necessary. Each has an index. Most of them are over 200 pages. Two of the volumes, those for North and South Carolina, are accompanied by separate volumes which discuss the use of technical assistance in general and recommend ways and means to promote and facilitate useful cooperation between officials and research agencies.

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[1] See the REVIEW, June 1948, page 326.

[2] See the REVIEW, February, page 105.

Studies of Local Revenue Problems in Michigan

Sixteen papers by five research assistants in public administration and two taxation fellows working as interns are included in *Papers in Public Administration,* issued by the Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan.[1] The papers are good, workmanlike jobs of considerable interest outside as well as inside the state of Michigan.

Volume I contains: "A Study of Michigan Municipal Revenues," James E. Larson; "The Use of Service Charges in Michigan Cities," William I. Johnson; "The Fifteen Mill Limitation—A Comparative Study in Municipal Finance," Paul H. Wileden; "Service Levels in the Fifteen Mill Cities," James E. Larson; "Administrative Survey of the City of Grand Rapids," Joseph A. Warren, Jr.; "Property Tax Administration in Michigan with Emphasis upon Equalization," G. Homer Skarin; "Annual Municipal Reporting in Michigan," William I. Johnson; "Legal and Constitutional Aspects of a Local Excise in Michigan," William D. Dexter; "The Fiscal Possibilities of a Personal Income Tax in Michigan," Paul H. Wileden.

Volume II has: "Tax Exemptions in the State of Michigan" and "Inheritance Taxation in Michigan," Donna M. Werback; "Some Aspects of Double Taxation Under the Michigan Intangibles Tax," "Administrative and Legal Aspects of Assessment and Equalization Under the General Property Tax," "Legal and Constitutional Aspects of a State Income Tax," "Legal Aspects of the Michigan Inheritance and Estate Taxes" and "Some Problems in Revising the Tax Article of the Michigan Constitution," William D. Dexter.

Some Sample Findings

From the study on the fifteen-mill limitation: These cities "have attempted to offset the pinch of the fifteen-mill limitation by boosting assessed valuations far more than have the non-fifteen-mill cities." Indirect effects include "greater demands for state aid, lowered levels of municipal services, the resort to questionable practices such as in the handling of earmarked funds, weakened credit positions, lessened local responsibility and efficiency, and attempts to utilize other sources of revenue which in most cases are less desirable."

From "Property Tax Administration in Michigan with Emphasis upon Equalization": "The entire spirit of the equalization process should be changed from the present judicial method of remedying wrongs to the more positive approach based on cooperation between state and local officials in achieving better administration of the property tax."

From "Some Problems in Revising the Tax Article of the Michigan Constitution": The tax article of the Michigan constitution should be revised to eliminate details which have caused trouble and which "have been placed there largely because of the distrust felt by the electors in the legislative process as it exists in Michigan. Other changes in the constitution then, such as a provision for adequate reapportionment of the legislature so that it will really represent the people, may be needed to eliminate piecemeal amending."

Bureau Notes

The Metropolitan Chicago Research Center of Northwestern University is collecting material for a projected reference library on the Chicago area. The library, to be a special branch of the university's Deering Library, wants any material which will make a technical or professional contribution to knowledge of the area; donations should be sent to Malcolm J. Proudfoot, acting chairman of the interdepartmental committee which is directing the research center. A major activity of the center is promotion of discussion and study of all phases of government, business and social affairs in the Chicago area.

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[1] Ann Arbor, 1948. 2 volumes, 127 and 185 pages respectively. $2 each.

The Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research and the Citizens Research Institute of Canada, Eric Hardy, director (of both bureaus), have issued their annual reports for the year ending on February 28.

The Governmental Research Association, Louis D. Brown, secretary, has indexed under 43 general headings 383 projects recently completed or currently engaged in by 74 member agencies. Information on specific studies within any of the general groupings is available on request.

The 1949 conference of the Governmental Research Association will be held in Bedford Springs, Pennsylvania, September 7, 8 and 9. A number of small group discussions will be a feature of the program.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Administration

Mechanization in Los Angeles County. Reduced Clerical Costs Shown. By Earl R. Strathman. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* April 1949. 8 pp.

Uniform Practice and Procedure Before Administrative Agencies of the Commonwealth. (Includes summary of laws of various states with recommendations.) Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Joint State Government Commission, March 1949. 20 pp.

Assessment

The 1946 Reappraisal of Real Estate in York, Nebraska. A Case Study of Scientific Assessment for Tax Purposes. By Edward B. Schmidt. Lincoln, University of Nebraska, College of Business Administration, 1948. 59 pp. graphs, tables. 50 cents.

Budgets

1949-1950 Executive Budget of New York City. New York, Citizens Budget Commission, 1949. 15 pp. graphs.

Over-all Budget of Dallas. ("This report deals with the finances and taxes involved in the preparation of the 1948-49 budget.") Dallas, Greater Dallas Planning Council, Committee on City Finances and Taxes, *Report,* December 31, 1948. 24 pp. tables.

Report on Cash Funds. ("Each expending agency must submit a detailed budget based upon the assumption that it will receive a fixed appropriation, and that it will be required to live within that appropriation, regardless of whether or not the revenues exceed the amount allotted.") Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, 1948. 20 pp. tables.

A Sea of Troubles. The League Reviews Allegheny County's 1949 Budget. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* April 1949. 8 pp. tables.

County Government

A Guidebook of the Chancery Clerk. (Mississippi statutory provisions relating to all duties and functions of this county official—as judicial officer, court officer, clerk of board of supervisors, recording officer and fiscal officer—are summarized and classified.) By Charles Nolan Fortenberry. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 105 pp.

Education

Connecticut's School Grant System Needs Revision. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *State and Local Government,* April 19, 1949. 2 pp.

Per Pupil Costs in City Schools Show Large Rises, 1934-35 to 1947-48. Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer,* April 1949. 1 p. table.

Report on Redistricting. ("Some kind of reorganization which will reduce the number of school districts, and thereby increase the average enrollment and average assessed valuation of districts, is essential to the development of the kind of school system which the children of the state need and deserve.") Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, December 1948. 19 pp.

Salaries and Qualifications of Professional Public School Employees in Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1949. 4 pp. tables.

The School Budget. Hartford, Governmental Research Institute, *Taxpayers' Business,* May 1949. 2 pp.

State Aid to Education. (Explanation of the state aid formula as applied to Buffalo.) Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* April 14, 1949. 3 pp.

Yes—School Costs Are Still Rising. Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *Iowa Taxpayer,* April 4, 1949. 2 pp. tables.

Home Rule

About Statutory Home Rule. Providence, Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council, *Bulletin,* April 11, 1949. 2 pp.

Legislative Bodies

Legislative Bodies in Large U. S. Cities. (Number and pay of councilmen, method of election.) Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* April 5, 1949. 4 pp.

Territorial Legislature—Organization and Procedure. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1949. 34 pp.

Planning

Baltimore: Some Economic Indicators. Comparisons with Other Cities, Relation to State of Maryland. College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, March 1949. 25 pp. graphs.

Public Welfare

Mentally Ill and Defectives. (A discussion of proposed changes in terminology and procedure in territorial laws affecting the mentally ill.) By Robert G. Dodge. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1949. 21 pp.

The Mentally Ill: Their Care and Treatment in Four Selected States. (Massachusetts, New Jersey, Oklahoma, Wisconsin; a comparative consideration of personnel, the senile patient, treatment programs and methods of admission to mental hospitals.)[1] Jefferson City, Missouri General Assembly, Committee on Legislative Research, 1949. 29 pp.

Old Age and Blind Security Programs in California: Proposition Number 4. (Discussion of administrative changes under and financial aspects of article xxv of the California Constitution, the Old Age Security and Security for the Blind Law, which took effect on January 1 after being passed by initiative. The texts of article xxv and of a proposed initiative which would repeal that article are included.) By Elizabeth Ferina. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 33 pp. tables. $1.

Sexual Psychopaths. (Two proposed territorial bills, one providing for commitment without regard to criminality, the other setting forth procedure for dealing with sexual psychopaths as criminals, are discussed and compared with similar bills in eight states.) By Norman Meller. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1949. 35 pp.

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1949, page 108.

Streets and Highways

Report on Highways. (Methods of financing a highway improvement program.) Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, 1948. 37 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Comparison of Property Taxes Levied in Indiana for 1948 and 1949. Indiana Property Tax Levies as Advertised and as Finally Fixed, 1948 for 1949. (Both listed by counties.) Indianapolis, Indiana Taxpayers Association, *Bulletin*, April 19, 1949. 6 pp.

Enlarging Hawaii's Net Income Tax. (A number of possible means for increasing revenues from the territory's personal income tax are explained and evaluated.) By Robert M. Kamins assisted by Roderic W. Hearn. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1949. 51 pp. tables.

How High Can 1949 Local Taxes Be? A Factual Study. (Probable effects in Flint of passage by the 1948 Michigan legislature of the Bates bill which prohibits any home rule city from participating in the constitutional 15-mill levy and authorizes any such city to levy up to 10 mills for municipal purposes.) Flint, Civic Research Council, April 1949. 13 pp. tables.

Local Government Finances in Maryland, 1947-1948. (Summaries of reports of the financial condition of all counties and municipalities and Baltimore City for the fiscal year ending within 1947 are presented in tabular form. Four graphs show per capita assessment, per capita tax burden, per capita gross public debt and gross public debt separately for Baltimore, other municipalities, three urban and twenty rural counties for 1936 through 1948.) Baltimore, Maryland Fiscal Research Bureau, 1949. 87 pp.

Local Revenue Problems and Trends. (Summarizes recent development of local taxes and state aid and reviews proposed solutions of the problem of rising costs vs. restricted local revenues. Appendices outline selected state actions affecting new local taxes and state aid.) By John R. McKinley. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 59 pp. $1.25.

New Hampshire—Fiscal Red Ink. (A consideration of the problem presented by the "largest operating state deficit in our recent history.") Concord, New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers Associations, *New Hampshire Taxpayer*, April 1949. 4 pp.

Pennsylvania's Home Rule Tax Law. (Act 481, passed in 1947, which gave to 3,591 local units in the state broad powers of taxation. "It appears that the principle of this taxing program will be sustained.") By David H. Kurtzman. New York, Governmental Research Association, *Reporter*, March-April 1949. 3 pp.

Property Taxes Go Up 21 Per Cent. Levy for 1948-49 Reaches $671,362,000. By Maxine M. McSweyn. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest*, April 1949. 10 pp. tables.

Report on the Ten-Cent Fare. ("The transit operating revenues are being used almost exclusively for current operating expenditures. The increased fare is absorbed by these operating expenditures.") New York, Citizens Budget Commission, April 29, 1949. 4 pp.

Revised City Financial Program. (With a discussion of new revenue proposals.) Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, March 1949. 3 pp.

Books in Review

Plunkitt of Tammany Hall. By William L. Riordon. Introduction by Roy V. Peel. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. lvi, 132 pp. $2.50.

Back in those puissant days of 1905, when the Tammany type politician grew rich in his trade and made no bones about it, a little book entitled *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* was published. Adapted from a series of feature story interviews, it was an amazingly frank confession by a thoroughly practical politician which told exactly how to make good in the game and stay out of prison while waxing wealthy at public expense.

Mr. Riordon used the gusty, vigorous words of George Washington Plunkitt, whom he described as "one of the great powers in Tammany Hall for a quarter of a century," which added greatly to the charm and disturbing fascination of the book. Chapter headings include "Honest Graft and Dishonest Graft," "How to Become a Statesman," "The Curse of Civil Service Reform," "Reformers Only Mornin' Glories" and "Bosses Preserve the Nation" and the text more than fulfills their promise.

This little classic of spoils politics created quite a stir in its day, some of the chapters being widely reproduced in newspapers and magazines and becoming subjects for discussion in the United States Senate and in college lectures. It has been out of print for years, with occasional copies to be found in second-hand bookstores only after diligent search.

Now, to the great potential enjoyment of those who like to kid themselves that politicians were much more villainous than they are today, it has been reissued with a charming 50-page introduction by Roy V. Peel, a master politician, in a way, in his own right. Mr. Peel spent many years in New York where he taught government and was a prominent leader in the Fusion movement which elected Fiorello LaGuardia mayor. During those years he visited over a thousand political clubs and became intimately acquainted with hundreds of politicians, great and small.

What Mr. Peel has to say provides an appropriate setting and well informed comment but he tends to encourage the prevalent belief that the breed of politician represented by Plunkitt is extinct. And he is, pretty largely, if one thinks only of the kind-hearted, humorous gentle grafter and not of the relatively well educated boss of today who still in all too many places manages to get very rich and rarely goes to prison for it.

A. W.

Treasury Department. A Report to the Congress. Washington, D. C., The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, 1949. 40 pp. 15 cents.

The Hoover Commission recognizes that the organization and methods of the Treasury Department have become archaic over the years and that the department no longer fulfills its historic role of being the central finance agency of the government.

In order to remedy this situation the commission recommends that certain nonfiscal activities of the Treasury Department should be transferred elsewhere. For example, the Bureau of Federal Supply should go to the proposed Office of General Services, the United States Coast Guard to the Department of Commerce and the Bureau of Narcotics to the Department of Justice.

The commission proposes that the

accounting work of the Treasury be strengthened and systematized by setting up a new office of Accountant General. It also suggests that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Export-Import Bank and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, now operating as independent agencies, be placed under the supervision of the Secretary of the Treasury.

With these transfers and additions, the commission recommends that the Treasury Department be thoroughly reorganized along functional lines in keeping with its major purpose. Aside from the usual departmental services, a consolidated Revenue Service, embodying both internal revenue and customs, is suggested. The existing Fiscal Service is to be continued and expanded to include the Mint, Engraving and Printing, and Secret Service. A Banking and International Finance Service is to be set up, including a National Monetary and Credit Council (new) and the Comptroller of the Currency. The Accountant General is to head a new Accounting Service which would integrate the general accounting activities of the Treasury. An Office of Liquidation is to be set up to wind up the financial affairs of the inactive lending agencies of the government.

A. E. BUCK

Institute of Public Administration

You Are Democracy. A Handbook for Des Moines Citizens. Des Moines, League of Women Voters and Junior League, 1948. 96 pp.

Another fine local citizens' manual of government, describing in readable and illustrated fashion the local political mechanism in simple terms suitable for eighth grade school children and laymen. At the point where the text books necessarily get general and vague, such contributions fill out the picture admirably.

Comparative Local Government. By G. Montagu Harris. London, Hutchinson's University Library, 1948. 207 pp. 7/6.

A handy manual, by the president of the International Union of Local Authorities, comparing local government in all lands, office by office and function by function. The American references seem accurate and complete.

Metropolitan County. A Survey of Government in the Birmingham Area.[1] By Weldon Cooper. University, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. viii, 165 pp.

A comprehensive survey of all the governmental functions and problems of an area with one big city, one small one and several little communities by a high grade official commission, leading to bold proposals for city-county consolidation and a governing board of nine with a city-county manager. Constitutional amendments to make the project legally possible were, however, voted down November 2, 1948. The book with its large readable pages and orderly objective handling is a model for such studies anywhere.

The Legislative Process in Alabama. By Hallie Farmer. University, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. x, 353 pp.

A cool authoritative analysis of the mediocre law-making machinery of Alabama in the hands of undistinguished purposeless individuals under scant public scrutiny! The ray of light in the gloom is that a Legislative Council and a Legislative Reference Library were established in 1945. The analysis is of deadly competency, the author having watched the process at close range for fifteen years.

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[1] See also page 296, this issue.

Rethinking Urban Redevelopment. By Coleman Woodbury and Frederick A. Gutheim. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1949. 31 pp. $1.

This is the first of a series of pamphlets to be issued by the Urban Redevelopment Study. It is "a preliminary analysis and outline of problems and potentialities," according to the foreword of Herbert Emmerich, director of the Public Administration Clearing House. Says Mr. Emmerich, "We offer it in the hope that it will provide a useful background, stimulate further thought and action, and thus make some little contribution to what can become a most useful part of the program of making our urban and metropolitan centers into efficient, pleasant and worthy settings for the many varied activities of their citizens."

Federal Employees in War and Peace. Selection, Placement and Removal. By Frances T. Cahn. Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1949. xiii, 253 pp. $3.50.

An orderly examination of the federal civil service since 1939 with its great wartime growth and present conditions with its two million workers.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Civil Service

"According to Merit and Fitness." Civil Service Administration in the Empire State. Albany, New York State Civil Service Commission, 1949. 28 pp. illus.

State Distribution of Public Employment in 1948. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1949. 17 pp.

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Recent Council-Manager Developments and Directory of Council-Manager Cities. Chicago 37, International City Managers' Association, 1949. 24 pp. $1.

Housing

Reading List on Housing in the United States. Washington 25, D. C., Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1949. 48 pp.

Libraries

Avenues and Vistas for Bringing Library Materials to Children and Young People. Proceedings of the Section on Public Library Administration, 13th Annual Institute of Government, 1948. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with the Division of Adult Education and Extension Services. 1949. 62 pp.

Parking Meters

Parking Meters in the United States. Year Ending December 31, 1948. Canton 5, Ohio, Vehicular Parking, Ltd., 1949. 40 pp.

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A Landscape Program—Its Benefits to the Builder, Banker and Buyer. By William A. Dean. Washington 6, D.C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* April 1949. 6 pp.

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Schools

School Enrollment of the Civilian Population, October 1948. Washington

Public Library

25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1949. 10 pp.

Snow Removal

Snow and Ice Control in Cities Over 200,000 Population. Report of the APWA Committee on Street Cleaning and Snow Removal. Chicago 37, American Public Works Association, 1949. 17 pp. $1.

Taxation and Finance

Actual Problems Involved in Setting Up Local Income Tax Administration. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* February 1949. 8 pp. 25 cents.

College and University Tax and "In Lieu" Payments to Municipalities. By Roy H. Owsley and Pauline Maris Mayo. Chicago 37, American Municipal Association, 1948. 41 pp. $1.50.

Compendium of City Government Finances in 1947 (Cities Having Populations Over 25,000). By Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1949. viii, 110 pp. 45 cents.

The Effect of the Local Government Act, 1948, on the Functions of Local Authorities in Relation to Rate Collection, including Compounding and Rating of Owners. By C. D. Bailey. London, Incorporated Association of Rating and Valuation Officers, 1948. 16 pp.

The Goals of Taxation. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* January 1949. 12 pp. 25 cents.

The Oregon Withholding Tax. Chicago 37, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1949. 5 pp.

The Local Valuation Panels and Courts. By Noel A. D. Willshire. **Valuation and Rating in Scotland.** By C. H. Lockhart. London, The Incorporated Association of Rating and Valuation Officers, 1948. 20 and 15 pp. respectively.

Tort Liability

Liability in Public Recreation. By Donald B. Dyer and J. G. Lichtig. Appleton, Wisconsin, C. C. Nelson Publishing Company, 1949. 107 pp. $3.

Tourist Trade

Vacations—A Major Tennessee Industry. By George I. Whitlatch (in cooperation with Tennessee Tourist and Development Association). Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1949. 21 pp.

Traffic Safety

College and University Traffic Training. (A statement of principles to guide the development of college and university activities in the field of street and highway traffic control and safety.) By National Commission on Safety Education. Washington 6, D. C., National Education Association, 1949. 12 pp. illus. 20 cents (discounts on quantity orders).

Emily Post's Motor Manners. The Bluebook of Traffic Etiquette. Washington 4, D. C., National Highway Users Conference, Inc., 1949. 46 pp. illus. 10 cents (discounts on quantity orders).

Round-up of What's New in Traffic Safety. By Norman Damon. Chicago, Automotive Safety Foundation, 1948 26 pp.

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500 'NON-POLITICAL' ELECTIONS

(Continued from page 282)

politics as candidates or sponsors are basic necessities to wholesomeness in the political scene. When such leaders neglect the new opportunities given them by the new political conditions, they are missing an opportunity to advance their towns. There can be no safety in letting the election process go without benefit of brains and leadership.

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PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXVIII, No. 7 **Total Number 390**

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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Editorial Comment

Home-grown Totalitarianism

WHILE we become vigilant against the plotting of foreign totalitarianism here and in other countries whose freedom we want preserved, let us not remain indifferent to the home-grown destroyers of the democratic process.

These villains are not persons alone. Sometimes they are systems, laws or court precedents. But they are none the less dangerous enemies of self-government.

It should be obvious that our system permits minorities to defeat the wishes of the majority. Can we remain indifferent to this situation in the light of what minorities have done to other countries?

In recent weeks, because of the notorious rotten borough system in that state, legislative representatives of a minority in Connecticut scuttled the majority program. Regardless of the merits of the program, this was anti-democratic.

Cities of the state of Washington, in which 65 per cent of the population resides, asked the recent legislature for measures which would enable them to take responsibility for their own civil service rules, clearing of slum areas, solving of traffic problems by acquiring off-street parking areas. The bills were killed.

City government is being splintered into independent "kingdoms," as Carl H. Chatters of the American Municipal Association recently warned, by sometimes well meaning people obsessed by the urge to take their pet services "out of politics" and by public employee groups who go over the heads of local city councils to ask the state to fix their hours of work and pay.

A great variety of problems which should be handled by the regular city governments are being handled separately by special authorities, boards or commissions, sometimes to place them outside restrictive tax and debt limits.

Boston again faces the virtual certainty that well under half the voters will return notorious James M. Curley to the office of mayor simply because the opposition vote will be split among three or more candidates. A run-off or other system of voting capable of reflecting the majority undoubtedly would have saved this otherwise great city from ever having had to endure the waste and embarrassment of having such a political buccaneer at its head.

During its recent session, the Massachusetts legislature came within a few votes of taking away from several of its cities a new form of government for which their citizens had voted overwhelmingly.

These are only a few of hundreds of instances of the nullification of the democratic process. It is not only unfair. It is dangerous to permit one part of the population to keep arbitrary power by ignoring the fact that the United States no longer is predominantly rural. The roots of our self-governing system are in our communities. Continued perversion of the realities places it in constant peril.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

A Most Precious Gift To Ourselves

MANY of us do a lot of worrying these days about the future for ourselves, our families, our communities, our state, nation and world. We are concerned with the struggle between personal freedom and stateism. We eat our heart out about the atom bomb and what it might do if its forces are unleashed for evil. Some of us conclude that Communism or some other form of ism is about the worst threat that confronts our civilization.

Wise men—like General Omar S. Bradley, for example—are worried by something else. They see the gravest threat in the fact that so many well meaning Americans shirk their responsibilities as citizens.

So many of us have a lot to say about our problems—local, state and national—but when it comes to action we step back politely and bow out of the picture. We like to shoot off our mouth but not lift even a little finger to effect a remedy.

General Bradley put it this way: So many of us "are 100 per cent Americans in their daily protestations and 10 per cent citizens in their daily routine of neglect."

Some of the most menacing thinking in this field comes from the responsible merchant or manufacturer, for instance, who casually comments that he can't bother with local or national government—even when it gets very bad—"because I can make money so fast that I find it cheaper to pay the higher bill than to spend my time trying to improve the situation."

That's an obvious fallacy, of course, because when government goes from bad to worse the consequences may mean life or death, and even loss of property, to the man who believes he can get away from it all by indifference.

There is not a single problem in this community that could not be solved swiftly if most of the ablest citizens would devote even a small part of their time to civic affairs. It is true there are some who do that, but their number is rarely great enough to be effective. The same thing is true about state and national affairs as it is about local matters.

Unless the ablest of our citizens spend more time on running their government, General Bradley correctly fears, we can lose the struggle for personal freedom through default and apathy. It's a time for citizen awakening, for a new kind of civic patriotism which is of priceless potential value to our own community and to America.

Editorial, *The Herald Statesman,*
Yonkers, New York

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Everything's Changed Now

In Kansas City budgets balance, typists can type and taxes get service during ten years of good management.

By **KARL DETZER***

THE taxi driver, leaving Kansas City airport, said: "If it's fun you want, Mister, you got the wrong town. No horse parlors, no dice games, no slot machines, no fancy houses. This Cookingham's to blame. All he thinks of is bringing in new industries and things like that."

Five minutes later the driver pointed to a new building. "Some New York store called Macy's is putting nine million bucks in it. Town's lousy with new buildings. Plenty of work for everybody, but no fun. Ever know Tom Pendergast? There was a character! He was good for Kansas City. Not like Cookingham. Sure, there was lots of graft in the old days, but you could have fun, too. Now, this Mr. Cookingham. . ."

I found several other persons in Kansas City who lacked enthusiasm for L. P. Cookingham. After nearly ten years most citizens still think of him as "the new city manager." One man who complained was a gambler, long out of work. Another was a petty racketeer. Two more were old style politicians, hungrily sitting on the outside looking in. But most of Kansas City's 450,000 people approve so heartily of Cookingham that after a decade of "no fun" they fight every attempt by some other city to lure him away.

Cookingham denies that he is responsible for the aura of virtue around the 29-story city hall which Boss Tom Pendergast built just before the federal government sent him to prison. The council and the mayor, Cookingham says, deserve the credit. They, in turn, are willing to let him have it.

"Cookie's got what it takes," one councilman explained. "Naturally we back him up. He has ideas and he has guts and that's what it takes in Kansas City."

Ten years ago, after fourteen years of free-for-all corruption such as few American cities have ever known, Kansas City elected a council of Republicans and non-machine Democrats who threw the plunder boys out of the city hall. Many citizens thought then that good government would come automatically, but they soon discovered that a show of hands in favor of civic virtue was not enough. Kansas City needed an expert clean-up man.

The city's credit was ruined. Its bonds were about to be defaulted. Its public records were scrambled, its payrolls padded.

Council members, searching diligently for someone capable of unscrambling the municipal mess, remembered an article[1] about a man named Cookingham who was doing a spectacular job managing Saginaw,

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*Mr. Detzer, author, screen playwriter and newspaper publisher, is roving editor of *The Reader's Digest.*

[1] See "Meet Mr. Cookingham," *The Reader's Digest,* November 1938.

Michigan. They wrote to him. But theirs was only one of hundreds of letters he received from worried citizens from coast to coast and Cookingham was slow to reply. So a delegation flew to Saginaw to look him over.

They found a lean, energetic man of 43 with an eye for budget figures and a nose that was forever sniffing into the darker corners of city administration. For nearly twenty years, ever since he had won his night school diploma in engineering after service in World War I, he had been building streets, sewers and water plants, balancing budgets, firing incompetents, managing small towns, dealing with voters and politicians. Almost before he knew it, Kansas City hired him.

Finds a Sick Town

Arriving there, he took a long look at the municipal scene, totted up some figures and reported in a loud voice to the taxpayers just what he found. Suits were pending or judgments had been rendered against the city for nearly $7,500,000 for employees' back pay, materials and supplies. The past year had left a deficit of $2,733,000 in operating funds. Unpaid garbage collection bills of $230,000 and street lighting bills of $420,000 stared the city in the face. Millions collected from the taxpayers had gone down the sewer of dirty politics. Kansas City was a very sick town.

The first place Cookingham investigated was the water department. There were 862 names on the payroll, not half that many jobs. Within two years he had got rid of 500 excess employees, had the department running more efficiently. This not only saved half a million dollars a year formerly paid to political hacks but it gave the employees who remained a chance to be of genuine service to the people.

For example, Cookingham found that the average citizen, going to the water department with a complaint or a request, had to wait an average of 40 minutes while inept clerks pawed through antique filing systems, hunting the citizen's name. Today it takes something like 40 seconds for the vastly reduced staff to find a name on the books.

Among the water expenditures was an annual fee paid to a local "engineering" corporation, made up of political insiders, to hunt leaks in the water mains. In eight years this group had pocketed $500,000 of city funds. The contract was cancelled. Now the regular repair crews find plenty of time between construction jobs, and at no extra cost, to check on leaks and keep them in hand.

The farther the long, inquisitive Cookingham nose poked into the water department, the stronger the odor of corruption became. In 1922 the voters had bonded the city for $11,000,000 for new waterworks and had set up a sinking fund to pay off this indebtedness out of profits by 1942. Cookingham found only $25,000 in this fund.

Cookingham and the council refunded the debt and in eight years the city had not only paid off $3,500,000 on the bonds but had spent $3,800,000 on improvements, all out of honestly administered water profits.

Whenever any group or faction attempted political pressure to cramp Cookingham's style, the mayor and council, to a man, battled for their new manager. With the assistance of the city council, which backed the manager to the hilt, Cookingham went through department after department, abolished hundreds of nonessential offices, dismissed worthless employees, kept honest ones.

He put modern accounting systems into the offices, modern engineering practices into public works. He maintains a never-ending system of auditing the books to make sure that politics does not take its toll. He insists that to remain on the payroll a typist must know how to type and a bookkeeper has to understand bookkeeping.

Business leaders were enthusiastic for the most part but the rank and file of voters remained apathetic. How would one go about getting a traffic ticket fixed or finding a job for a deserving nephew, now that civic virtue sat in the city hall? Cookingham had known enough voters in other towns to sense what was lacking.

"It's like this," he explained to the city council. "In the old days the plain citizen had someone to turn to with his little personal problems. That someone was the precinct captain or the district leader, and he was a very busy boy indeed.

"Maybe he was honest, maybe not. At least he was a human being —not just a cold efficiency system in the city hall. This fellow probably didn't know anything about efficiency and he cared less. But he did favors for a lot of people and, when election day came, they did favors for him. Our job now is to find an honest substitute for the precinct politician."

New Role for Welfare

Fortunately the Kansas City charter offered a simple and workable solution to this problem in its department of public welfare.

In Missouri the state handles direct relief and the municipal welfare department is responsible for prisons and paroles, public markets, city hospitals, mental investigations, legal aid to the poor and recreation.

"Our welfare workers will take the places of the old precinct captains," Cookingham explained to the council. "They'll be our direct contact with the people. They must be smart, energetic and honest. I don't want a lot of cold-fish case workers, either. We must have warm, friendly workers who not only know their jobs but also know what makes people tick."

To head the department he appointed not a sociologist but an enthusiastic young economist named Hayes Richardson. Dr. Richardson not only knew how to be helpful, he knew how to keep his budget balanced. The new director found his department a cesspool of crooked inefficiency. The city prisons for men and women were dirty beyond belief, evil in influence, much too costly. They had been milked dry by the "old gang" of politicians, were unsafe and unfit places to keep human beings.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

The prison farm was a wasted shambles. Prisoners idled out their terms in nauseous cells while hired help—of the proper political complexion—did what little work was done. With hundreds of acres of fertile, municipally owned fields lying unworked, the city bought canned vegetables for the prisoners all the year around. It was an open secret that such vegetables as were raised on the farm went to certain favored restaurants. But if they paid for them the city's accounts never disclosed the fact.

"Make the prisons self-supporting and the prisoners self-respecting," Cookingham ordered.

Prison Cleanup

Richardson began to plug the thousands of leaks. Prisoners scraped and shoveled tons of dirt out of cells and corridors, and patched broken walls.

The city had been paying an average of $12,000 a year to a private contractor to pick up and dispose of garbage from city hospitals and refuse from vegetable stalls at the markets. Cookingham cancelled this contract, and prisoners now haul the garbage to the prison farm where a huge pressure cooker converts it into food for stock. The city bought a few pigs, cows and chickens. Garbage disposal became a fattening operation. There are now 1,000 hogs on the farm, 6,000 chickens and 42 cows.

A modern canning plant, operated by prisoners, puts up tens of thousands of tins of home grown vegetables each summer. Prisoners eat plenty of pork, hospital patients get milk and eggs, and last year the city took in $59,000 from its municipal farm. "Just as important as the financial saving," Cookingham points out, "is the fact that prisoners don't just sit around and mope. They have a chance to regain their self-respect."

The city market had for years been a heavy drain on finances. Improved business methods make it not only self-sustaining but yield enough profit to help operate other phases of the welfare department, including 47 new playgrounds.

Besides, there are eight full-time and fourteen part-time civic centers, twelve dance centers, nine day camps for boys and girls, eight units of a thriving children's theater. Thousands of the city's oldsters have joined municipal square-dancing clubs which meet in free recreation halls. Three hundred baseball and softball teams, sixteen football teams and 180 basketball teams are sponsored and supervised by welfare workers. Bands, orchestra and choruses under direction of the department last year gave 150 public concerts.

The welfare workers spend their days and nights "out in the precincts," just as the old-time politicians did. But instead of helping out people only after they have got into trouble, these workers help them keep out of trouble and at the same time help them have a good time.

Big graft was not difficult to spot; it was petty larceny on a big scale which was difficult to overcome. The fire department was the scene of

(Continued on page 338)

Economic Study Pays Off

Instead of putting report on shelf, Milwaukee follows its recommendations and boosts city license revenues.

By BRUNO V. BITKER and WILLIAM L. SLAYTON*

HARDLY a city in the United States lacks its collection of dust covered plans and reports, many of them well done and with worthy recommendations. But because of lethargy, procrastination or political opposition they were not put into effect. Their non-use is a shocking waste. If American cities were to spend a tenth of the time employed in preparing plans and reports on carrying them into effect they would be much further ahead.

A refreshing reversal of this practice is the use made of the *Report of the Commission on the Economic Study of Milwaukee*. This report, too, could have been filed away to collect dust, read only by Milwaukee historians and those collecting data on Milwaukee's economic status. The contrary, however, has been true. The report has been accepted as a guide on fiscal policies and, in the six months since publication, it has already had a decided effect upon city actions.

The report was the idea of Mayor Frank P. Zeidler, who realized shortly after his election in April 1948 that his largest headache would be the effect of inflation on the city's finances. To solve this problem, he appointed the Commission on the Economic Study of Milwaukee to discover the facts and provide the answers.

The commission consisted of the chairman, Bruno V. Bitker, local attorney and former head of OPA in the Milwaukee area; J. Martin Klotsche, president of the Milwaukee State Teachers' College; Walter E. Rilling, business manager for Milwaukee's public schools; George C. Saffran, director of Milwaukee's budget bureau, and William L. Slayton, at that time Milwaukee's municipal reference librarian.

The commission soon realized the magnitude of the problem. In its discussions more and more questions were raised, the answers to which would be necessary before the major question of inflation could be answered. It soon became apparent that the commission could not itself perform the research or compile the necessary statistics if it were to do its job properly.

The commission had to turn to outside sources for help and it was only logical to call upon the University of Wisconsin for aid. Dr. Harold M. Groves, professor of economics at the university and a well known authority on public finance, expressed keen interest in the project and offered to supervise the necessary research as a civic contribution. He assigned four of his graduate students in economics to the project. They spent their entire summer in Milwaukee, working day and night, Sundays and holidays, gathering and compiling the necessary material.

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*Mr. Bitker, an attorney, was chairman of the Commission on the Economic Study of Milwaukee, whose report is discussed here. He is a member of the Governor's Commission on Human Rights and the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations and has served on numerous other bodies including the Milwaukee Sewerage Commission and the Mayor's Committee on Living Costs and Food Conservation. Mr. Slayton, formerly Milwaukee's municipal reference librarian, was also a member of the commission. He is now associate director of the Urban Redevelopment Study at the Public Administration Clearing House in Chicago.

The mayor was anxious to have the report before adoption of the budget late in November and speed, therefore, was essential. Because of its urgency a job which should have taken a year or two was condensed into four months. The report was released the latter part of October.

Reaction was amazing. Both local newspapers devoted an unusual amount of space to a discussion of the findings and all public officials were unanimous in their praise of the report's value. It has become the standard by which all proposals are measured. "What does the ESOM," as it has been abbreviated, "say about it?" is a common question.

Commission's Report

No particular section of the report is in itself unusual. The report combines new material with elements of reports previously made but nowhere assembled. It presents a comprehensive rather than a piecemeal picture. It has become "the source" for information.

First is a report of the commission itself with specific recommendations. These are based upon the findings and recommendations of the research staff. The rest of the report is the staff's.

It begins with a review of the plight of the American cities, an excellent summary of the problems facing all municipalities. This is followed by a study of Milwaukee's economic base which discloses the foundation upon which the city rests its financial requirements and indicates the direction in which the city is moving. The next part analyzes current income and suggests possible increases in existing sources of revenue as well as proposals for new ones. The fifth section discusses operating expenses and permanent improvement requirements. It is followed by a chapter on the city's policy of capital financing and by another on government simplification.

A closing chapter, "Major Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations," contains 45 summaries of the detailed studies of the research staff.

Fiscal Recommendations

The city has paid greatest heed to the commission's recommendations concerning fiscal policy. One point on which the commission took a strong stand was the increase in tavern licenses. Milwaukee's fees were far below the permissible maximum as well as much lower than in cities of comparable size. The commission recommended increasing the fees to the maximum of $600 from the existing rate of $200. Shortly after the report was published such a proposal was made in the common council. The council compromised by increasing tavern licenses to $400. Additional income amounted to $500,000.

The commission also recommended increases in certain other permit and license fees. The revenue from these fees did not begin to cover the cost to the city of supplying the services for which they were issued. The council accepted these recommendations and increased such fees to a point where income was $100,000 greater.

Three of the new sources of revenue proposed by the commission are still under consideration by the common council. One is an admissions tax for which an ordinance was introduced. The second was a sewer service charge. Both of these suggestions have created some controversy.

The report asserted that the most logical source of additional revenue was a city income tax. The commission recommended its consideration as a just method of supplementing the general property tax, since it is deemed the most equitable means of reaching those who use the city's facilities continuously and directly but who avoid the burden of supporting them by living outside the corporate limits.

Unfortunately, the 1947 legislature prohibited Milwaukee from making use of this source of revenue and the present legislature has again refused to permit Milwaukee to do so. The failure of the legislature to open this door was due in great measure to the failure of many groups to appreciate the benefits which the city would derive from such a tax and, particularly, to recognize the fairness of the tax. The report, however, at least provided the impetus in getting the city to seek repeal of the prohibition.

As a long term, capital improvement plan, the commission urged that certain essential and critical major improvement requirements be fulfilled. It recommended that the amount allocated for permanent improvements in the budget for 1949 be set at $10,000,000. In fact it was fixed at $9,530,000. This brought the total sum available for permanent improvements as of January 1, 1949, to over $41,000,000.

The principal problem in capital planning is that of priority among the projects. The economic report suggested a set of priority criteria. Although no actual standards have been adopted it is significant that the city's long term improvement program technical committee has appointed as coordinator the member of the economic commission's research staff who prepared the suggested set of standards. The technical committee is now getting in touch with all city departments in an attempt to coordinate and schedule the projects.

Administrative Recommendations

The economic commission pointed out that its report did not purport to analyze the administrative efficiency of the city's government. Except for occasional spot checks of particular services, no attempt had been made to survey administratively the whole of the local government since 1913. Accordingly, the commission recommended that a comprehensive administrative survey be undertaken.

Pursuant to that recommendation the common council appropriated $50,000 and employed the firm of Griffenhagen and Associates to undertake such a survey. It is now

PERIODICAL DEPT.

in progress. If all the other results of the economic report are discounted, this particular one will have more than justified the time, effort and money that went into the economic study.

The commission also felt it was essential for the city to permit establishment of additional housing and businesses within the city's limits. Accordingly, it recommended a continued program of annexation to acquire the necessary space. This is being carried on vigorously.

In addition to the usual program of annexation, the city has recently appropriated $25,000 for the specific purpose of acquiring options on tracts of outlying land for resale to private builders for either large scale housing projects or industrial developments. This land lies outside the city and after purchase will be annexed. The idea is to enable the city to concentrate its utility installations and improvements in certain areas so as to: (1) direct the growth of the city, (2) obtain the greatest use of the improvements it must provide, and (3) create neighborhood communities rather than the usual suburban sprawl.

Harbor Development

Development of Milwaukee's harbor was another recommendation of the commission and, in the nationwide competition for industry, Milwaukee is fully exploiting its natural harbor. For example, the common council recently appropriated an additional $60,000 to purchase a new 75-ton crane lift to help handle heavy equipment which is being shipped directly to European and Caribbean points from the port of Milwaukee. When completed it will be the heaviest lift on the Great Lakes.

The commission also recommended installing parking meters. This was considered desirable not because of the income but for the purpose of regulating parking. The common council gave favorable consideration to this proposal and, subject to passage of enabling legislation, 1,000 meters will be installed.

The report contained a brief section on the acquisition of public utilities. It pointed out the advantages to a municipally owned utility accruing from the preferential treatment under the state and federal income tax laws. The commission suggested that a detailed study of the subject be undertaken.

At this time the only steps taken in that direction are toward creation of a transit authority which would be empowered to operate the public transportation system not only in Milwaukee County but in the counties adjacent to the west and to the north. A bill covering the proposed transit authority is pending before the state legislative committee.

This makes an impressive list of projects adopted by the city at the suggestion of the *Report of the Commission on the Economic Study of Milwaukee*. It is always hard to determine, of course, how influential such a report is in the adoption of specific measures, since one can always claim that certain projects would have been adopted even though the report had not been issued. Then, too, some projects were under con-

(Continued on page 338)

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We Must Keep Ballot Short

Survey shows that ticket makers step in to 'help' in cities where voter must vote for nine for city council.

By RICHARD S. CHILDS*

WHEN an American voter faces a partisan ballot of, say, 40 offices, he puts an x in the Republican—or the Democratic—circle at the top of the party column, thus voting for several candidates he knows something about and 35 more whom he knows so little about that the printer could have put the names in the wrong column without his detecting the error. Hence the power of the party machine, the boss and the general dominance of professional ticket makers.

The short ballot doctrine calls for making minor offices appointive and getting the ballot down to not over five offices at any one time and place, five, according to classic opinion, being about as many candidates as a voter will select for himself without becoming blindly dependent on ready made tickets prepared for him by interested leaders.

From the beginning the short ballot principle was advanced as an essential factor in the council-manager plan; in fact, the latter was first advanced as an application of the former. So the early council-manager charters provided for councils of five members elected at large. In most of the cities where the councils have been made larger than five proportional representation was adopted or terms were rotated or some members were chosen from wards, so that now, in fifty such cities of over 10,000 with councils of from nine to twenty, the ballot is in practically every case not over five.[1]

The purpose of this article is to examine the experience in Fort Worth, Dallas, Long Beach (California) and Sacramento, the four council-manager cities which have been for some years off the rails of the original concept by providing for councils of nine elected at large at one time on nonpartisan ballots.[2]

When the typical voter in these cities has faced the alphabetical list of candidates on the ballot with no party labels to guide him and the injunction to "Vote for Nine," did he have nine opinions of his own to express? Or did he, in fact, characteristically, accept proffers of complete tickets or slates, vote a straight ticket and let his power gravitate into the hands of interested ticket makers? Did candidates who were unable to get on such a ticket have much chance for election?

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[1] Cities using proportional representation for election of nine council members at large are Cincinnati, Toledo, Cambridge, Lowell and Wheeling. Other cities electing nine at large not discussed here are Richmond, which held its first election under its new charter in 1948; Hartford which elects nine at large at one time but each voter may vote for only six; Elizabeth City (North Carolina) which elects mayor and eight councilmen at large at one time. Villages and towns, which supposedly have less difficulty in handling long ballots, are also not examined here.

[2] Councils of seven elected at large at one time on nonpartisan ballots exist in numerous council-manager cities.

Now tickets are not objectionable and will exist and ought to exist as features of natural leadership. As in a social club, there may properly be a nominating committee to interview logical candidates, ask them to serve, obtain their consent and sponsor their candidacy. The best citizens are properly reluctant to seek the post unasked or to advance their own claims to consideration.

The shortest ballot still requires such a nominating function for best results and in Dayton, with only three or two to elect each biennium, at least one citizens' committee has sponsored candidates every time. But when the citizens of Dayton follow, as they almost always do, the recommendations of their principal civic group, it is with a concentrated and ample scrutiny of the tiny list and the citizens' committee must cater carefully.[8]

Such scrutiny is diluted when the voter must vote for nine and some of the nine must be mere names to many voters, requiring a pocket list, homemade or ready-made, to avert errors of recollection during the hurried moments in the voting booth.

So goes the theory!

The narratives which follow are based primarily on the news story reporting each election on the following day in the leading local daily. Quotations not otherwise attributed are from those news stories. In watching for the influence of tickets and ticket makers, observe that sometimes the nine incumbents ran as a group for reelection and constituted in effect a mutually sustaining ticket in addition to those groupings of candidates identified with sponsoring organizations. Incumbents were frequently persons who had entered the council by co-option to fill vacancies created by resignation or death.

To easterners, to whom nonpartisan ballots are less familiar, the failure of the local Democratic or Republican city committees to throw their weight, covertly or otherwise, will seem astonishing; the full news accounts of the elections in only two cases mention activity by the local wings of the national parties!

What Is Experience?

And now see the part which tickets played in these elections and how often they went intact to victory or defeat by similar votes for each candidate thereon!

Fort Worth, Texas. Population in 1926, 106,000; now 268,000. In 1924 the treasury was empty and payrolls were in arrears, resulting in adoption of the council-manager plan in December of that year.

1925. Council of nine elected, consisting entirely of successful businessmen, all but one selected by the *Citizens Association* that had procured adoption of the charter. Candidates ran for Place Number 1, Place Number 2, etc.; six had one opponent each, three had none. The first manager collected $729,000 in delinquent taxes, cut expenditure for supplies by 10 to 20 per cent by centralized purchasing, and secured better paving at 20 per cent less cost.

1927. *Incumbents* all reelected. Five were unopposed; one, the mayor, barely won, 6,513 to 6,340.

1929. *Incumbents* reelected without opposition with only 700 perfunctory votes cast. Some of the nine members had entered the council by appointment by the remaining members to fill vacancies.

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[8] See "It's a Habit Now in Dayton," National Municipal Review, September 1948.

1931. *Incumbents* reelected without opposition, a few more than 700 votes (out of 34,400 eligible) being cast.

1933. Three or two candidates for each of the nine places. Eight *incumbents* were reelected against opposition of *Citizens Ticket* and *People's Ticket* and two *independents.* One man endorsed by both tickets beat out an incumbent. The *Telegram* in the neighboring city of Temple said editorially: "The men who were elected again are successful businessmen, all of high standing."

1935. Six candidates drafted by the *Good Government League* (friends of the charter) were elected and three of a new group called *People's Progressive League.* One incumbent was unopposed; the others had two or one opponents. The new council included seven *incumbents.* Two were elected on reckless promises of cheap gas, cheap electric lights and lower carfare.

1937. "*People's Progressive League* wrested control of the city council from the *Good Government League,* taking six of the eight contested places and unseating five incumbents. One man was endorsed by both groups and had no opposition. . . . Progressives waged their campaign on an eight-plank platform including a demand for a five cent bus fare and substantial reductions in utility rates."

George D. Fairtrace, city manager for six years, was promptly ousted. In August another city manager was ousted by five votes including those of the Good Government League members, "after he refused to recommend the reappointment of R. E. Rover as city attorney."

Recall Elections

In December 1937 a recall election altered the balance of the council, which thereafter numbered four *Progressive Leaguers,* four *Good Government Leaguers* and the mayor who was entreated by a councilman "to join with Progressive League councilmen in voting to put future recall balloting on a *party* basis. . . . He argued that there were 'parties' in city politics and that last Friday's election was a travesty and a hoax." Council wrangles became incessant and resignations brought the council for a time down to five members.

In February 1938 deadlocks in the council and "continued turmoil since last April" were advanced as reasons for a short lived effort by a *Women's Patriotic Association* to get up a mass meeting and petition for reversion to the commission plan.

1938. In July a *Citizens Recall Committee,* making a more determined effort than the one the previous December, filed petitions for the recall of five councilmen and succeeded by a heavy vote, replacing them with a majority "pledged to non-interference with the manager . . . a good sound council." The new council members in a caucus voted "to function as originally intended under the new city manager form."

1939. About 11,000 voters turned out and reelected all nine members of the council supported by *Council Reelection Committee* "to keep the politicians out of city hall," overwhelming one to three opponents for each place described as representing the Davis *ticket,* the Crowley *ticket;* also A. J. Lee, "the only *independent* in the field."

The "chairman of the Council Reelection organization said . . . our citizens were appreciative of the splendid record made by our council in the eight months they have been in office."

1941. "City council gained a new member in a mild election that offered a sharp contrast to turbulent recalls and strong opposition tickets of recent years. H. Malvern Marks, Jr., an *'independent,'* nudged out incumbent A. B. Smith by 151 votes for the only contested post. . . . Only 2,413 votes were cast in contrast to the 1939 election that offered two complete *tickets* and drew 11,229 people to the polls."

1943. All *incumbents* reelected unopposed; 724 votes cast.

1945. A *Citizens Ticket* opposed the *incumbents* for eight of the nine places. No independents ran. All *incumbents* were reelected with votes of 6,300 to 7,210 over *Citizen Ticket* candidates whose votes ran from 3,805 to 4,655. It was noted that only in a certain twelve of the 79 ballot boxes "the voters showed a disposition to split the tickets widely giving majorities to some candidates from each group."

1947. Nine *incumbents* reelected including Marks, the independent of 1941, only four being opposed; 4,000 votes cast.

1949. The *Greater Fort Worth ticket*

brought five new faces into the council; 18,039 votes cast. For one of the nine places this ticket made no endorsement but won the other eight over four other *tickets* (not all complete) by 15 to 25 per cent margins over the next best *Independent Voters Committee* candidates.

The story of Dallas is closely parallel except that the raiders lasted two terms.

DALLAS, TEXAS, population 294,000, elects to nine places. Places 1 to 6 are in six wards but candidates are selected by the voters at large. The two highest candidates in each ward in the primary go to the final election. Places 7, 8 and 9 are nominated and voted upon at large in the primary and if a candidate for any of these gets a majority, he need not run again in the finals.

1931. "*Charter Slate* Wins Election with Big Vote." "The *Citizens Charter Association ticket* for members of the first city council under the city manager plan of government were swept into office by majorities that almost approached unanimity." Light vote. Result conceded in advance. Winners 10,050 to 8,560; next highest 1,203; fifteen candidates.

The Charter Association had had long battle to secure the charter, using the initiative to pass 39 amendments, two to one. "Each of the nine men elected was drafted after the hardest effort on the part of the association leaders and their friends, agreeing to serve only through a sense of civic duty." "Efforts of the old line politicians to nominate a *ticket* against the charter group failed after numerous caucuses had been held, with most of the men sought to be nominated in opposition declaring their allegiance to the *charter's slate*. A unique feature of the campaign was the fact that none of the charter candidates made a speech nor any promise. . . . The Charter Association did not issue a platform."

1933. "Council Reelected on Majority Vote without Runoff." Eight *incumbents* and one new *Charter Association* replacement of an incumbent who refused renomination; 35 candidates. Opposition by *Home Government Association, Progressive Voters League,* and *Socialist party.* Opposition stressed failure to lower utility rates and employment of City Manager John N. Edy. "Mr. Edy was charged with hardness of heart, discourtesy, the fact that he is not a native of Dallas and that he received $16,500 salary. The 26 opposition candidates were agreed on one thing—that they would 'get rid of Edy' as their first official act." Former Mayor Tate and three others ran independently and got light vote.

1935. "*Civic Ticket* Runs Away with Election; Edy Quits Today. Complete Change in City Council is Dictum of Voters." Nine candidates of a *new group* called *Citizens Civic Association* won each of the nine places in the primary election over *Citizens Charter Association* candidates. Forty-five per cent voted three to two. Charter group and Edy, city manager for four years, showed balanced budget and depression economies in contrast to prior deficits. "Opposition kept its movements clothed in secrecy for the most part; promised repeal of new sewer tax." Civic candidates 11,952 to 10,550; Charter 9,734 to 7,723. Charter forces did not take alarm until near end of campaign.

1937. Primary election: "*Charter* and *Forward Dallas* Candidates Go into Runoff." Forty-four candidates, five for each of eight places and four for the ninth. *Citizens Charter Association* candidates led five of the groups; *Forward Dallas Association—Legion of Honor,* four. *Utility Rate Reduction League* got no places in the runoff. Light vote. The *All Dallas Association* and the *Dallas Democratic Association* also endorsed candidates. Only one candidate had endorsement of two groups.

Voters Seek Help

"Election judges caught many voters trying to enter the voting machine enclosures with cards bearing the names of candidates used in guiding them. . . . Whenever these cards were seen they were confiscated." [!] "A few voters came to polls and asked officials to tell them the names of candidates on a certain ticket so they could vote for them. . . . This wish was not complied with."

Editorial: "The implication is clear that Dallas is best satisfied with the efforts of the mayor and P. M. Brinker as a minority to close the city against the invasion of the gambler, the bookie, the slot machine and street solicitation. The responsibility of a majority of the

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present council for existing unsatisfactory conditions cannot be evaded."

Runoff Election. "Five *Forward Dallas* and Four *Charter* Candidates Elected." Seven incumbents including the mayor. Thirty per cent voted. "A determined fight likely will be made to unseat City Manager Moseley by leaders in the *Forward Dallas—Legion of Honor* organization." "A large number of cards bearing names of candidates were taken up by judges. Proponents of the *Forward—Legion* organization had distributed thousands of these cards and other devices to help people *vote that ticket straight.*" Both the *Charter* and the *Forward—Legion* received support from the *Utility Rate Reduction League* and the *All Dallas Association,* but the *Dallas Democratic Association* members will begin a campaign for a referendum to revert to the commission or aldermanic form of government soon."

Editorial: "While the belligerent opponents of organized vice hold only four of the nine places on the council, they should have a more effective voice than during the last two years, when they could count regularly on only two votes."

1939. "Smashing Win Puts All *Charter* Candidates on Council." Thirty-three candidates, three or four for each place, all but five described as *"Charter," "Non-Partisan"* or *"Progressive."* Only one incumbent ran. No runoff needed. Candidates of the *Citizens Non-Partisan Association* took second place in all the council races but one. Lethargic campaign until *Non-Partisans* "began charging that the *Citizens Charter ticket* was banker-inspired and banker-controlled." The *Progressive Civic Association* "wanted a full-time mayor and councilmen elected by districts instead of from the entire city." City Manager Moseley "openly was marked for dismissal by the *Progressives*" and the *Non-Partisans* promised to oust him also. Second high man, W. B. Johnson, "was one of the charter candidates attacked by the *Non-Partisan* campaign speakers for alleged banker connections."

Editorial praised "the exceptional strength of the group of representative citizens named to the council places, the united support of the daily newspapers of Dallas, the constructive program."

1941. "Mayor and Council Reelected by Overwhelming Vote."

1943. "Dallas's Quietest Election Returns Council to Office." No opposition except a few odd write-in-votes!

1945. All *incumbents* reelected without opposition.

1947. In the primary two *Citizens Charter Association* candidates got a majority. Other seven went to runoff against *All Dallas, G. I.* and *Veterans party.* Forty-six candidates of five parties and one independent. The *All Dallas* seven faced the *Charter* seven for the runoff.

Runoff Election. Six out of the seven remaining *Charter* candidates were elected. "Dallas voters Tuesday *returned the Citizens Charter Association to power.*"

1949. "Charter Slate Wins All Nine Council Jobs." Votes ranged from 13,285 to 15,527 for *Charter* candidates, the three other candidates for each place getting from 7,344 down, and representing three other parties, namely *Dallas County Democratic Association* (frankly partisan), *Dallas Voters Association* and the *Change the Charter Association.* Two *independents* polled 1,916 and 1,254 votes. A *Times Herald* editorial referring to the appearance of the *Democratic Association* said, "For the first time in nearly 30 years, an effort to inject national politics into the city government is being made."

Two California Cities

LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA, population 241,000. A similar chronology (which we condense) begins in 1921, with the election of the whole *ticket* of the group which had promoted the council-manager charter. In 1924 all *incumbents* who desired it were reelected by long leads. In 1927 a new group, the *Straight-Eight Ticket,* captured the city hall and their conduct led to their ousting by recall two years later. In 1930 a man who "was on none of the political *tickets*" won "as an *independent*" and with the others made a "good council" which withstood a recall attempt in 1932. In 1933, four incumbents, four opponents on a *United Citizens* ticket and an independent were elected and all were recalled next year and replaced with civic leaders who withstood a recall, three to one, the following year.

At that election, recalls and efforts to switch to other types of charter having been too frequent, the process of stirring up such attacks by small petitions was made less easy by charter amendment.

In 1936 *incumbents* were easily reelected but in 1939 they were ousted, the manager was fired, and a *Solid Five* councilmen, who had campaigned together, won and won again in 1942 and 1945. Change of districts brought a special election in 1947 when the *Solid Five* were defeated by the revived *Citizens Charter Committee* whose *ticket* was reelected in 1948.

Long Beach has resort town problems which are reflected in the political turmoil yet the charter survived several attacks and its friends won eight of the fifteen elections.

Sacramento, California, population 120,000, puts *incumbents,* labelled as such, at the top of its nonpartisan ballot, so that they have frequently constituted in effect a *ticket.* Here is a condensed story. 1921: the freeholders who had drawn the charter elected four of the nine under proportional representation, which was declared unconstitutional before the next election. 1923 saw in the field two full *tickets* sponsored by the *Civic League* and *Good Government League* respectively and two partial tickets. The *Civic League,* friends of the charter, won eight of the nine places and in 1925 won seven.

Then in 1927 came a successful raid, the *People's Ticket* winning five places and trying vainly for two years to oust a well regarded manager who, under an unorthodox provision in the charter, could only be removed by six votes. He stuck unhappily to his post amid disorder for the next two years.

In 1929 a *Unity League* ticket, heir of the *Civic League* and friends of the charter, elected seven. In 1931, 1933, 1935 and 1937, nine *incumbents,* including some mid-term replacements, were reelected, always with *Unity League* backing. In 1939 eight *incumbents* and one *independent* were elected. In 1941 seven *incumbents* were elected and the same thing happened in 1943, although the *Unity League* had folded up. In 1945 eight *incumbents* won and five won in 1947.

A story of good government interrupted only once in 26 years!

Summary

Obviously candidates who campaign as a group with organized backing may thereby improve their chances over individuals running alone; this is true even under the very short ballot of Dayton.

Is it too invariably true when the voter must "vote for nine"?

The evidence demonstrates that tickets were a feature of the scene; when the voters did get along without them it was usually because the group of incumbents running for reelection constituted a ticket automatically. Of 477 posts—53 elections[4] for nine offices—persons significantly called *independents* did get some but their percentage was no more than 2 per cent if *incumbents* be counted as being on *tickets.*

If terms had been rotated in these four cities, so that ballots read "Vote for Five" (or "Four"), the ticket makers would have had less docile followings and wider variances between the votes cast for their lists. The universality of tickets and their success in these elections is in marked contrast to the record of sponsored organized tickets in a certain 500 elections in 48 cities with shorter ballots under otherwise identical conditions, for in about half of those cities there were never any sponsored tickets at all.[5]

The one true civic group in each city found it feasible and necessary to provide leadership and that leadership was successful most of the time. But each city was the scene of frequent assaults by elements which had been thus kept out of city

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[4] Including several partial recall elections.

[5] See "500 Non-political Elections," the Review, June 1949, page 278.

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hall, masquerading under pious civic names; it might pay to be ticket makers! Some of these assaults may have reflected a failure of the civic group to cater diligently enough to other decent groups of diverse social and economic standing when making up tickets.

Civic ticket makers are, to be sure, a vast improvement over party machines. Parties have to admit all comers to their ranks and to their captaincies. Sugar attracts flies and a political party possessing the sugar has no means whatever of protecting itself against invasion and contamination by self-seekers. But civic groups, to which admittance is by favor, can protect their own integrity and character and can hand the torch along to equally incorruptible successors.

Following leaders is all right if you have looked at what they offer but blind and uncritical following of even good high-minded leadership is hazardous and is not quite democracy. One-ninth of the public's scrutiny, I submit, makes too pale a spotlight on a candidate! Better not monkey with the short ballot principle!

1949

National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League

St. Paul, November 28, 29, 30

Conference Headquarters—Hotel Lowry

(Make reservations early; write directly to the hotel. Be sure to say you are attending the Conference.)

Cleaning Up the Restaurants

Health authorities educate the public and proprietors to need for strong regulation with workable review board.

By **MAURICE E. TROUT***

SINCE the spring of 1947 St. Louis has been experimenting with a new restaurant inspection ordinance. During its more than two years of operation restaurant owners and the food control section of the city's health division have indicated they believe it is a good law.

Some time, of course, will be necessary to show the real success of a regulatory ordinance which undertakes grading controls on a large scale. The solution that St. Louis health officials arrived at in order to obtain passage of the ordinance, however, reveals the role of the independent review board in a new light.

One of the problems of the municipal public administrator is passage of adequate ordinances which can be enforced with vigor and firmness in the interests of the public.

Too often the lawmakers have compromised with the interests to be regulated. Then, too, deadlock between governmental agencies and private business subject to their regulation is a stumbling block to the passage of regulatory legislation. Compromise between these two opponents, so as to secure some type of legislation, often results in a watered-down version of what should have been a beneficial enactment.

Typical of the conflict between a private business not desiring regulation and a government agency bent on protecting the public was the difficulty that arose in 1944 and 1945 between the restaurant business in St. Louis and the city health division. The latter was unable to regulate restaurant conditions with respect to sanitary standards for the good of the public health because of too general provisions in the law. Local courts had a tendency, not because of conflict with the health division but because of the lack of specific legal enforcement grounds, to favor the restaurant owner.

In the face of this situation restaurant conditions in St. Louis were becoming steadily worse. United States public health surveys rated the city as low as 47 out of 100 possible points. The city health commissioner, the late Dr. Joseph Bredeck, resolved to take action by attempting to get a larger enforcement staff and passage of the 1943 recommended restaurant ordinance of the United States Public Health Service. Although he promptly received the increased personnel, he failed to secure the ordinance.

This ordinance provided for the grading of restaurants into A, B and C classifications and eventual elimination of the latter, as well as sanitation measures which would have required some structural changes in practically all restaurants. The grading standards were accepted by the industry but the enforcement provisions faced its violent opposition. The ordinance was designed to give real regulation authority to the health commissioner and his subordinate unit, the food control section.

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*Mr. Trout, who received his M.A. degree in 1948 from St. Louis University, is continuing his studies at that school. During the war years he did inspection and intelligence work for the United States Coast Guard.

Council Stalls

It was obvious that the restaurant owners had influenced certain municipal council members. After more than a year of stalling, and despite a campaign of education conducted by the city health division, the best bill the council committee could produce was one providing for a permit review board independent of the health division. This feature was not in itself objectionable but the board was to consist of five members, three of them representatives of the industry to be regulated.

This situation could, and perhaps would, make ineffective the grading as well as other features of the ordinance. Restaurant owners, by their majority position on the review board, could ignore the recommendations of the health division, especially those which provided for revocation of licenses or permits because of insanitary conditions.

The restaurant business pointed out that under the ordinance proposed by the health division all permit revocations would be under the jurisdiction of the health commissioner. They protested strongly against vesting such power in the commissioner. They pointed out that, by revoking permits, the commissioner could arbitrarily put them out of business. Stress was placed on the idea—a crucial point among the advocates of the "division of the powers of government"—that the agency that would inspect and rate would also review its own decisions. It was protested that this condition under an aggressive health commissioner would be intolerable.

What the restaurants ignored was the fact that the health division is a technical department and that most of its decisions must be based on established and objective sanitation standards. It is common practice, particularly in municipal affairs, for the health department to decide such matters. However, the restaurants were not to be pacified.

The health division increased its campaign among the people. Copies of its proposed ordinance and a written interpretation of it were sent to clubs, churches, schools and civic leaders. Newspapers supported the campaign.

The municipal council, in response to public pressure, finally approved the bill recommended by the health division except that the council insisted that the right to grant and revoke permits to operate restaurants should not be within the province of the health commissioner. His function was restricted to making recommendations to an independent board.

The composition of that board, however, was the important change. No restaurant owners are on it. The functions of the board of review in restaurant enforcement matters were assigned to the already existing board of public service, which consists of the heads of the departments of president, public utilities, streets and sewers, public welfare and public safety. They are all appointed by the mayor as heads of their departments for the term for which the mayor is elected. The board may overrule the health commissioner's recommendations as to whether a restaurant may or may not operate.

This compromise seemed to satisfy the restaurants in a situation where compromise was necessary. It was not considered ideal by the health commissioner. However, he had his ordinance with adequate enforcement clauses in it and he could take steps to curb insanitary restaurant conditions by inspection and grading. The ordinance went into effect on April 21, 1947.

Results Beneficial

What are the results after more than two years of operation? During these two years the health division has recommended to the board of public service that the permits of some 50 restaurants either not be granted or that they be revoked. The board revoked or refused the permits of 25. The remaining 25 managed to make changes before the board acted. Generally, they made the changes recommended by the health division and it had withdrawn its original recommendation.

Since all recommendations for permit revocation which actually reached the board of public service were supported by its members, it is obvious that the board respects the technical opinion of health division representatives.

Restaurant owners soon began to reverse their opposition to the health division. After almost ten months of operation under the new ordinance, as reported in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* on February 12, 1948, they took a favorable attitude toward the manner in which the program was being handled. The clean restaurant law was stated to be "a fine thing for business" and "excellently" administered. The health commissioner was praised for not letting "political influence" enter into the issuance of A, B and C ratings. The ordinance had "created confidence among the customers" and it "certainly had greatly improved the standards of the restaurants."

Restaurant people say they feel the type of restaurant eliminated was bad for the industry, both aesthetically and as an unfair competitor. Generally, restaurant owners have lost the fear that they would be unfairly graded by the kind of political inspector sometimes found in municipal inspection.

The health division is satisfied with the review arrangement, as it has produced the desired results. Under the review board arrangement the health division is protected from protests and unfair accusations.

One possible objection to the solution is that even this approach may be arbitrary from the standpoint of government control. But such is not the case. Appeal to the courts from the decisions of the board of public service is always available. No basic legal rights are jeopardized. It is to be noted, however, that no decision of the board of public service has been appealed during the initial two years of operation. And the courts have been relieved of technical health cases which too often clutter up their calenders.

St. Louis' experience may be offered as a case study, showing how one large city administrative agency solved its difficulties in developing a proper regulatory ordinance. A proper and potent ordinance has been enacted, the business regulated is satisfied that the ordinance is fair and the administrative agency is using its technical experience and judgment properly to remove violations of public health standards.

EVERYTHING'S CHANGED NOW

(Continued from page 323)

one example. Fire apparatus last year ran approximately as many miles as it did ten years ago. But on just half as much gasoline.

"We just made fire captains responsible that the mileage and the gallons are in the right proportion," Cookingham explains. "Fire stations aren't filling stations now for anybody's car."

In spite of the taxi driver at the airport who deplored the lack of "fun," most people in Kansas City when election time comes vote to continue honest government. They have quite forgotten the precinct captains who used to promise so much before election day.

The budget is balanced. City hall typists know how to type. Nobody is getting rich at the taxpayers' expense. The people are getting more for each tax dollar than they ever got before. And they are having more fun.

ECONOMIC STUDY PAYS OFF

(Continued from page 327)

sideration in some form prior to issuance of the report. The report, however, pulled all of these projects together, evaluated their importance and recommended specific actions. It thus served as a justification for these projects and the added backing supplied the extra push which made the difference between adoption and rejection.

The record is an impressive one. It strengthens the thesis that if a city is to spend its money and the time and energy of its employees and citizens in the preparation of reports and plans, it can do more than file them in dust-gathering heaps.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Georgia Legislature Weakens Democracy

Seeks County Unit Extension But Makes Some Advances

THE effort to extend, by constitutional amendment, the antidemocratic county unit voting system, and the voiding of voter registration lists, were possibly the worst features of the record of the 1949 Georgia legislature.

The county unit system, which gives Fulton County (Atlanta), the most populous in the state, six "units" and a sparsely peopled rural county two units in the nomination of U. S. senators, governor, lieutenant governor, state house officers (secretary of state, etc.), justices of supreme court and judges of the court of appeals, thus grossly under-representing the urban areas, now applies to primaries. Senate Resolution 6 is a proposed constitutional amendment which, if ratified, will result in the use of the system in general elections, beginning in 1950, unless declared contrary to the United States constitution.

Presumably as a move to compel the "white primary" advocated by Governor Herman Talmadge, the legislature by Act 297 requires a complete re-registration for state and county elections. To re-register an applicant must satisfy the registrars that he can read intelligibly and write legibly; and the registrars are given wide discretionary powers otherwise.

In its *Legislative Notes* the Georgia League of Women Voters points out that, in addition to the faults from a democratic standpoint, the re-registration "will cost enormously, both in public funds and in time of the individual citizen and of business firms through disrupting the work of their employees." It says further:

"The right of appeal remains a mockery. The act repeats the constitutional provision that the decision of the registrars stays in force until final disposition of the appeal. Any appeal from the registrars' decision must be filed with them within ten days from the date of the decision. The appeal then goes to the Superior Court. In cases other than death, insanity or criminal disqualifications, the registrars are not forbidden to disqualify a voter within a specified period before the election, so as to give him that period within which to get an appeal heard. Nor is there any provision requiring judicial disposition of a timely appeal before the election."

Other legislation is criticized by the League of Women Voters:

"Act 226 limits the jurisdiction of the courts with respect to all questions relating to the eligibility of candidates. The act provides the political party state executive committee, rather than the courts, as heretofore, shall make the final decision as to the eligibility of a person to become a candidate or to serve in the office he seeks.

"An important provision of the act states the chairman and secretary of the executive committee shall certify the names of the nominees of the party to the secretary of state and this will be conclusive of the nominee's right to have his name placed on the ballot. It would seem that under this act a political party could nominate a candidate who lacks one or

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all of the constitutional qualifications for his office, and if he were approved by his party executive committee, his name could be placed on the ballot by the secretary of state.

"The constitutionality of the act has been publicly challenged by several legal authorities including the attorney general of Georgia.

"Its companion Act 218 says the General Assembly shall be the sole judge of the governor's election and qualifications, and shall 'determine all questions relating' to the election of the governor, 'including any contested election, and any question as to the eligibility or qualification of the person elected governor.'

"The inauguration of the governor 'shall be conclusive evidence of his right and title to the office and of his eligibility and qualification.' In other words, after the governor is inaugurated the courts no longer would have the right of passing on his title to the office.

"The constitutionality of this act has also been publicly challenged by several legal authorities including the attorney general."

The picture is not all dark. The league sees these commendatory or hopeful actions:

"The 1949 legislature extended the merit system to the State Department of Public Welfare, the Department of Public Safety and the Public Service Commission, parts of the State Highway Department and, at the governor's discretion, the State Library employees."

"The league is particularly gratified at the passage of Act 309, making mandatory the permissive 1941 Georgia law which provided a county could adopt the secret ballot upon recommendation of one grand jury. The new act also provides ballot boxes shall be so constructed that they may be locked and cannot be opened or the contents tampered with."

"The 1947 legislature passed an optional municipal home rule law, the constitutionality of which is in doubt because 43 of Georgia's 159 counties were specifically exempted by amendment from its provisions.

"Some six or seven cities have elected to come under the provisions of the law and are now operating under home rule charters in spite of their doubtful constitutionality. This situation, however, has tended to retard, if not stop altogether, the movement for the adoption of home rule by other cities.

"H. B. 25, containing virtually the same provisions as the 1947 law, was introduced in this legislature. Under the provisions of this bill, any municipality signifying its wish for home rule in a referendum has the right to frame and adopt a charter for its own government, providing it is consistent with and subject to the constitution and general laws of Georgia. If enacted, this bill may in time result in reducing local legislation presented to the General Assembly. It makes no provision for county home rule.

"H. B. 25 passed the House by a vote of 129 to 17 and is on the Senate calendar for consideration during the 1950 session."

"H. B. 401 provides for a statewide probation system to be administered by the State Pardon and Parole Board. The board is directed to appoint probation officers to conduct pre-sentence investigations and to supervise persons on probation for the superior courts of this state.

"H. B. 402 extends the existing law regulating probation to all sentences less than life imprisonment. It further amends the law covering indeterminate sentences by repealing the section which automatically releases a prisoner at the end of his minimum sentence provided he has a good record.

"These two bills are on the House calendar for consideration at the 1950 session of the legislature."

Coroner's Functions Modernized in Rhode Island

A law signed May 9, 1949, (chapter 2303) revises the medical examiner system of Rhode Island to provide for a chief medical examiner appointive by the attorney general for a six-year term with responsibility for performing all autopsies. He is to appoint twelve county medical examiners for four-year terms.

The chief medical examiner must be an M. D., qualified in pathology and with at least one year of medicolegal training and the county examiners must be M. D.'s. The chief examiner gets a salary of $7,500 and the county examiners get $10 for each view, $25 for assisting at an autopsy and a fee for testifying in court as professional witness.

When persons appear to have met death from violence, or suddenly when in apparent good health or when unattended by a physician, or in any suspicious or unnatural manner, or as the result of an abortion or suspected abortion, the attending physician, law enforcement officer, undertaker or hospital, or any other person having responsibility for burial or cremation, must notify the county medical examiner who shall view the body and take charge.

If he deems further examination necessary he shall notify the chief medical examiner who, after being authorized in writing by the attorney general, shall make an autopsy with the assistance of the county medical examiner in the presence of two or more discreet persons as witnesses. If the findings suggest crime, they are to be given to the attorney general and the police. A medical examiner must also ascertain the cause of deaths in prison.

The bill was passed at the instance of the Rhode Island Medical Society and the Rhode Island Bar Association for the purpose of centralizing autopsy work enough to develop expertness of practice in searching for post-mortem evidence of crime.

The new setup replaces 30 local medical examiners appointed by the governor. Coroners, chosen by town councils prior to 1939, were abolished in that year.

Thus Rhode Island follows Massachusetts, Maryland and Virginia in setting up modern statewide medical examiner systems to make expert central service available to prosecutors and police anywhere within the state.

R. S. C.

Interstate Cooperation Marks Advances

The principle of cooperation between states continues to make progress, several examples of which have been noted by the Council of State Governments in the June issue of *State Government*.

The governors of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, comprising the New England Governors' Conference, have made public a proposed interstate compact that would establish a New England Development Authority when ratified by the six states and approved by Congress. The authority would be composed of commissioners from each of the six states and would seek expansion of industry and development of natural resources on a regional basis. It would be authorized to spend approximately $2,000,000 in the next ten

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years, each state to contribute on a population basis.

The entire interstate program of the New York Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Cooperation was approved by New York's legislature and governor. One such measure will make New York a signatory to the New England Water Pollution Control Compact. A second pledges New York, acting jointly with New Jersey and Pennsylvania, to a comprehensive survey of water resources of the Delaware River basin. A third contemplates creation of an interstate agency for development of the Lake Champlain basin. A fourth authorizes New York to join the Northeastern Forest Fire Control Compact. A fifth establishes civil machinery under which fugitive husbands would be required to support their dependents.

Members of the Nevada and California Commissions on Interstate Cooperation are considering interstate problems involved in the Lake Tahoe scenic and resort area, including public health, stream pollution, conservation, taxation and related fields.

California Adopts Punch Card Ballot

According to *State Government,* California has adopted a form of ballot on which each vote is indicated by punching or marking one or more cards, which can be sorted and counted by automatic devices. The cards are stated to have been designed by Secretary of State Frank M. Jordan, with the object of preventing erroneous and fraudulent counting and speeding the determination of election results.

Each voter, upon receiving a ballot, indicates his choices by punching a hole in the space provided opposite the name of the desired candidate or measure. The ballot is then cast in the same manner as ballots previously used. However, upon closing of the polls, the precinct election board delivers the locked ballot boxes to a central counting place. All proceedings there are open to public scrutiny as the boxes are unlocked and emptied and the ballots are tabulated by mechanical devices.

Michigan Abolishes 'One Man' Grand Jury

The so-called "one man" grand jury, established in Michigan in 1917 to facilitate investigation of indicated law violations, has been abolished by the state legislature.

The law as now revised provides for a three-judge grand jury, abolishes immunity provisions which had permitted informants to go free if they reported on colleagues in crime, and seeks to prevent the "smearing" of a person's reputation.

Constitutional Amendments Proposed in Colorado

The Colorado legislature has approved two proposed constitutional amendments for submission to popular vote in November 1950. One would require the legislature to meet every year, but in even numbered years action would be restricted to bills concerning revenues and appropriations or other subjects specially designated by the governor. Legislative vacancies, now filled by election, would be filled in a manner prescribed by the legislature. Other changes include abolition of the fifteen-day limit on introduction of bills.

The second proposed amendment would permit Denver and other home rule cities to determine by ordinance the salaries of all officers outside the classified civil service; the salaries of elected officials to remain constant for the elective term. The city council of any home rule city would also be permitted to submit any measure, charter amendment or the question of whether a charter convention should be called, to popular vote on its own initiative, without an initiated petition which is now the sole method of submitting charter amendments and convention calls. Such petitions could still be used, however.

State-Local Employees Total Record Number

According to recent Census Bureau data, employment by states, cities, counties and school districts reached a record high of 3,994,000 in January. Postwar growth of cities, population increase of the entire nation and expanded state and local services are among the causes.

Municipal government alone accounted for 1,245,000 of those on the public payrolls—1,036,000 non-school employees and 209,000 school personnel.

The total of federal, state and local government employees was given as about 6,083,000. The all-time peak was about January 1945, when there were 6,604,000 people in public service.

Monthly payrolls of state and local governments increased to a record high of $808,300,000 in January. City payrolls were boosted $26,100,000 monthly, states $22,500,000 and counties and special school districts accounted for the remainder of the increase.

Non-school city employees' average monthly earnings in January were given as nearly $198, with $289 for city school employees.

Ohio Legislature Denies Support for City League

A bill to permit Ohio cities to pay dues to their own association has been defeated by the state legislature. The May *News Letter* of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, pointing out that every other major interest in the state has salaried representatives or lobbyists in Columbus to promote or watch legislation, says:

"Only the cities, unforeseen, unprovided-for stepchildren of a century-old state constitution, now representing the large mass of the state's population, are without duly authorized and functioning representatives.

"Persistently renewed attempts to correct this inequity by authorizing cities to contribute to their own watchdog organization have been thwarted in each new legislative session by a combination of hostile lobbyists working upon the rural members of the House of Representatives.

"A public utility official who is also president of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce was among those pulling the strings to defeat this year's bill, thus providing the curious spectacle of a representative of great and growing business using his influence to defeat legislation for the protection of the urban centers upon which virtually all business, and particularly the public utility business, depends for progress and prosperity."

Council Manager Plan Developments

Redlands, California, (population 14,324) has adopted the council-manager plan.

On June 7, by a vote of 373 to 331, **McCook, Nebraska,** (6,212) adopted the state's enabling act providing for the council-manager plan of government.

The village of **Wyoming, Ohio,** (4,466) approved a council-manager charter on June 7 by a vote of 472 to 63.

Buchanan, Michigan, (4,056) voted 414 to 399 to approve a council-manager charter at an election on May 24.

Oxford (3,991) and **Carolina Beach** (637), **North Carolina,** have voted to adopt the council-manager plan, the state legislature having authorized referenda in each.

Hearne, Texas, (3,511) has adopted the council-manager plan.

Princess Anne, Maryland, (942) adopted a council-manager charter, previously passed by the legislature, by a vote of 138 to 48 on June 14.

The **New Hampshire** Senate on May 31 passed House-approved bills to place both the council-manager and the strong-mayor plans before the voters of **Concord** as charter revision proposals at the biennial city primary on October 11. The voters will also have the choice of retaining the present weak mayor charter.

A proposed referendum on the council-manager plan for **Manchester,** after passing the New Hampshire House of Representatives by a large majority, was killed in the Senate, sixteen to seven, on May 31. The Manchester senatorial delegation opposed the bill. At the same time the House defeated a council-manager referendum bill for **Nashua,** 176 to 161. It had been opposed by 21 Nashua Democratic representatives and favored by the three Republicans in the delegation.

A special referendum will be held in **Franklin, New Hampshire,** in October, on a full fledged council-manager charter. Franklin now has a manager superimposed on a mayor-council charter by virtue of the state enabling act.

The Plan E for **Boston** Committee has been continuing to collect signatures on its petition for a referendum on a council-manager-P.R. charter, despite the unfair opposition tactics which have thus far prevailed against it. Two court appeals from the discriminatory actions of the election commission are still pending.

Petitions seeking an election on the question of adopting Plan D (council-manager without P. R.) have been filed in **North Adams** and, **Springfield, Massachusetts.**

Chelsea, Massachusetts, will vote on adoption of the state's optional Plan E charter (council-manager with P. R.) at the November election. The city clerk has announced that a petition seeking the election is sufficient.

Proposals for a manager referendum in **New Haven** were submerged in the last minute rush of the closing days of the legislature. Passed by the House on June 7, the bill failed to come up for action in the Senate.

Special elections on the question of adopting the council-manager plan will be held in three New Jersey municipalities this month—**Passaic** on July 12 and **Bayonne** and **West New York** on July 19.

A proposed home rule charter for **Cumberland, Maryland,** passed by the 1949 legislature, was defeated at the polls on June 7 by a vote of 2,678 to 2,624.

A bill to provide the council-manager plan for **Takoma Park, Maryland,** met defeat in the state legislature.

The U. S. Senate has passed a home rule bill for Washington, D. C. It provides the manager plan with a council of eleven which will appoint a manager. Nine councilmen will be elected by the voters; two will be named by the president and confirmed by the Senate. President Truman has indicated he will sign the bill, which must still be acted on by the House.

The cities of **Newton** and **Cherryville, North Carolina,** have secured legislation authorizing local elections on the question of adopting the council-manager plan.

Ahoskie, North Carolina, voted against adoption of the council-manager plan.

A petition has been circulated in **Gaffney, South Carolina,** asking a vote on the manager plan. The present city council, elected last year, is anti-manager. Three former mayors are among the petition signers.

The city council of **Cincinnati, Ohio,** has unanimously authorized a commission to study the present council-manager charter, which was adopted in 1924 and amended in 1926. Subjects for study are reported to include methods of filling council vacancies and of preventing a possible deadlock in the selection of the mayor, increased salaries for councilmen, and the status of independent boards.

Petitions for recall of Mayor George W. Welsh of **Grand Rapids, Michigan,**[1] were filed with the city clerk on June 3. They contained over 26,000 names, reported to be more than twice as many as the number of votes for Mr. Welsh at his last election.

Seven charges were made against the mayor, the first three being: "(1) He illegally and by prior understanding acted in concert with City Commissioners Wagemaker, Richards and Haraburda to violate the city charter by attempting to induce City Manager Goebel to violate his charter duty and to appoint as city assessor a man they knew Goebel did not consider qualified; (2) He and said commissioners attempted to usurp the charter duty of the manager and threatened his discharge unless he appointed as assessor only the man of their choice; (3) He voted with said commissioners to dismiss Manager Goebel without preferring charges, without a hearing, without properly rescinding his employment contract, upon the sole basis that Goebel performed his charter duty and appointed a qualified city assessor."

On June 6 a largely similar petition for recall of Commissioner L. A. Wagemaker was filed, containing approximately 2,000 more signatures than the 5,626 votes received by him in 1948. On the same day the city commission, by a vote of four to three, ordered the city attorney to "investigate" the recall petitions and authorized him to subpoena witnesses, hire special counsel and report back to the commission. The mayor assailed the press and Chairman J. H. Amberg of Citizens Action, the group fostering the recall movement.

On page 237 of the May REVIEW it was erroneously reported that **Gaylord, Michigan,** voted on April 5 to adopt the provisions of a state optional council-manager charter law. Gaylord adopted a home rule charter with an optional provision for a city manager; it can thus not be considered a manager city unless and until it makes use of this provision.

A bill allowing **Illinois** municipalities other than Chicago to adopt the manager plan has been unanimously approved by the House municipalities committee.

Petitions seeking adoption of the council-manager plan by referendum have been circulated in **Hastings, Nebraska,** following removal of most of the city department heads from the provisions of the civil service ordinance at the request of the mayor.

Chadron, Nebraska, will vote July 12 on adoption of the council-manager plan.

Two studies on forms of government have been presented to the **Shreveport, Louisiana,** charter commission. One, by two lay members of the commission, outlines the advantages of the council-manager plan; the other, by the city's representatives on the commission—commissioner of finance and city attorney—reports on the city's ex-

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[1] See the June REVIEW, page 291.

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isting commission government and offers criticisms of the manager plan.

The voters of **Edinburg, Texas,** (which adopted the manager plan by ordinance in 1946) approved a home rule commission-manager charter at the April election. A commission of five, one of them the mayor, appoints the manager.

Voters of **El Paso, Texas,** are interested in securing the council-manager plan.

A charter is being drafted for **Alice, Texas,** and the manager plan is under consideration.

Civic groups in **Twin Falls, Idaho,** are working for adoption of the council-manager plan. In **Sandpoint, Idaho,** the chamber of commerce is planning to obtain a vote on the plan before mid-summer. Idaho at present has no council-manager municipality.

The **Utah** legislature has adopted a city manager enabling act, sponsored by the Utah Municipal League; it was signed by the governor on March 2, 1949. It authorizes the city council or board of trustees of any city or town to appoint a city manager, with the power of hiring and discharging city employees; other powers and duties are to be specified by ordinance.

In **San Leandro, California,** a board of freeholders is revising that city's council-manager charter. Louis H. Burke is acting as consultant. The revision will be voted on some time in September. The present charter, it is said, lacks a clear-cut division of responsibility between the council and the manager.

Mayor Harry Jumper of **Azusa, California,** has recommended that his city employ a business manager. In **Daly City, California,** Mayor J. P. Green has announced that consideration is being given to the manager plan.

The city council of **Coos Bay, Oregon,** has conferred full managerial powers on the city manager by ordinance. Charter amendments adopted at the polls in September 1948 had taken such powers, prescribed in the 1945 charter, from the manager but gave the council power to confer them.

Florida managers held their third annual short course of training May 6-8, attended by 25; they also held their annual meeting at the same time. **Maine, Ohio, Oklahoma, Texas** and **Pennsylvania** managers also held annual or seasonal meetings in May, attended by 35, 15, 21, 56 and 18, respectively.

Statistics compiled by the International City Managers' Association show that of the 241 city managers appointed in 1948, 188—or 78 per cent—had previous public administrative experience. Nearly one-third of those hired had previously been city managers of other cities. The 77 cities that made city manager appointments for the first time last year chose 30 men with previous manager experience, 37 from other city posts, five from private industry, and two from state engineering departments.

More than half the total managers appointed in 1948 were non-residents at the time of appointment, 51 being managers moving to larger cities.

At the end of 1948 there were 892 cities and counties which were operating under the manager plan or in which it becomes effective during 1949 and 1950. Thus far this year there have been 42 adoptions of the plan.

Maine leads all other states with 103 managers, Michigan has 74, Texas 73, California 68, and Florida and Virginia 53 each.

Philadelphia Grand Jury Accuses Two City Departments

A year's investigation by a special grand jury in Philadelphia was concluded with presentments on May 27 against the director of supplies and purchases and the receiver of taxes. Charges of thievery were also made against the Water Bureau's distribution and maintenance forces.

One major recommendation was the creation of a "court of accountability," representing the citizens at large, to which department heads, bureau chiefs, etc., would periodically report.

Organized Municipal Employees Increase

A survey of personnel practices of the 1,077 cities over 10,000 population, by the International City Managers' Association, reveals that 322 cities have one or more local unions of municipal employees affiliated with national AFL or CIO public employees' unions. Among these cities are 89 of the 92 cities with populations over 100,000. Officials from 559 cities reported that their cities had no such union: nineteen reports asserted that the employees were forbidden to join such unions, 478 indicated there was no restriction on union affiliation of municipal employees, and the remaining 62 cities without unions did not reply to this question.

Strikes of some or all municipal employees during 1948 were reported by 21 cities, including Los Angeles, Denver, Buffalo, Madison, Gary (Indiana), and Austin (Minnesota).

Five years ago, 104 cities reported that they had local employee groups not affiliated with the AFL or CIO. By October 1948 the number of cities with non-affiliated locals totaled 190.

In this same period the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL) grew from a reported 201 cities to 286. The number of cities with locals of the International Association of Fire Fighters (AFL) increased from 435 to 560 during the last five years.

Philadelphia Port Authority Idea Weakened

The bill to establish a port authority for the Philadelphia area was seriously weakened in the closing hours of the 1949 session of the Pennsylvania legislature. According to the *News Letter* of the Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning, "Although the original port authority bill had been agreed upon by the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the New Jersey legislature had passed the bill, and the Pennsylvania lower house had passed the bill, the State Senate saw fit to accept amendments dictated by railroad and other lobbyists, as reported openly in the press.

"The original bill provided for completely coordinated port development, including integrated truck, rail and other terminal facilities, as well as bridges, transit lines and tunnels. The accepted amendments restrict the activities of the port authority to bridges, wharves, piers and other marine facilities, and provide further that any major undertaking be approved by the legislature (which meets only every two years) rather than by the governor as originally proposed. . . .

"The Citizens' Council on City Planning advocated establishment of the port authority to make possible a comprehensive development of coordinated port and terminal facilities for land, sea and air on a regional basis. It held a large delegates' meeting a year ago at which the port authority problem was presented."

Press Recommends City-County Mergers

Efficiency, Savings Seen in Elimination of Duplication

CITY-COUNTY consolidation is continuing to be discussed in various urban areas.

The Houston, Texas, *Post* has called for consolidation of Houston and Harris County. The *Post* declares editorially: "Why have all the duplicated expense and effort, and all the conflicts of two overlapping governments, when one could do the job better? . . . Sooner or later the big cities and counties are bound to do away with the inefficiency, extravagance and waste of the duplicated governments in metropolitan counties, where for all practical purposes the city is co-extensive with the counties.

"It will come when smart candidates see the vote-getting possibilities of such a movement and have the enterprise and vigor to carry it through; or when some strong city or county leader conceives the idea of crowning his political career and leaving a towering monument to his statesmanship by taking hold of the city-county merger case and putting it over. That day will be a blessed one."

In Fort Worth city officials are fighting doggedly for an interpretation of the county home rule provisions of the constitution because, as the city attorney stated in one heated exchange, "I don't consider a merger of Fort Worth and Tarrant County offices as trifling."

The Salt Lake City *Telegram* advocates merger of the city with Salt Lake County as preferable to separation of city and county. Pointing to St. Louis and San Francisco as being in "geographical strait-jackets," the *Telegram* declares that city-county consolidation will enable the entire metropolitan area to grow and develop "economically, efficiently and unitedly."

The Minneapolis *Star* has gone on record opposing the bill introduced in the state legislature to separate Minneapolis from Hennepin County. Proponents of the bill have argued that it would provide simplified government, but the *Star* believes, "The city and its adjacent area have so many problems in common that merger seems far more sensible. That, too, would give the economy of one set of local officials."

In Georgia, the Atlanta and Fulton County merger has hit a stalemate because legislative representatives of Fulton and DeKalb Counties cannot reach an agreement on the form of the proposed constitutional amendment.

The Macon *Telegraph* recalls that an amendment permitting the consolidation of Dougherty County and Albany was vetoed by Governor Talmadge, probably illegally, and that the Macon and Bibb County consolidation proposal was defeated at the polls. However, it comments, "We still believe that great economy could be brought about with an increased efficiency if there were a consolidation of most of the city and county functions."

City-county consolidation in certain functional fields also is advancing. The health department of Tulsa County, Oklahoma, has been consolidated with that of Tulsa. Furthermore, the Tulsa Chamber of Commerce has appointed a special subcommittee to study further functional consolidation of city and county offices.

The Minnesota legislature has enacted legislation authorizing any city with more than 100,000 population to combine its health department with that of the county in which it lies. Another new Minnesota law enlarges county powers and authorizes them to enter into contracts with cities or other governmental agencies for the conduct of park and recreational programs.

County Health Consolidation Adopted

A proposal to consolidate the two county health departments of Butler and Greenwood Counties, Kansas, has been approved and the new consolidated department becomes the first two-county unit in Kansas. Costs will be assessed to each county on a per capita basis. Meetings of the governing officials will be held alternately at the two county seats. It is anticipated that the department will be expanded by the addition of five new employees.

In Minnesota two or more counties may consolidate their health departments under 1949 legislation (chapter 405). This law also permits city-county health consolidation (see page 348). The latter requires approval of the governing bodies only, but where two or more counties are involved a popular referendum must be held. County health consolidation may be initiated by the governing boards or by petition of 10 per cent of the voters. Cities of the first and second classes may not be brought within a consolidated health department except upon approval of the voters.

The boards of health of the combined departments will be appointed by the county commissioners. If two or more counties combine each will appoint two members except that the county with the largest population will appoint three. One member from each county must be selected from within the largest participating municipality. Costs are distributed among the counties on the basis of population.

County Manager Plan Developments

The Oklahoma State Legislative Council has recommended legislation providing for the county manager plan of government. The Tulsa Chamber of Commerce subsequently appointed subcommittees to study the advantages and disadvantages of such a plan for Tulsa County as well as to study personnel work, public relations, methods and systems and all other aspects of county government operations.

In St. Lawrence County, New York, the chairman of the board of supervisors has stated publicly that the manager plan might be the solution to the problems arising from the growth of the county government. The Potsdam *Courier Freeman* advocates editorially the manager plan for Jefferson County, New York.

In Putnam County, New York, the County Real Estate Association has petitioned the board of supervisors to fix a date for a referendum on the manager plan, suggesting August 30. The association emphasizes that the manager form would eliminate overlapping in county administration. It believes that the eight independent police forces and the eight highway departments in the county could be consolidated into one and that "splinter departments" could be amalgamated into one body under direction of the manager.

Texas Debates Centralization vs. Home Rule

The Harrison County Commissioners Court recently criticized the flood of bills in the Texas state legislature, saying that the proposed legislation was making further inroads on "what little local self-government we have left."

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

The court formally adopted resolutions opposing five specific measures which would transfer tax revenues from the counties to the state, fix salaries of county officers, raise county salaries and increase the duties of the county tax officer in several respects.

The Citizens Association of Dallas County, now approximately a year old, is continuing its struggle for revision of the county home rule provisions of the constitution to enable the county to secure efficient government. *County Progress,* published by the County Judges and Commissioners' Association of Texas, declares that the Citizens Association's actions "have aroused the public's interest and curiosity about county government to a pitch not reached in many years."

San Diego County Makes Employee Survey

As part of a program for improving their services, the departments of San Diego County, California, have conducted an employee attitude survey, according to the Civil Service Assembly *Newsletter.* Tabulations revealed that employees believed job security and amount of pay were the two most important factors influencing employee attitudes. More than half the employees liked their jobs very much, liked their fellow employees, thought there was clear division of work and responsibility, and were proud to be identified with their respective departments. On the negative side, the greatest dissatisfaction—13.8 per cent—was because of inadequate recognition for work of superior quality.

Two-Term Limit in Kansas Attacked Again

County treasurers and sheriffs in Kansas are seeking again to secure a change in the provision of the Kansas state constitution limiting them to no more than two consecutive terms. They point to the required annual audits and other safeguards as proof that restrictions on the number of consecutive terms are unnecessary. They assert that more technical skill is required now than formerly and that the constitutional provisions thus deny to public service the experience gained by officials in performing their duties.

Former attempts to change this provision, mostly by sheriffs, have failed in the legislature. In 1932, the attempted change was submitted to the people in a general election but it lost heavily.

Rural Carriers Urge Better County Roads

President Willard Manning of the National Rural Letter Carriers Association, writing in *Wisconsin Counties,* urges that counties extend their highway programs immediately in order to provide adequate rural roads. He points out that there are 32,484 rural mail carriers in America who travel approximately 1,500,000 miles per day. They serve 50,000,000 people, but they travel half of their routes on unsurfaced, dirt roads that are impassable for parts of every year. He urges that interrupted service and high unit costs of maintenance apply not only to the post office but also to milk trucks, school buses and vehicles of the farmers themselves.

Four reasons are given for the lag in providing all-weather, hard surfaced roads in rural areas: (1) County highway organizations are not properly staffed with competent engineers and equipment; (2) there are inadequate funds for the county secondary road programs; (3) state highway departments have failed to recognize the importance of the county highway organizations in road programs; and (4) inadequate attention has been paid to standards and specifications as they apply to county roads.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Brings Campus Peace

Fraternity and Other Groups Find System Gives Fair Play

Editor's Note.—George Howatt, author of this article, is instructor in government at Lehigh University. While working for his bachelor's degree at Muhlenberg College he served as chairman of the constitutional revision committee referred to here. At Lehigh University, where he secured his master's degree, he was advisor to a similar committee.

DOES the Hare system of P. R. contribute to the solution of problems which confront student government on the college or university campus? Is the collegiate community a place where this electoral device is particularly appropriate?

Illustrative case studies are afforded by two examples: Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pennsylvania, which adopted the Hare system of P. R. in 1939 in a successful effort to end a persistent clash between fraternity and non-fraternity groups; Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where this system was incorporated in a new constitution which sought to renovate student government in 1947.

P. R. at Muhlenberg

For several years prior to the adoption of P. R. at Muhlenberg the student council was regularly dominated by fraternity members because each of these social groups was guaranteed one representative by the constitution while non-fraternity representation was dependent on the size of the enrollment of non-fraternity students.

For years fraternity voters in class elections and in other plurality contests almost invariably took all the offices by presenting a caucus-chosen slate against an unorganized non-fraternal opposition. The non-fraternal students eventually reacted by adopting tactics similar to those of their opposition who now, being fewer in number, met defeat as regularly as they formerly had triumphed.

As the animosity between the two groups grew more bitter, the need for revision of the constitution of the student body became urgent.

It was felt that the old constitution contributed to the unrest by arbitrarily dividing the campus into two groups for the purpose of choosing the council. One reason for creating this division seems to have been the desire to prevent either one from completely monopolizing council positions. This probably would have occurred if general ticket voting had been used in the annual campus-wide contest since general ticket voting usually results in giving all the seats to the winning group.

To guard against this fault the lesser evil of marking off election constituencies—fraternal and non-fraternal—was accepted. But the original apportionment in the constitution was upset as the respective sizes of the two groups altered during the years. Why should the fraternities relinquish the gerrymandered representation assured them? Why should the non-fraternity students, now numerically larger, not press for adoption of general ticket voting, which would give them predominance?

At this stage a committee was appointed to study constitutional revision. A major task was to provide some means of removing the arbitrary demarcation forced by the constitution

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and yet retain means for the representation of those groups large enough to deserve it. The solution was adoption of the Hare system of P. R.

The clash between the fraternal and non-fraternal groups dissipated almost completely, and it has not recurred during the ensuing ten years. Advocates of electoral reform on the Muhlenberg campus in 1939, as on the Lehigh campus in 1947, stressed the value of campus unity in accordance with the principle: the college or university first, the living group second.

P. R. at Lehigh

Before the institution of P. R. on the Lehigh campus members of the student governing body were chosen by appointment from each of a selected number of honorary societies and activity groups, later expanded to include class and living group organizations.

As veterans swelled the ranks of dormitory and town (off-campus) students, great resentment arose over the existing mode of choosing the governing body. The social fraternities, which constituted a minority of about one-third of the enrollment, were able to dominate the council because they controlled most of the organizations which furnished its members.

Some leaders of the dormitory-town students, who constituted the other two-thirds of the campus registration, now wished to rewrite the constitution establishing a system which would assure predominance for themselves. Countering them were leaders of the fraternity group who, benefiting from the status quo, wished to retain the appointive council.

At this impasse the use of the Hare system was advocated. Advancing the slogan "Use P. R. and Let the Voters Decide" how the seats of the council shall be apportioned, a sufficient number of supporters rallied behind P. R. to win its adoption in a newly drafted constitution.

During the drafting process many deliberative hearings were conducted and numerous proposals were considered.

The ward plan was discarded at an early stage because of the usual difficulties presented by the district method of choosing representatives. Should the districts be geographical, curricular or according to classes? If geographical, where should the division lines be drawn? What means should be provided to prevent gerrymandering?

Moreover, the restrictiveness of the ward system contrasted too unfavorably, in the mind of the interested and thoughtful student, with the prospect of the freedom to make effective choices from among all the candidates by means of the preferential, transferable ballot of the Hare plan. Furthermore, the ideal of campus unity—loyalty first to the university and second to one's living group or class organization—seemed to be violated by such a system.

Incidently, in Lehigh's three P. R. elections there have been three instances in which two representatives were chosen from either the same dormitory section or the same fraternity house—a privilege denied to the voters under a single-member district system.

What would have been the probable result had the general ticket system of voting been used in Lehigh's first campus-wide election instead of P. R.?

The number of registered voters from the three living groups was: fraternity, 811; town, 755; dorm, 467. Under a general ticket system, with the fraternity voters supporting a common slate, as they are more likely to do than the other groups, the almost certain result would have been a clean sweep of all the council seats by fraternity supporters. In response, the town-dorm group would probably have united behind a joint ticket at the next election. Numerically larger, they undoubtedly would have captured every seat.

Thus the winner-takes-all election system sows the seeds and furnishes the sustenance of permanent campus warfare, which is common in many colleges and universities today.

Since the adoption of P. R. at Lehigh in 1947 animosity between the living groups has steadily declined, and voting in accordance with living group affiliation has continually decreased. In the 1949 elections, for instance, although fraternity members constituted only 41 per cent of the voters, fraternity nominees obtained 60 per cent of the council positions. Had town or dorm voters not chosen to support fraternity candidates, fraternity candidates could not, under P. R., have received much more than 41 per cent of the seats.

Resentment among the living groups no longer prevails because the members of the respective groups know they can control their proportionate share of the representation if they want to.

The following statistics on the first three P. R. elections at Lehigh University may be of interest:

	1947	1948	1949
Valid ballots	2,030	1,647	1,589
Invalid ballots	3	9	0
Percentage of ballots effective	91.8	94.8	92.0
Percentage of ballots on which first choice was elected	56.8	69.4	61.4
Percentage of ballots which never had to be transferred	54.5	68.8	58.3

Of the 126 exhausted ballots in the 1949 election, all but 24 were marked for winning candidates. Thus 98.5 per cent of the voters saw someone elected for whom they voted.

The mechanics of the system have presented no problems which were not easily handled. In each of the last two elections the counting process, including keeping a detailed tally sheet and recording all transfer steps on the ballots concerned, was completed by a largely inexperienced staff of eight to ten persons in approximately two and a half hours.

Judged on the basis of experience at Muhlenberg and Lehigh, the Hare system of P. R. seems ideally suited to meet the problems of representation in college and university elections.

George Howatt

Trieste Holds Municipal Elections by P. R.

A list system of proportional representation, similar to that of Italy, was used in the June 13 elections in Trieste. The Christian Democratic party—the majority party in Italy—obtained 41 per cent of the vote. Other parties having similar policies polled 14 per cent, indicating a working majority for this group.

On the question of the return of Trieste to Italy, the election was even more decisive. The parties which had declared themselves in favor of such a step, including the Christian Democratic party and its allies, obtained 65 per cent of the vote.

The orthodox Communist party obtained 20 per cent and the "Friends of Tito's Communism" but 2 per cent in the first electoral contest involving these two factions. According to the New York *Herald Tribune,* the total vote of all "Communists and alleged Communists" amounted to 30 per cent and the vote for professedly non-Communist supporters of the free city status was 13 per cent.

Twelve parties contested the election but only two received more than 6 per cent; five polled 3 per cent or less.

Pennsylvania Curtails Local Taxing Powers

Amends Its Act 481 to Limit Amount of Taxes Collected

THE by now well known Act 481 of the 1947 Pennsylvania legislature, conferring on local governments power to impose about every kind of tax not imposed by the commonwealth, has been amended by the 1949 legislature. The amendments in part provide for a streamlining of procedural matters and in part curtail or limit some of the powers previously granted the local units.

The former act had limited the aggregate amount of taxes which could be collected under its provisions in any unit to an amount equal to the product of its assessed valuation multiplied by the maximum legal tax rate.

The act as amended restricts the aggregate receipts in a unit to an amount equal to that which would be produced by a property tax rate of ten mills in cities, boroughs, towns and townships and of fifteen mills in school districts. Taxes on public utility services, taxes on manufactured goods, severance taxes and salary and wage taxes by school districts are all specifically prohibited by the amended act. Cities, towns, etc., may still levy salary and wage taxes, but the rate may not exceed one per cent, and maximum rates are established for various other types of taxes: sales 2 per cent, per capita $10, admissions 10 per cent, etc.

Under the original act there had been at times considerable difficulty in ironing out procedural matters when two overlapping units attempted to impose the same kind of tax. The new act provides generally that in such instances the rate of such duplicate tax shall be divided equally between each unit, unless the units mutually agree to some other distribution such that the combined rate does not exceed the maximum.

The amended act also provides specifically for agreements for the joint collection of taxes by two or more local units and the appointment of a single person or agency as the collector.

Sales Tax in 122 California Cities

At January 1, 1949, there were 122 California cities imposing local sales taxes, with anticipated receipts of nearly $27,900,000 during the fiscal year 1948-49, according to a study of the California State Board of Equalization, *More City Sales Taxes*.[1]

Prior to June 30, 1946, only four cities in the state collected a sales tax and total revenues in that fiscal year amounted to less than $900,000. In 1946-47, 61 cities collected $13,970,000; while in 1947-48, 94 cities collected $23,052,850. According to the state board, there remain only six cities of over 25,000 population which have not enacted sales taxes.

One hundred of the cities having sales taxes at the beginning of the current calendar year imposed taxes at a rate of one-half of one per cent, while a one per cent rate was in effect in 22 cities. The sales tax roster includes all the large cities except Long Beach. Los Angeles adopted its tax effective May 11, 1946; San Diego July

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[1] Division of Research and Statistics, Sacramento. 20 pp. Supplement to *City Sales Taxes in California*.

1, 1946; Oakland October 1, 1946; and San Francisco October 1, 1947, to mention the larger cities, each with a rate of one-half of one per cent.

The equalization board notes that some administrative problems appear with considerable frequency. Most often mentioned by city officials are difficulties arising from intercity sales. Almost all the cities appear to have exempted sales on shipments out of the city, but trouble is encountered in collection of taxes on shipments into the city from neighboring municipalities, especially in cities in Los Angeles County. Another problem is that of collecting from businesses which are sold, closed or operated by itinerants. A few cities require deposits or the posting of bonds by itinerants, but small operators who go out of business without filing final returns cause considerable tax loss.

Aid to Cities Increased by Eight States

This year eight legislatures have passed laws giving cities larger shares of state taxes, according to the American Municipal Association.

The Arkansas legislature appropriated $2,800,000 to the municipal aid fund for the remainder of the fiscal year and provided for an annual appropriation of $3,000,000, nearly double the previous allotment.

In Indiana, the cities' share of state motor user taxes has been boosted to 15 per cent. It is estimated this action will bring Indiana municipalities $8,000,000 annually or about twice the amount previously received from this source. In recent court action the cities' claims relating to these taxes were upheld by the Marion County Superior Court.

Kansas counties and cities will receive an estimated $1,000,000 from the 2 per cent liquor enforcement tax levied by the legislature. Counties will keep half the money they receive and allocate the remainder among cities on a population basis.

Montana adopted the first tax-sharing measure in its history when the legislature set aside 6 per cent of gross liquor revenues collected in state liquor stores for allocation to cities, towns and counties. During 1949 its local governments are expected to get $1,000,000 from this source.

New legislation in Oregon increases the state gasoline tax to six cents and raises fees on motor vehicles. Cities will get 10 per cent of collections. State-collected liquor license fees were boosted also and the city-county share raised to give cities an estimated $120,000 more annually.

South Dakota municipalities will receive 10 per cent of all motor vehicle license fees under a new law which revises the licensing method so that the total revenue is increased 40 per cent. Cities and towns had not previously received any of this state income. Funds will be distributed by the county treasurer on a mileage basis.

Local shares of state collected auto license fees in Utah have been boosted so that an additional $772,383 will be divided among cities, towns and counties. Total allocation for the year is $2,272,383 — approximately $4.53 per capita.

In the state of Washington, the legislature acted to permit the State Highway Department to construct and maintain all state primary and secondary highways and bridges within cities and towns. The state gasoline tax was raised to cover the expenditure of $5,000,000 annually of state money on city streets. This is in addition to the $4,000,000 the cities now receive yearly from the gasoline tax.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

North Jersey Cities Organize for Planning

Passaic Area Seeks Much Needed Improvement Program

FORMATION of neighborhood citizens' councils is one objective of the newly organized **Passaic-Bergen Community Planning Association,** which covers one of the large metropolitan areas in northern New Jersey adjacent to New York City. The first of such councils is that for Passaic's east side. It was organized at a meeting attended by nearly two hundred representative citizens of the neighborhood.

Albert F. Metz, president of the Community Planning Association, and District Court Judge Stanley J. Polack, who presided as temporary chairman of the new citizens' council, outlined the redevelopment project, listing as its main objectives "replacement of substandard dwellings with adequate housing, solution of traffic and parking problems, provision of educational, recreational and cultural facilities and modernization of the shopping district." They emphasized local citizen participation in the development of a plan and in efforts to achieve its realization.

Mr. Metz outlined the background of the Community Planning Association and its objectives, listing as the two basic elements of good planning: (1) active support of the citizens and (2) a technical staff.

Representatives of local churches, social service, veterans, merchants and labor groups strongly supported the proposals.

The meeting went on record as formally constituting itself the **Citizens' Council of the Passaic Redevelopment Project,** a division of the Passaic-Bergen Community Planning Association, and a committee was appointed to prepare a slate of nominees for permanent officers. Nearly a thousand application cards for membership were taken by persons who volunteered to enroll friends and neighbors.

Civic Activity in Planning Continues

Called by its president, Major General U. S. Grant III, and Oklahoma's Governor Roy J. Turner, the **National Citizens Conference on Community Planning** was held in Oklahoma City March 27-30. The conference is one of the activities of the **American Planning and Civic Association.** Local sponsoring organizations included the **Oklahoma City Citizens Planning Association** and **Chamber of Commerce** and the city's planning commission and planning and resources board.

The program offered a discussion of many problems affecting community operation and growth of both urban and rural areas: traffic conditions and controls, benefits of planning to business through improved tax structure and better community facilities, control of land use and developments outside corporate limits to provide for attractive and orderly growth, rebuilding under recent urban redevelopment laws, waste of public money by failure of communities to anticipate future needs and citizen participation in making and carrying out plans. One session was devoted especially to the need for planning in towns under 10,000 population.

Among the speakers and program leaders were: Major General Lewis

A. Pick, chief of the Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army; Flavel Shurtleff, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Mayor A. P. Kaufmann of St. Louis where a $63,000,000 postwar program for city improvements is under way; Major General Philip B. Fleming, administrator of federal works; and Harland Bartholomew of St. Louis, nationally prominent planner.

The **Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning** conducted a panel discussion on regional planning led by Miss Jacqueline Tyrwhitt of England, director of research of the Association for Regional Planning and Reconstruction in London, now lecturing at the New School for Social Research in New York. Miss Tyrwhitt's opening talk "touched off a rich discussion of the problems of metropolitan Philadelphia," comments the *News Letter* of the council, "the flight to the suburbs, the decay of the central city, the need for organizing means of metropolitan planning, housing and development, regional location of industry and the kind of metropolitan planning suitable and desirable for this area, and the need for citizen activity dealing with regional problems."

The annual meeting of the **Toledo Regional Planning Association** heard Walter S. Schmidt, leader in Cincinnati civic affairs and past president and founder of the Urban Land Institute. The topic was "Industrial Considerations in City and Regional Planning."

The **Louisville Area Development Association** has published *Louisville—Five Years of Development, 1943-1948* (21 pages), which "outlines the growth of the Louisville area since 1943 and attempts to show the part the association has played in its growth and development."

The **Rural Planning Association of Allen County, Indiana,** is made up of citizens interested in county planning and zoning. Its aim is to assist individuals and committees in the townships and residential communities on local needs. Vice presidents of the association are working in specific sections of the county in the general vicinity of their homes. Among the association's projects are a master plan, creation of citizen interest and bettering of community relations. Transportation, land use and zoning, utilities, schools and many other projects are receiving attention.

Thirty Problems for Metropolitan Fort Wayne (six pages), issued by the **Fort Wayne (Indiana) Civic Association,** seeks the cooperation of city, county, business and other interests in the solution of such problems as traffic congestion, smoke abatement, blighted areas and water supply. Stressed is the need for a master plan for both city and county.

Use New Patterns

The **Regional Plan Association,** covering the New Jersey, New York and Connecticut metropolitan region, has two new publications. Its April *Regional Plan Bulletin* is devoted to "Recent Housing Trends," and notes that new housing in the area has accommodated less than half the increase in families since 1940 despite fast developing residential areas around the region's seven most populated cities.

Rebuilding Without Congestion, a Policy for Central City Development (eight pages) is a formal statement of policy on rebuilding New York, Newark, Bridgeport, Jersey City, Elizabeth, Paterson and Yonkers. It urges care against creating "a regimented and institutional appearance," in redeveloping the older centers. "Even as we should avoid building new areas in the suburbs with the congenital defects of the older centers," says Paul

Kansas City, Mo.

Windels, president of the Regional Plan Association, "so we must break the vicious circle of rebuilding today's blighted central areas in yesterday's patterns and densities."

The **Citizens Planning and Construction Council of Illinois** is urging creation of a permanent, adequately financed state planning and development commission to take the place of the present Illinois Postwar Planning Commission and the Illinois Development Council, says R. Ron Henrekin, its president. The recommendation is in a report by the council's legislative committee, made after "careful study of planning and development programs . . . in other states."

Citizen activities in planning are reported by the Tennessee State Planning Commission in *The Tennessee Planner*. The **Knoxville Council of Civic Clubs,** composed of ten leading civic organizations, is bringing to a close its project of securing a "multimillion dollar civic auditorium." A committee for the council, organized to determine what project would benefit Knoxville most, selected an auditorium. A later committee set forth its size and uses and, finally, the civic center committee was appointed to get active planning under way. This committee recommends that the voters be asked to decide whether such a project should be launched at this time. If they approve, the city council will appoint an auditorium board and provide funds for a site planner and architect.

The Lawrenceburg (Tennessee) Planning Commission, finding that population figures and land use data were not up to date, asked the **Lioness Club** to make a survey as one of its community improvement projects. The ladies visited every home in the city, securing census data and entering the home location on a map. "The survey will prove of benefit not only to the city as a whole but to the individual organizations as well," reports the *Planner.*

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Cleanup Campaigns

In a resolution adopted April 5 the Pennsylvania House of Representatives congratulated the **Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning,** the City Planning Commission and others for their contribution to a project known as "Yardville"—the clean-up and beautification of the yards of one of Philadelphia's older neighborhoods. The movement has led to the formation of a **Philadelphia Yardville Committee** and now a national **Yardville Committee.** The Citizens' Council has been conducting a local Yardville contest with eleven awards ranging from $500 for first prize down.

Charles A. Phelps, former state senator, was the principal speaker at the "kick-off" meeting in **Woodburn, Indiana,** for "Clean-up Week." "The energy of this small community of 500 people in civic matters is remarkable," reports the *News Letter* of the **Fort Wayne Civic Association.** "Supporting ten clubs and organizations, buying a city park out of private funds, promoting civic projects which net substantial sums of money and organizing a clean-up week to stimulate the surrounding county area are not only inspiring to its own citizens but establish leadership in civic promotion for the entire county."

The **Fort Wayne (Indiana) Junior Chamber of Commerce** conducted a "Clean Up, Paint Up, and Fix Up" campaign this spring.

The **Central Atlanta Improvement Association** has been cooperating with the **Women's Chamber of Commerce** in its annual "Clean Up, Paint Up, Fire Prevention Drive."

With the Civic Groups

The **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy** has recently issued "The Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Committee of Seventy to Its Contributors, Friends and Others Interested in Raising the Standards of Citizenship, Government and Politics in the City of Philadelphia." . . .

Direct election of party district leaders in all parties and in all boroughs is favored by the **Citizens Union of New York City**. "It will be a substantial step forward in making the parties a proper channel for popular expression when the people throughout the city can elect their own party leaders simply and directly," says a news release by George H. Hallett, Jr., the union's secretary. . . .

The **Good Government League of Hamilton County** (Cincinnati) arranged a public hearing "to give citizens and organizations an opportunity to express their views on pending legislation to their representatives without the necessity of traveling to Columbus." Local senators and representatives were invited to attend. Spokesmen of over twenty organizations presented their views on urban redevelopment, public housing enabling act, reduction of the percentage of votes necessary for passage of bond issues, equalization of property valuations throughout the state for taxing purposes, aid to expressways and highways, use of the revenue from the Southern Railroad for major improvements, and distribution of sales tax revenue to cities. . . .

"Home Work for Good Citizens" is the headline to a plea by the **Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce** that citizens give their views on controversial measures before the legislature to their senators and representatives. The chamber, in its *Goings-on-at-the-State Capitol,* listed a number of bills on which public hearings were scheduled.

Court Supports Citizens

The Appellate Division of the Superior Court of New Jersey has sustained the judgment of a lower court that citizens and taxpayers have a right to inspect public records. The question arose in **Cape May,** where the board of commissioners announced a proposed increase in the city's tax rate. An auditor representing the local **Taxpayers Association** was permitted to examine municipal records but when he sought to have officers of the association aid him in non-technical matters, the city refused to grant them access to the records, whereupon the association brought suit.

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Anti-Pollution Council

Led by the **Rotary Club,** a number of Toledo organizations have formed the **Maumee Valley Anti-Pollution Council,** among them the **League of Women Voters, Toledo Safety Council, Chamber of Commerce** and **Parent-Teachers Association.** Although membership is limited to Toledo at present, the area of action is considered to be the entire Maumee Valley watershed, extending into Michigan. Purposes of the new organization are to stimulate interest in a bill before the Ohio legislature and, when that bill is passed, to conduct an educational program. The council is establishing a speakers bureau, a technical administration committee, and committees on membership, legal problems, public relations and health.

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New Political Party

More than two hundred local residents participated in the election of a seventeen-man executive board for the newly formed **Long Beach (New York) Good Government party.** Under the temporary chairmanship of Councilman Joseph Ross, the membership also approved a constitution and by-laws.

Purpose of the party, reports the *Long Island Independent,* is "to maintain economic and efficient government in the interest of all the people, by officials directly responsible to the voters, not subject to political control, and chosen on municipal, not state or national, issues."

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New Organization

The **Citizens Good Government Organization of Hastings-on-Hudson, New York,** was organized in May at a meeting of some 50 local residents. Wilton Bentley, former village trustee, was elected chairman. Purpose of the new group is to consider village problems and to recommend and support candidates for local village offices. The organization meeting was addressed by Arthur Thexton, formerly of Cincinnati, on "Citizen Organization for Good Government."

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New Civic Publications

The Civic Education Project (fourteen pages), published by the **Educational Research Corporation** at Cambridge, describes the goals and the plan of operation of the project as it is being carried out under the direction of Dr. John J. Mahoney, formerly of Boston University, and Dr. Henry W. Holmes, formerly of Harvard University, aided by researchers and class room teachers.

Any Age—Any Talent, Children Can Think Constructively About Their Communities (eight pages), by Margaret Carroll, may be secured from the **Tennessee State Planning Commission,** Nashville. Children can plan, is its theme, illustrated with "junior class" drawings and penned comments.

The League and State Constitutional Revision (five pages, mimeographed) may be secured from the **National League of Women Voters** in Washington for five cents. Covered are the need for revision, convention or amendment, road blocks to revision, what revision takes, a program for the League of Women Voters and the league's fitness for the job.

Another publication of the **National League of Women Voters** is *A History of the League Program* (58 pages), prepared by Kathryn H. Stone. It discusses "how one thing led to another in the history of the League of Women Voters—a nonpartisan organization established in 1920 to encourage citizen participation in government."

Ninety Days of Lawmaking in Minnesota, published by the University of Minnesota Press at Minneapolis, was prepared by Barbara Stuhler, organization secretary of the **Minnesota League of Women Voters** and various consultants.

The **League of Women Voters of New York City** has its 1949 edition of *They Represent You in Washington, Albany, New York City* (30 pages) available at fifteen cents. A companion volume published by the **state league** (25 cents) covers all the state except New York City.

Both the **League of Women Voters of Georgia** and that of **Atlanta** have issued 1949 political directories listing city, county and state officials and much other information of value to the voter. The state group's pamphlet is ten cents, that of the city fifteen.

Let's Look at Ourselves—A Brief Guide for Conducting a Community Audit (twelve pages) is available from the **National Citizens Council on Civil Rights,** New York. It tells how to organize an "audit on civil rights" in your own home town. A companion piece describes *The Montclair Community Audit* (eight pages), by the **Community Relations Service of New York.**

Attractively printed in gray on

yellow—but with type in gray ink mighty hard to read—*A Philosophy for Adult Education,* by Paul Bergevin, has been published by **Purdue-Indiana University Community Services** at Bloomington, Indiana. The author concludes that "Adult education in a democracy should point to broadening the horizons of its citizens in social, cultural, vocational and physical areas in order to maintain and further develop: (1) an intelligent electorate; (2) a healthy and happy citizenry; (3) vocationally competent workers; (4) a broader cultural base for all; (5) an understanding of our rights and responsibilities and those of our fellow men."

The **Bureau of Adult Education of the New York State Education Department** has two new pamphlets on citizenship. *Bridging the Gap* (32 pages), issued by the **Young Adult Education Staff,** by cartoon and primer-style reading matter discusses that transitional stage for young people between school and community civic life. "Unless they find some way to bridge this gap," says the primer, "young adults are apt to lose interest in their community." Suggested as one remedy is formation of a **Youth Adult Civic Council.**

The bureau's second pamphlet is *The Community Project in International Understanding* (32 pages) part one of which explains what it is, with part two listing recommendations.

The *Report of the Third National Conference on Citizenship,* held in Washington May 16-19, 1948 (112 pages), under the auspices of the **National Education Association** and the **United States Department of Justice,** may be obtained from the National Education Association in Washington at 50 cents.

The **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, Chamber of Commerce, Citizens' Council on City Planning, Committee of Seventy,** and the **Philadelphia Committee of the Pennsylvania Economy League** have cooperated in the publication of *How to Modernize Philadelphia's Government* (31 pages, ten cents). Discussed are city-county consolidation, home rule, debt stabilization and consolidation of the registration commission, which operates under the city, and the board of elections, which operates under the county.

You Are the Government—A Handbook for Minnesota Citizens (96 pages, 25 cents) has been compiled by the **League of Women Voters of St. Paul.** Addressed "To Mary and John Citizen and Little Mary and Little John Future Citizens," the pamphlet describes how to vote, the setup of political parties, organization of the state of Minnesota as well as the various local governments, with some comment on the federal government and the United Nations. Charts lend visual aid.

The small community is discussed in *Your Community . . . Which Way?* (ten pages) and *Community Survival* (nineteen pages), issued by the **College of Agriculture of the University of Illinois.** Both describe the need for community betterment with the latter giving yardsticks as exemplified by several central Illinois towns cooperating with the **Central Illinois Community Betterment Program.**

The **Department of City and Regional Planning of the University of North Carolina** has issued a reprint from the *High School Journal* of March-April 1949 on *Educational Activities of Planning Agencies with the Public Schools* (96 pages, 30 cents). Programs in the schools of Greensboro (North Carolina), Philadelphia, Detroit and Valley Forge (Tennessee) are described.

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Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Viewing the Forest as Well as the Trees

Hoover Commission Leads New Trend in Research

THE Hoover Commission may be more important historically for what it is doing to governmental research, political thinking and civic action than for its immediate effect on the organization of the executive branch of the federal government. There has been a tendency for governmental research both in the universities and in the bureaus to concentrate on limited areas or specific problems which could be neatly wrapped up in a Ph. D. dissertation or in a bureau report that might produce tangible if not world-shaking results.

Undoubtedly the war and the prolonged crisis which has followed it have forced students, statesmen and citizens to ask themselves more earnestly than ever how our political ideas and the details and pieces of our system add up. Then came the Hoover Commission, with the most impressive array of research talent and practical experience ever brought together on a single project, to demonstrate that if our system is to be kept healthy we must not only prune each individual tree but we must also consider the forest and how to maintain the proper balance among the living forces that make it up.

The Hoover Commission example has already caused more than half the states to establish or consider similar committees to study state functions. Counties and municipalities are also talking about "little Hoover commissions."

Various reports of the commission and of its task forces have been and will be reported in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. We call special attention here to *Index to the Reports of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government* (77 pages) prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. This is particularly helpful to a researcher who wants to turn quickly to parts of the reports that might throw light on state or local problems.

Certain studies supporting the commission's very sketchy report on federal-state relations, heretofore unavailable, have been printed for the Subcommittee to Study Intergovernmental Relations of the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments: *Report on Federal-State Relations,* by Council of State Governments; *Appendix to Report on Federal-State Relations,* by Council of State Governments; *Report of Task Force Committee on Federal-State Relations,* T. J. Coolidge, chairman; *Development of Governmental Powers in the United States,* by Stanford Schewel; *State-Federal Overlapping Taxes,* by Roswell Magill.

More light is shed on this subject in the report of joint hearings on a National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, printed for the subcommittee. The report includes testimony and prepared statements from many sources, including Professor William Anderson, Carl Chatters and the Division of Tax Research of the Treasury Department.

A helpful compendium, *Basic Information on the Reorganization of the Executive Branch, 1912-1948,* compiled by W. Brooke Graves, has been issued

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by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. This 425-page book has a chronological list of all reorganization commissions and acts during that period, important proposals from other sources and presidential statements on reorganization.

A useful 27-page *Summary of Reports of the Hoover Commission,* compiled by Elmer P. Wohl, of the Public Administration Clearing House, was published in the spring 1949 number of the *Public Administration Review* and is available in reprint form at moderate prices.

Other useful summaries or digests of the Hoover reports include: *Reorganizing the Executive Branch of the Federal Government* (25 pages), issued by the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York; *Big Government; Can It Be Managed Efficiently?* (24 pages), a supplement to *Fortune* for May 1949; *Chaos in the Government—and What to Do About It* (48 pages, 50 cents), by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States; *Digest of Reports of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government* (61 pages), by the staff of the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments (U. S. Government Printing Office); and "Hoover Commission Highlights: Report Recommendations Summarized," an article in the May issue of *Tax Digest* (California Taxpayers' Association).

The Hoover report has done more than set a style for future governmental surveys. It also appears to be setting a style in citizen follow-up. Under the leadership of Mr. Hoover himself a vigorous campaign of public education has been started with the guidance and assistance of a Citizens Committee for Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government, headed by Dr. Robert L. Johnson, president of Temple University. State committees are being formed and local citizens committees are beginning to spring up partly as a result of stimulation and leadership furnished by the Governmental Research Association, which has urged all its members to take the initiative in their communities.

Local Action Committees

The G. R. A. has furnished its members with an excellent manual, *Organizing a Local Committee to Support Hoover Commission Findings.* The foreword of the manual begins, "Good government is in danger of becoming an abstraction, like peace or kindness, which everyone favors but which few people do anything about." It points out that after meeting an enthusiastic public response the Hoover proposals have run against the tough wall of bureaucratic and special interest opposition.

The manual includes instructions on how to set up a local committee, a sample speech entitled "Reducing our Federal Waste-Line," a list of members of the commission and task forces by states.

It should be recognized that comprehensive as was the job of the Hoover Commission it has not itself necessarily raised all or even most of the ultimate questions that need to be answered before we can be sure that our federal government, to say nothing of state, county or municipal government, is an adequate instrument of twentieth century democracy.

Two members of the commission even denied the propriety of the commission considering the question of federal-state relations, despite the fact that state and even local governments are more and more becoming agencies for carrying out services projected and supported by Congress. Unfortunately the report adds little or nothing to the thinking on the basic issues of federalism.

Similarly, although it necessarily deals incidentally with relations between the executive agencies and Congress, it could not attack the crucial problem of adapting the legislative branch to the tremendous tasks and strains of modern government.

This being the case, work for fundamental improvement of legislative representation, organization and procedure continues to be a particularly important responsibility of political scientists and of citizen research and action agencies. Fortunately there are numerous indications in current literature of increasing attention to overall problems of governmental structure and performance.

For example, the Southern Political Science Association has recently issued two volumes of papers which, generally speaking, fit into this frame. *The Southern Political Scene 1938-1948,* (two dollars), edited by Taylor Cole and John H. Hallowell, consists of an introduction and fourteen articles reprinted from the May and August 1948 numbers of its *Journal of Politics*. The volume includes papers on recent social change and economic developments in the south, recent southern political thought, southern governors, southern legislatures and legislation, trends in public administration and local government, and governmental planning in the south.

Another comprehensive volume is *The Presidency in Transition* (two dollars), edited by Robert S. Rankin, reprinted from the February 1949 *Journal of Politics.*

The literature on the evolution and meaning of the presidency was substantially enriched in 1948 by the appearance of James Hart's *The American Presidency in Action: A Study in Constitutional History* (Macmillan, four dollars). There also appeared a new edition of Professor Edward S. Corwin's study of the presidency from the point of view of public law, *The President: Office and Powers, 1787-1948* (New York University Press, $6.75).

It would, of course, be possible to extend this catalogue almost indefinitely into many fields. The point is that there are increasing numbers of books, articles and monographs that indicate a tendency of research and writing on our political institutions to recapture the broad view and the deep thinking that made American political writing in our first constitution-making period so distinguished.

Bureau Notes

Fifty prominent Memphians have organized a Civic Research Committee and named Mrs. Henry Rau executive secretary. The committee is "for research and the study of and dissemination of information regarding ways and means for improving city and county government in the city of Memphis and in the county of Shelby, Tennessee," according to the charter application.

Topics and discussion leaders for the Governmental Research Association Conference, to be held at Bedford Springs, Pennsylvania, September 7, 8, 9, have been announced by Louis D. Brown, secretary. These include: civil service vs. spoils system, Loren B. Miller, chairman; optional local taxing responsibilities, Carl R. Dortch, chairman; police protection, Bruce Smith, chairman; street cleaning, refuse removal and disposal, Lennox L. Moak, chairman; and university preparation for governmental research, Fred A. Schuckman, chairman.

The May 1949 *Kansas Government Journal,* published by the League of

Kansas Municipalities, carries a list of the state's local government information sources and research services as well as of the more important local government research publications of the state.

Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Conference of the Western Governmental Research Association (42 pages) covers the following panel discussions: Reports to Top Management, A Problem in Research, Garrett R. Breckenridge, chairman; Research Faux Pas, Gordon M. Bain, chairman; Coordinating Research Activities, Edwin A. Cottrell, chairman; Research on Intergovernmental Relations, Paul E. Carrico, chairman; and Research on Taxation, James Musatti, chairman. Addresses on Dissemination of Government Research, by Peter Odegard, Can We Distinguish the Public Segment from the Private Segment of our Economy? by Arthur G. Coons, and An Administrator Looks at Research, by Wayne R. Allen, are also printed in the *Proceedings,* which may be obtained from the Office of the Secretariat, University of California, Berkeley, for one dollar.

Two research organizations have recently issued their annual reports. The Nevada Taxpayers Association's 27th Annual Report is found in the April 1949 issue of the *Nevada Tax Review.* The annual report of the Jasper County (Missouri) Tax Economy Association is entitled *Saving Your Tax Dollars in Jasper County.*

The Fourteenth Annual Institute of Government of the University of Washington will be held in Seattle July 11-15. Included in the program are sections on local action in democracy, law enforcement, planning, public welfare, traffic engineering, civil rights, taxation, public library administration, public relations and development of the Columbia Valley Basin.

California Public Survey, a new monthly digest of information published by the Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, will "present a cross section of current publications and developments in the domestic aspects of our government." The first issue contains four sections: In the News, From Washington, From the States, and On the Desk, the last being a list of books and publications received.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Atomic Energy

The Peacetime Uses of Atomic Energy. By Paul W. Gilles. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* May 15, 1949. 3 pp.

Bibliography

Currently Available Bulletins and Reports. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* May 20, 1949, 3 pp.

Budgets

Final City Budget. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* May 19, 1949. 4 pp.

A Manual for Municipal Budgeting. By Edward McKenna Johnson, Jr. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 22 pp.

Needed — Efficient Budgetary Accounting. Woonsocket, Rhode Island, Taxpayers Association, *Your Business,* June 1949. 2 pp.

Supervisors Face Budget Problem. ("One of the largest potential tax increases ever to confront a board of supervisors.") San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* May 4, 1949. 2 pp.

Taxpayers' Calendar 1949 (county and other local units). Indianapolis, Indiana Taxpayers Association. 2 pp.

Tracking Down the Expenditure Dollar. Cleveland, Citizens League, 1949. 17 pp.

Civil Service

State Personnel Body Controls State Employees, Supervises Local Agencies. ("State Civil Service Functions and Organization Described.") Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer,* May 1949. 1 p. chart, table.

Constitutions

The Constitution of Kentucky: Suggestions for Revision. By Thomas D. Clark, Alvin E. Evans, Gladys M. Kammerer, C. S. Lowry, James W. Martin, Paul Oberst, J. E. Reeves, Jasper B. Shannon, William S. Taylor, Amry Vandenbosch, Kenneth E. Vanlandingham and Kenneth P. Vinsel. Lexington, University of Kentucky, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1948. 118 pp.

The Executive Branch in New State Constitutions. By Leslie Lipson. Chicago, American Society for Public Administration, *Public Administration Review,* Winter 1949. 11 pp.

County Government

County Property Tax Levies Show General Rise. Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer,* May 1949. 1 p. table.

County Government in the State of Washington: Effect of Adoption of Proposed County Home Rule Constitutional Amendment. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1948. 36 pp.

Courts

Administrative Reforms in New Jersey's Courts. By Ralph R. Temple. New York, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* May-June 1949. 3 pp.

Education

New Schools. Lackawanna, New York, Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* April 1949. 6 pp.

Statutory Control of Private Trade Schools. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1948. 45 pp.

That Salary Question Again. Atlantic City, New Jersey, Tax Survey Commission, 1949. 2 pp. table.

Elections and Voting

Are We Supporting Democracy on the Home Front? (An analysis of nonvoting in the January local elections.) Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* May 20, 1949. 6 pp.

Popular Control of the Presidential Nominating Process. St. Paul, Minnesota Legislative Research Committee, 1948. 19 pp.

Fire Protection and Police

Organization for Public Safety. (Discussion of three organizational possibilities for the fire and police departments as contrasted with the present inefficient administrative board system in Providence.) Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* April 1949. 3 pp.

Hospitals

Organization of the Cleveland City Hospital. By Thomas H. and Doris D. Reed (for Consultant Service of National Municipal League). Cleveland, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1949. 44 pp.

Housing

Meeting Municipal Responsibility for More Adequate Housing. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, *Borough Bulletin,* June 1949. 4 pp.

Metropolitan San Diego Housing Survey. San Diego, State College Foundation, Institute of Public Opinion, 1948. 200 pp. tables, maps.

The Priorities on Government Action in the Field of Housing. Toronto, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* May 31, 1949. 6 pp.

Report on Reclamation of an Industrial Suburb: A Municipal Rating Study of Fitzroy. Surrey Hills, Victoria, Australia, Land Values Research Group, 1949. 38 pp. $1. (Apply to L. F. Bawden, 52 Guildford Road, Surrey Hills, E. 10., Victoria).

Summary and Recommendations of a Housing Program for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. By Max Nurnberg. Pittsburgh, Allegheny Conference on Community Development, 1949. 14 pp.

Labor Legislation

Recent State Labor Legislation. (Considers labor-management relations and labor welfare and security legislation in all states; California labor legislation in particular.) By Edward F. Staniford. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 56 pp. tables. $1.25.

Metropolitan Areas

Progress in Metropolitan Integration. By Thomas H. Reed. Chicago, American Society for Public Administration, *Public Administration Review,* Winter 1949. 10 pp.

A Study of the Fringe Areas of Modesto, California. By James Wilson McGrew and Arthur Bruce Winter. Denver, University of Denver, Department of Government Management, 1948. Variously paged, tables, maps. $3.50.

Population

Population of Michigan 1840 to 1960: An Analysis of Growth, Distribution and Composition. (Appendix includes data on the size of each incorporated place in Michigan for each census year since 1840 or that immediately following incorporation.) By Amos H. Hawley. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Bureau of Government, 1949. vii, 116 pp. tables, graphs, maps. $1.50.

Political Activity

Is Politics Necessary? (Forms of political activity: within a major party, third parties, pressure groups, congressional blocs.) By Rhoten A. Smith. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* April 15, 1949. 3 pp.

Public Health

South Carolina State Board of Health. By Christian L. Larsen and Jeanette Searles. Columbia, University of South Carolina, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 58 pp.

Purchasing

City Purchasing, Lackawanna, New York, Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* January 1949. 6 pp.

Retirement Systems

Administration of the Contributory Retirement System of Taunton. Taunton, Massachusetts, Association of Commerce, *Bulletin,* March 28, 1949. 6 pp.

Proceedings, Local Government Conference on Retirement and Pensions for Pennsylvania Municipal Employees. (Contains reprints of addresses: "The Problem of Retirement and Pensions as Related to Local Government Administration," David H. Kurtzman; "The Pennsylvania Municipal Employees Retirement Law," Harry H. Meizlik; "The Essentials of Sound Planning for Retirement and Pennsylvania Local Government," Stephen B. Sweeney; also transcript of questions and discussion from the floor.) **The Pennsylvania Municipal Employees Retirement Law—A Summary.** Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, Institute of Local Government, 1949. 56 and 11 pp. respectively.

Public Employee Plans in Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* 1949. 4 pp.

School and State Employees' Retirement Systems—A Comparison. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Joint State Government Commission, March 1949. 60 pp. tables.

Should Public Employee Pension Systems Have Full Actuarial Reserves? Yes. By George B. Buck. **No.** By Edward D. Brown. New York, Governmental Research Association, *Reporter,* March-April 1949. 2 pp. each.

Taxation and Finance

Certain Timely Considerations Regarding City Finances and Related Matters. (Part 1, The City Debt Should Be Reduced; Part 2, City Public Improvement Programming Should Be Better Coordinated and Budgeted; Part 3, City Costs Should Be Reviewed and Budget Increases Avoided.) Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* May 17, 18, 19, 1949. 3, 2 and 2 pp. respectively.

Cost of Typical Functions in Largest Upstate (New York) Cities. Syracuse, Governmental Research Bureau, *Your Government,* May 31, 1949. 4 pp. graph.

Federally Owned Property in California. By Elizabeth Ferina and Edward F. Staniford. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, April 1949. 35 pp. tables. $1.

Is a Corporation Tax Michigan's Only "Way Out"? Detroit, Michigan Public Expenditure Survey, *Bulletin,* May 11, 1949. 2 pp.

The $1,600,000 Bond Issue. New Haven, Taxpayers Research Council, *Council Comment,* May 25, 1949. 2 pp.

Philadelphia's Rank in Operating Expenditures. Philadelphia's Rank in Per Capita Tax Revenues. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* May 24 and 31, 1949. 4 pp. each.

The Proposed Bond Issue for Woonsocket. Woonsocket, Rhode Island, Taxpayers Association, *Your Business,* May 1949. 2 pp.

CITIZEN ACTION

(Continued from page 361)

Strictly Personal

Elmer Plumas Fries, fighting editor-in-chief of the *Cincinnati Post* during the early years of that city's charter reform movement, died on May 18 at Columbus, Ohio. Fries was proud of the help he gave Cincinnati's fledgling city manager campaigns. In the drive for a new charter, led by Henry Bentley, Ralph Holterhoff, Murray Seasongood and Charles P. Taft, *The Post* stood alone among the newspapers of the city. Fries' exposure of what was generally described as the worst government in the nation played a large part in overthrowing the corrupt machine then in control.

The Chicago City Club reports in a recent *Bulletin* that **Frederick H. Deknatel,** one of its founders, died recently at the age of 81.

At its annual meeting on May 5 the Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning elected **Henry C. Beerits** as president. Mr. Beerits, an attorney, is administrative secretary of the American Friends Service Committee.

Robert K. Sawyer, director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, has been appointed executive director of the Greater Philadelphia Movement.

The Connecticut Merit System Association has named **William E. C. Bulkeley** as president, succeeding **Charles G. Morris,** now president emeritus.

John N. Rupp has been reelected by the board of trustees as president of the Seattle Municipal League. **Lorin Peterson,** the league's research director, has resigned to become community relations officer of the Adult Education Department of the University of Washington.

Books in Review

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A Study of the Port of New York Authority. By Frederick L. Bird. New York, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 1949. 191 pp. illus. $5.

Those of us who are interested in the problems of metropolitan communities which sit astride state lines, as well as those who are interested in financing the cost of public improvements out of revenue, have cause to be grateful to the Port of New York Authority for enlisting the services of Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., for the only complete and up-to-date account of the nature and achievements of that great civic enterprise. The work has been done by Frederick L. Bird, one of the most competent scholars in the field of local government and public finance this country has produced.

The book is a splendid example of the printer's art, its large double-column pages being particularly adapted to the display of its illuminating tables and numerous well chosen and beautifully executed illustrations.

Dr. Bird, as might have been expected, has emphasized the financial procedures and debt management policies of the authority, but he has not neglected to explain its origin and development and the organization which has been responsible for its administrative success.

The Port of New York Authority was set up by compact between the states of New York and New Jersey in 1921. As originally conceived its chief purpose was the integration of the freight-handling facilities of the port of New York, in which field it met with only indifferent success.

Happily, however, it was given broad powers with regard to the development of the port in other directions, particularly the matter of vehicular transportation between New Jersey and New York. Here its success has been phenomenal. Three of its facilities — the Holland Tunnel which it took over after construction and the Washington Bridge and Lincoln Tunnel which it constructed—now carry almost 90 per cent of the vehicles which cross the Hudson to Manhattan. They have proved veritable gold mines and have given the securities of the authority a basis so strong as to make the financing of other enterprises possible.

The authority maintains three bridges from New Jersey to Staten Island, a less-than-carload freight terminal in Manhattan, a grain elevator in Brooklyn, and is in the process of setting up truck terminals in New York and Newark and a great passenger bus terminal in mid-Manhattan.

It has also assumed by lease the three great airports of the metropolis—Newark, LaGuardia and International—and the port facilities of the city of Newark.

It has advanced plans, apparently definitely rejected, for the management of the waterfront properties of the U. S. government in Hoboken and of the city of New York. Dr. Bird's volume makes the accomplishment of all these things seem financially possible for the giant Port Authority.

It is interesting that so much can be done by a quasi-municipal corporation without power to tax, except indirectly in the form of fees higher than the cost some of its individual projects would warrant. No other ad hoc metropolitan agency has achieved so great prosperity or spread its arms to embrace so much power. Of course, no other authority has been given a monopoly—except for the obsolete and withering ferry routes — of vehicular transportation facilities between a large part of the continental United States and Manhattan Island.

So long as the traffic will stand stiff tolls without complaint the Port of New York Authority will have increasing sums to devote to other objects. If they prove similarly profitable there is almost no limit to what it might do for New York. It might even do something toward providing parking places for the thousands of vehicles it siphons into Manhattan every day.

Unique as the financial opportunities of this multiple-purpose authority have been, there is still much for other communities to learn from its operation. Perhaps the most important is the need of keeping an authority out of politics and free to serve the public interest with undivided zeal. The slowness of the Port of New York Authority to adopt standard budget practices and personnel procedures is, on the other hand, nothing to be imitated by other agencies with less resources.

This book will be read by many prospective investors in the securities of the Port of New York Authority. It should also be read by those who wish to observe a successful instance of public administration of large-scale enterprises as well as by the sorely perplexed students of metropolitan phenomena.

THOMAS H. REED

Office of General Services. Supply Activities. A Report to the Congress. **Task Force Report on the Federal Supply System.** Washington, D. C., The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, 1949. 52 and 116 pp. 20 and 25 cents respectively.

These documents are undoubtedly the most comprehensive, penetrating and constructively critical studies yet produced on the federal government's supply activities.

They were made under the direction of the outstanding authority on governmental purchasing in this country and a former secretary of the National Municipal League, Russell Forbes, who was assisted by a large staff of experts lent by business and government.

The magnitude of the problem is indicated by the statements that the federal government "is spending more than six billion dollars a year for new material, supplies and equipment for the regular activities of the civilian and military agencies." It "also has in storage, in the continental United States, military and civilian inventories valued at twenty-seven billion dollars. No one knows accurately the total worth of government personal property currently being used, but its million or more motor vehicles, for example, have a value of at least two billion dollars." And it also pays out annually more than "$440,000,000 in salaries of the nearly 150,000 employees working in supply operations."

Among the major deficiencies of federal supply operations are: the lack of any central body to coordinate government purchasing activities, lack of competent personnel in many purchasing offices, failure to plan purchasing operations, lack of information and funds to permit taking advantage of favorable market conditions, lack of cost records and an overemphasis on routine soliciting of bids and awarding of contracts to the lowest bidder.

There are too many storage warehouses with resulting duplicate inventories, storehouses are not well located with reference to use of their materials and they have excessive stocks.

Insufficient study of the problem of transporting government property undoubtedly implies excessive expenditures in this field. Many specifications are out of date, in certain cases they do not exist where they are needed, and valid specifications are not being enforced.

Inspection methods are not uniform and inspection services and testing laboratories are scattered over the country without any coordination. Some duplication of laboratory facilities was found.

At present there are many unrelated systems of property identification in use, resulting in confusion and duplication. Too little attention has been given to obtaining a maximum use of personal property. "Some agencies maintain no property controls and numerous agencies have not inventoried their property in years." This has resulted in the accumulation of large inventories of surplus property.

Such a staggering indictment of federal supply operations springs from seven primary causes:

1. Supply is not fully recognized as an important executive function,
2. The organization to handle supply operation is inadequate,
3. The personnel system does not provide a competent staff,
4. A maze of laws and regulations encourages routine buying,
5. Insufficient laws and regulations in the fields of storage and issue, traffic specifications, inspection and property identification,
6. The budgeting system fails to emphasize the need of advance planning of supply requirements,
7. There is a failure to compile the proper type of statistical and cost data.

In such a brief review as this, space does not permit listing the many recommendations of this report. They appear to be sound, however, and well designed to improve federal supply organization, operation and personnel.

Charlton F. Chute

Philadelphia Division
Pennsylvania Economy League

Twelve Against the Underworld. By Norman E. Nygaard. New York, Hobson Book Press, 1947. xiv, 159 pp.

A source book—the narrative of how twelve ministers went to war on protected vice in their city of Steubenville, Ohio. Their first move, in 1946, was a joint advertisement showing that their next Sunday's sermons at their twelve churches would all be entitled "Enemies Within Our Gates," dealing with "current vice conditions in our city." They had a thin time of it for a while but learned that every setback won new friends, resulting finally in a new and decent regime in city hall after the next election and a change in Steubenville's long established and unsavory municipal reputation.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Bonding

Surety Bonds. Bonding the Public Official. A Report of the Committee on Surety Bonds. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1949. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Budgets

Issues Involved in Federal Budget. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* March-April 1949. 16 pp.

Community Development

Community Development (Basic Information Sources). By Victor Roterus and Max R. Bloom. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Business Information Service, 1949. 10 pp.

New Industry Comes to the South. A Summary of the Report of the NPA Committee of the South on Location of Industry. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1949. 32 pp. $1.

Debt

Governmental Debt in 1948. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1949. 8 pp.

Democracy

Liberty—A Path to Its Recovery. By F. A. Harper. Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, Foundation for Economic Education, 1949. 159 pp. $1.50 clothbound; $1 paperbound.

Laws

Action Upon All Printed Bills and Concurrent Resolutions by 37th General Assembly of Colorado. By Hubert D. Henry. Denver, 1949. 27 pp. (Apply author, 620 E. & C. Building, Denver 2.)

Digest of 1949 Laws Affecting Towns. Albany, New York, Association of Towns of the State of New York, 1949. 36 pp.

Local Government Laws. Text, Cases and Other Materials. By Jefferson B. Fordham. Brooklyn, New York, The Foundation Press, Inc., 1949. xxx, 1060 pp. $8.

Management

The Job of Management at the Supervisory Level. By Waldo E. Fisher. Pasadena 4, California, Industrial Relations Section, California Institute of Technology, 1949. 4 pp. (Single copies complimentary. Quantity prices upon request.)

Office Management for Health Workers. By Frances King and Louis L. Feldman. New York, The Commonwealth Fund, 1949. vii, 164 pp. $2.25.

Mapping

Cleveland Regional Geodetic Survey. By G. Brooks Earnest. Cleveland, Regional Association, 1949. 15 pp.

Mapping Proves Economical Expedient in Planning Growth of Large Cities. Symposium Presented Before ASCE's Surveying and Mapping Division. By G. Brooks Earnest, Charles B. Taylor, Jr., and Virgil Kauffman. Philadelphia 20, Aero Service Corporation, 1948. 10 pp. photos.

Your Land — Surveys, Maps and Titles. By Fred C. Morris, Blacksburg, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1949. 95 pp. 75 cents.

Planning

Annual Report on Long Range Planning. By Brookline Planning Board, William Stanley Parker, Consultant. Brookline, Massachusetts, The Board, 1948. 24 pp.

A Capital Outlay Program 1949-1954 for Town of Reading, Massachusetts. Reading, The Capital Expenditures Planning Committee, 1949. 23 pp.

Report on a Long Range Financial Plan. Weston, Massachusetts, Planning Board, 1949. 27 pp.

A Six-Year Financial Plan Including a Program of Capital Outlays 1949-1954. Malden, Massachusetts, The City Planning Board, 1949. 32 pp.

Population

Estimates of the Population of Continental United States by Age, Color and Sex: 1946 to 1948. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1949. 9 pp.

Public Works

Ninth Annual Report Federal Works Agency. Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1948. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1949. 46 pp. 20 cents.

Streets and Highways

Major Thoroughfares (Preliminary Report). By Toledo-Lucas County Plan Commissions. Toledo, Commission of Publicity and Efficiency, 1949. 18 pp.

Taxicab Regulation

Taxicabs — Regulation by Cities — Model Annotated Ordinance. By Charles S. Rhyne. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1949. 49 pp. $3.

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Moral Victory for Labor ....Editorial

Housewives Jolt Politicians ....*Carl Ek*

Hartford Likes Its New Plan ....*Leslie M. Gravlin*

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PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXVIII, No. 8 **Total Number 391**

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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The League's Business

Charles Edison 'Drafted' as Fourth Term Nominee

Charles Edison, who was elected president of the National Municipal League at the Philadelphia Conference and re-elected at the Nashville and Boston Conferences, has been requested by the nominating committee to permit his name to be proposed again at the Twin Cities Conference this fall.

The committee asked President Edison to withdraw his decision stated at the Boston meeting that his third term would be the final one.

The exchange of letters between Frederick L. Bird, of Dun & Bradstreet, chairman of the committee, and President Edison follows:

June 28, 1949

Dear Governor:

In view of what you said at the Boston Conference on the occasion of your re-election as president for a third year, the nominating committee has given careful thought to the presidency before preparing to propose nominees for vice presidents and members of the Council.

During your three terms the League has gained in influence and membership and has made most encouraging progress toward finding a solution of the financing problem. We may be on the threshold of achieving adequate financial support.

Because you have been a key factor in stimulating the progress made thus far and because there is a serious danger that our momentum may otherwise be impaired, we feel it is desirable and necessary that you accept a fourth term.

Even more important, you personify the League's aims and work as no one else whom it would be appropriate for the League to choose as president. We believe that sound local institutions and effective home town citizenship are essential to the future of our whole system. We believe that you, and the League under your leadership, can do more than any other person or organization to strengthen these factors at this critical time. We know that your continuing as president will be most heartening not only to officers and members of the League but also to the many citizen leaders who look to the League for guidance.

Without pretending to argue that there is such a being as the indispensable man, we feel most deeply that it would be a serious loss if you fail to acquiesce to the general desire that you continue as president.

We will be grateful if you will refrain from replying in a way that your modesty might suggest before giving us an opportunity to discuss this with you personally. Mr. Phillips, feeling with us that we cannot afford to fail to impress you with the validity of our plea, is willing to make a special trip from Richmond to join the discussion.

Very sincerely yours,
THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE
/s/ FREDERICK L. BIRD, *Chairman*

Concurred in by: William Collins, John S. Linen, Ed. P. Phillips, Carl H. Pforzheimer.

July 11, 1949

Dear Mr. Bird:

Last November at the Annual Meeting in Boston, I really did mean it when I stated my desire to retire as president of the League, not for any slackening of interest in the League's work but because of the fact that a change in leadership periodically tends to inject new life and new ideas into an organization such as the N.M.L.

I have thoroughly enjoyed my three terms as president of the League and, after sober consideration of your gracious letter, I find myself being swayed to accept a fourth—but a *final*—term, with one important proviso.

This proviso concerns one of your fellow members of the nominating committee, our friend, Bill Collins. If Bill will agree to serve until November 1950 as finance chairman, I will be glad to accept re-nomination. [Mr. Collins has agreed.—Editor.] Perhaps this is a bit selfish on my part, but frankly I would not like to undertake at this time or in the near future casting about for a successor for

(Continued on page 415)

Moral Victory for Labor

MEN employed in the industrial plants of Bayonne, New Jersey, became increasingly alarmed this year as an economic paralysis seemed to creep irresistibly over the city and more and more jobs ended.

It was only natural that their uneasiness and resentment should turn toward the local government, long a part of the Boss Hague axis which dominated Hudson County. Political mismanagement was notorious and it was obvious that the tax rate was on the way to new highs, increasing the likelihood that more plants would close or move elsewhere.

They formed the United Workers' Organization, representing CIO and independent unions, and decided that to save their jobs and their homes they must get rid of the discredited commission government and the self-serving officeholders it had spawned and put in its place a modern council-manager form of government.

The organization published a series of hard-hitting bulletins picturing abandoned industrial plants and describing the way city money was being squandered. One particularly effective piece showed two houses, one beautiful modern brick affair owned by the city architect, the other a modest old frame structure owned by "a taxpayer with no political connections," both assessed at $5,000.

Despite the apathy of professional people and the owners and operators of small businesses the labor campaign, in the middle of the hottest July on record, paid off at a special election July 19 in a majority of more than 2,000 votes for the manager plan and against the city commission, the members of which had campaigned desperately and expensively to keep their jobs.

Unfortunately, because of an unusual technicality in the New Jersey law, Bayonne will continue for a time to suffer under commission government—the manager forces failed to obtain an affirmative vote equal to 30 per cent of all the votes cast in the heavy 1948 presidential election.

But the United Workers' Organization is not discouraged. It has proved that the old order can be licked and promises to continue to fight until Bayonne has a government that represents and serves all the people, not just those favored by five little kings in city hall.

Twilight of Commission Government

THE commission form of city government is on the way out. It has been on the wane for years. Since 1935 there have been more council-manager than commission places and the gap widens each year.

Among cities over 5,000 alone, there are 458 with the council-manager plan as against 306 commission cities, according to the 1949 *Municipal Year Book.* Percentagewise, 22.5 per cent in that population group have the council-manager plan and only 15.1 per cent the commission form.

There have been virtually no new adoptions of the commission form for a decade or more while one important commission city after the other has moved over into the manager list. The most notable recent defection was that of Des Moines which had shared dubious honors with Galveston as one of the originators of commission government. New mayors in Portland, Oregon, and San Antonio, Texas, have been elected on platforms calling for substitution of modern manager charters for creaking commission systems and are working to that end.

Commenting recently on the decision of the Ogden, Utah, city commission to submit the council-manager plan to the voters in November, the Salt Lake City *Tribune* remarked: "It is not disrespectful of the civic-minded citizens who serve as city commissioners at inadequate salaries to say that manager government is just naturally more efficient and less expensive." That is why many honest commissioners are taking the initiative in recommending the manager plan.

Impressive testimony against commission government has come recently from New Jersey, where that form gained a stronger foothold than in almost any other state. A State Commission on Municipal Government, headed by former Town Commissioner Bayard Faulkner of Montclair, has made proposals looking to gradual displacement of the commission form, which it charges with inherent weaknesses responsible for many municipal ills.

The Faulkner report points out that concentration of both legislative authority and administrative responsibility in the same hands fosters logrolling, delay and personal politics and defeats sound budgeting because "there is no practical way to coordinate a planned expenditure program as among five independent administrative authorities."

Similarly, a recent study of personnel administration in Pennsylvania third class cities, all saddled with commission government by legislative fiat, found the form of government a serious obstacle to sound personnel administration.

For these and other reasons virtually all competent authorities have long recognized the commission plan as one of America's most unfortunate political experiments. This view is evidently shared by voters and taxpayers in a large proportion of the remaining commission cities. Historically the commission plan has proved to be a transitional device between the over-complicated check and balance system of the 19th century and the modern simple council-manager plan. Fortunately the painful transition is nearing an end.

1949 National Conference on Government
Hotel Lowry, St. Paul, November 28, 29, 30

(Make reservations early; write directly to the hotel. Be sure to say you are attending the Conference.)

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Housewives Jolt Politicians

Six women amateurs who forced foes to desperate tactics in Passaic, N. J., struggle, vow "fight has just begun."

By CARL EK*

SIX young housewives on July 12 came within 839 votes of overthrowing commission government and giving Passaic, New Jersey, the council-manager plan. Though they have seventeen children between them to take care of, the determined women built a civic organization that put 150 automobiles and hundreds of volunteer workers into the fight on election day. They lost—the vote was 9,215 against adoption to 8,376 for—after the toughest, dirtiest political campaign Passaic has ever gone through.

It has become apparent since election day, however, that what the Six Housewives lost was a battle, not a war. Their organization is not disbanding. The possibility of recall is being discussed. There has been talk, too, of a referendum on adoption of a so-called strong mayor government with ward councilmen. At the moment this is just talk. The Six Housewives are not participating in it. It is important only because it demonstrates that the city is still dissatisfied with the kind of government it is getting.

The council-manager movement was born at a New Year's Eve gathering of the Six Housewives, their husbands and friends. The men at the party, so the story goes, complained about Passaic's government while sipping cocktails. The women, with the naivete that can be so irritating to males, asked the men why they didn't do something about it instead of talking. The men laughed. Fight city hall? The idea was ridiculous. Miffed, the women said they would do something. Within a short time they incorporated the Association for a Better Community and started getting signatures on petitions. Volunteers flocked to help.

But it wasn't simple or easy. For a time it looked as if the Six Housewives would not be able to have a referendum. New Jersey adopted a new constitution in 1947. This necessitated the rewriting of much law, a job that hasn't been finished yet. A civic group in West New York, New Jersey, wanted a council-manager referendum. The opposition stopped it in the courts by contending the referendum would be unconstitutional. The new constitution says that, in time of war, provision must be made for voting by absentee servicemen. The provision was lacking in so far as a council-manager referendum was concerned.

The remedy was legislation. The Six Housewives made a trip to Trenton to see Governor Alfred E. Driscoll. The governor was genuinely sympathetic. He was also somewhat amazed to discover that the Six Housewives did not know the processes by which laws are made. They have since laughingly admitted this weakness in civics. But they learned

---

*Mr. Ek is editorial writer for *The Herald-News* of Passaic, New Jersey. He has been with the newspaper for the past twenty years.

before the necessary amendment arrived at the governor's desk and acquired his signature.

Legislators to introduce an amendment to New Jersey's soldier voting law, providing for mailing ballots to members of the armed forces in council-manager referendums, were found. The Assembly quickly passed it. In the Senate, however, the Passaic commissioners were able to prevent the bill from coming to the floor for a vote. Then an unusual thing happened. In the last hour of the final session of the Senate the seemingly dead bill was revived and brought on the floor for a vote. It was passed, too.

Tactics of Commissioners

The Passaic commissioners, who had been bravely saying they would welcome an election because they knew they could "beat it easily," threw up another roadblock. The Six Housewives filed petitions asking for the referendum. The city clerk, brother of a commissioner, ruled there weren't enough legitimate signatures. The Six Housewives went into court and got a quick ruling in their favor.

The commissioners might have appealed, but they didn't. They realized their obstructionist tactics were costing them votes. But they had the last say anyway. The city clerk set the election for July 12, after school vacations had started and many voters had left the city for the summer.

Then the commissioners dropped the pretense and went to work.

Passaic is a manufacturing and residential city of some 60,000 residents, 30,000 of whom are registered to vote. Practical politicians, in dealing with Passaic, have always given careful consideration to nationalistic and religious blocs in picking slates and conducting campaigns. The biggest blocs are the Polish, Italian and Jewish voters. The fact that politicians lump them and those with other old world backgrounds in blocs does not mean they vote as units, however.

In the council-manager campaign, although one of the commissioners was Jewish, much of the support for council-manager government was Jewish. And, although two commissioners were of Italian ancestry, many voters of Italian extraction worked and voted for a change.

Only the Polish bloc, represented by one commissioner, remained steadfast for commission government. In fact, those of Slavic background generally—there were noteworthy exceptions—were for retention of commission government. There was a reason for this. In the previous commission election, two commissioners of Slavic ancestry were elected. They were the first to be elected since Passaic adopted commission government in 1911.

The commissioners, whose bickering and fighting for the spoils had led to the revolt (Passaic had two police court judges and two city treasurers fighting in the courts for the jobs and previously had two street superintendents scrapping in the courts) presented a united front for the campaign. It was a slightly cracked front, though.

The commissioner who is Jewish was significantly mild and temperate in his utterances. He said he favored commission government and hoped the voters would carefully consider what they did on election day.

The other four pulled no punches. They charged council-manager government was undemocratic. The manager would be a dictator. After three years in office he would have a job for life. To back this statement they had a peculiar New Jersey law which does say a manager, after serving three years, can be removed only for cause and after a public hearing on the charges against him. The law has never been tested in the courts. How serious a limitation it would place on the discretion of the council is uncertain. But it was excellent ammunition for the commissioners.

Passaic for years has been talking about eliminating the Erie Railroad grade crossings on its Main Avenue. One plan called for rerouting the tracks. Residents of the sections through which the rerouted elevated tracks would run were bitterly opposed to the scheme. The commissioners told them that a city manager would have the power to put the tracks in their backyards—and that he would do so.

Attack Newspaper

The two commissioners of Slavic ancestry asked the voters whom they "represented" if they would "turn your own kind out of office." Similar appeals were made to the prejudices and aspirations of other groups.

The real attack, however, was centered on *The Herald-News* and its owners. *The Herald-News* is the only daily published in Passaic. It got into the fight editorially on the council-manager side when the movement started by the Six Housewives showed signs of winning the support of people whose sole interest was in getting better municipal government. The paper for several years had been preaching that "commission government has outlived its usefulness in Passaic" and telling why.

Only two years before, however, *The Herald-News* had been cool to a council-manager movement started by friends of a commissioner who had been stripped of a department he had run for years. The newspaper felt politics, not the public welfare, was behind the movement. The Six Housewives, on the other hand, had no axes to grind and were running the show without direction from behind the scenes.

The commissioners were unable to attack the Six Housewives. Even desperate politicians dare not try to smear six respectable married women with seventeen youngsters. So they went to work on *The Herald-News.* The newspaper's owners, the Drukker family, were accused of wanting to "run the town" for selfish purposes. "Don't Be a Sucker for Drukker" posters were distributed—but not displayed by too many adherents of commission government.

The Herald-News gave these attacks columns of space. In editorials and feature articles it told about council-manager government. It refrained from attacking the commissioners personally. But it did remind the voters what kind of government they had been getting for years.

A sidelight will explain why the commissioners—with the one exception previously noted—attacked *The Herald-News.* A reporter was accused by a pro-commission speaker at a public rally of writing a pack of lies about a previous meeting. The reporter, an old hand, was offended. He asked the politician about his remarks. He got this answer:

"There's nothing personal in it. You know you've got to have an issue to win votes and *The Herald-News* was picked. After the election we'll all be friends again."

Sentiment Divided

There were many curious angles to the campaign. Passaic city employees were divided in their sentiments, even policemen and firemen. Some stuck out their necks and worked for council-manager government quite openly. Others did so quietly.

The party workers were divided, too. Passaic's commission elections are nonpartisan. The five commissioners are nominally Republicans, although Passaic has been voting Democratic for years. The commissioners meet this situation by building up personal machines composed of both Republicans and Democrats. It has made things difficult for the leadership of the party organizations. Thus the Six Housewives found a good many party workers, both Republican and Democratic, getting out votes for council-manager government on election day.

The all but defunct Progressive party, Henry Wallace's outfit, provided support for commission government that the commissioners didn't enjoy having. The Progressives announced that council-manager government was supported by big business and therefore no good. The Progressives had no more to say for the duration of the campaign, though. It was disclosed that a New Yorker who had attacked council-manager government at their purported meeting had never denied a charge, published in a New York newspaper, that he had been a Communist.

The commissioners tried pressure to win votes, but probably with indifferent success. Through the city clerk they had access to the names signed to the petitions. Many Passaic residents, foreseeing this, refused to sign the petitions even though they promised to vote for council-manager government. The intimidation was not rough. The approach to those who experienced it ranged from a not unfriendly "What the hell's the matter with you?" to an injured "Why are you doing this to me?" No rough stuff but it scared some folks anyway, particularly business people.

Looking back, the principal reasons for the defeat of council-manager government are easy to see.

1. The appeal to national pride saved the day for the commissioners. In one voting district, where the "don't turn out your own kind" appeal was made to those with a Slav background, the vote was 758 against council-manager government, 99 for adoption.

2. Money made a difference. The commissioners spent freely to win. Some pro-manager professional politicians believe that money, spent in the right places, would have produced enough votes to assure a council-manager victory. That's debatable, and the Six Housewives didn't

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have that kind of money anyway. For the commissioners, money worked because it was used to hire and to spur workers who otherwise might have been indifferent. The Six Housewives depended entirely on volunteers. The workers they might have been able to buy could not have been depended upon.

'Tenure' Loses Votes

3. The New Jersey "tenure" provision for city managers lost votes. Many voters who were sympathetic to the idea of a change in municipal government didn't like the possibility of being saddled with a manager who might turn sour. The law should be repealed.

4. The possibility that proposals for improved forms of local government, made by the Commission on Municipal Government,[1] will be adopted by the New Jersey legislature this fall or next year made some hesitate to support the plan. The commissioners talked of the adoption of these proposals as a certainty. "Why adopt council-manager government now, when next year you will have a chance to choose between several improved forms of government?" they asked.

5. The charge that the manager would be a dictator impressed some people.

6. The charges against *The Herald-News* impressed some people, too. They actually believed the newspaper wanted to run the city. I know. I've talked to them.

7. The fact that the election was held in midsummer, when many voters were away, was bad. In one ward the council-manager advocates obtained 5,000 signatures on their petitions. On election day that ward gave them a little more than 3,000 votes. Too many voters were away. While a good many did return to vote, some from as far away as Maine, a lot more didn't bother.

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But all isn't lost. The volunteers who worked to put over council-manager government haven't lost their interest in obtaining better local government. The commissioners, of course, continue to provide the best ammunition for a change.

To illustrate, a week after the election the mayor slipped in a pay voucher for his brother. It was only then that Passaic voters learned that the brother had been put on the city payroll for $3,500 a year early in June—a month and a half before election day.

The advocates of a change don't feel too unhappy about this. They know they pushed the commissioners to their utmost to win on July 12. They see no danger that the commissioners will reform and provide good government. They figure a lot of those "no" votes will be converted—by the commissioners—into supporters of a change.

The day after the referendum *The Herald-News* gave a clear indication of its future policy. The title of its leading editorial was "The Fight Has Just Begun."

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[1] See *Local Self-Government in New Jersey: A Proposed Optional Charter Plan.* Trenton, 1949. For a description of the plans provided by this report see the REVIEW, December 1948, page 603, and March 1949, page 159.

Hartford Likes Its New Plan

Manager government, year and a half old, brings reduction in taxes as well as increased efficiency of operation.

By **LESLIE M. GRAVLIN***

THE amazing victory of the council-manager charter in Hartford stumped the political experts. The lucky star that guided the charterites to that 1946 victory has hovered over the new form of government in its first year and a half. The dire results that were forecast by some of the opponents have not come to pass. On the other hand, the conservative claims of the proponents have been well sustained by performance.

Installed near the high point of the postwar economy the new system was confronted by the sharp upward spiral of inflation in which all governmental units were caught. In the budget for fiscal 1948-49, despite an increase of more than one million dollars for salaries alone and provision for much needed equipment, the tax rate was reduced from 39.25 mills to 37 mills. This budget was prepared by the old board of finance with the manager, new to the Hartford scene, sitting in as an observer.

For the 1949-50 fiscal year, with twelve months of operational experience behind them, the manager and council kept the rate at 37 mills. They might have produced a 35-mill rate but chose instead to finance some of the necessary capital improvements out of the budget in preference to borrowing.

This is not to say that the budget has not increased, for it has—in fact the 1949-50 budget is $2,500,000 higher than the last one under the old aldermanic system, that for 1947-48.

But Hartfordites appear well satisfied with results. There was little complaint by taxpayers at the public hearings on the budget, and they paid 99.5 per cent of the taxes levied upon them last year. Nor was it an April Fool's joke when at the opening of the new fiscal year they learned there was a tidy surplus of $1,203,000 from the previous fiscal year. They were already aware that it would be at least $900,000, for that much had been anticipated in the adoption of the new budget. They now know that there is $300,000 more which, it is hoped, will be reserved for another year if not required for such emergencies as rising relief requests.

Except in emergencies threatening public health, safety or welfare, interim extra-appropriations are permissible under the new charter only when unobligated, unappropriated cash is on hand. Under the aldermanic plan over a period of eighteen years prior to 1942 the practice was to go into deficit borrowing to finance extra appropriations, which averaged $750,000 per year.

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*Mr. Gravlin is director and secretary of the Governmental Research Institute of Hartford. A former president of the Governmental Research Association, he has the distinction of being the first "state manager" in the country, appointed by Governor Harold E. Stassen in 1939 as Minnesota's administrator under its reorganization act of that year.

As a measure of the fiscal success of the new form of government the surplus is well received by press and public. The surplus is roughly a 50-50 result of savings in expenditures and excess revenue collections.

It would be an inadequate appraisal of the first eighteen months' accomplishments, however, that depended strictly on the cash register aspects. Not to be overlooked is an alert public interest in what goes on. Spectators at council meetings are heard to remark, "Why, this is just like the old town meeting." While not all council sessions, held twice a month in the evening, are well attended, many of them are. This is especially so when a controversial matter such as a recently proposed parking lot regulation ordinance is being considered.

Council at Work

The nine members of council, including one woman, all elected at large and some without previous experience in public office, have taken their jobs seriously. Six were elected with the endorsement of the Citizens Charter Committee. In their deliberations council members have shown a surprising unanimity on most questions, although there has not been a lack of spirited disagreement and effective minority representation.

On the Thursday prior to each regular session there is a pre-council meeting at which the manager goes over the agenda with the mayor and other council members. The early apprehension about these informal meetings, arising out of dissatisfaction with the aldermanic caucuses under the previous form of government, has been dispelled because no binding decisions are made; rather they are meetings for mutual exploration of problems with the manager. The council works without standing committees, creating special committees for particular problems as they occur. There have been more than a score of such committees.

The high degree of mutual respect between the manager and members of the council has done much to get council-manager government off to a good start. The confidence of the council in the manager was well demonstrated by the support given to his 1949-50 budget, which drew praise for its clear delineation of programs and policies. It has also been evident in maturing efforts, despite discouraging obstacles, to obtain new housing.

Able advocacy of policy on municipal problems has been carried by the mayor, who has been instrumental also in bringing together, for the first time in years, the executives of the principal Connecticut cities to consider action on common problems. On some problems, especially those of finance, a report by the manager last fall has pointed up needs and possible solutions.

One of the major problems stressed by the manager is the need for revision of property assessments which have remained almost unchanged for fifteen years. This issue, feared by some for its possible political repercussions, has been forthrightly faced by the council which studied it through a committee and voted to proceed. A citizens' advisory committee named by the mayor recently reported its recommendations and now a contract is being drawn with an appraisal firm to conduct a complete revaluation in cooperation with the assessor.

On the administrative side, the first eighteen months have been a period of progressive readjustment, involving establishment of completely new agencies, the consolidation of others and the overhauling of techniques.

For one thing Hartford had to start from scratch in setting up a merit system. The newly created personnel department, headed by a career man chosen after competitive tests,[1] has been in operation since early in 1948. From its first successful conduct of examinations for appointment of 100 new firemen required to install the 56-hour week to its most recent examination for superintendent of the city hospital, the department has continued to win respect and commendation.

Pay Rates Revised

Revision of the pay plan, adopted in 1942 before there was civil service, was another major task of the department undertaken with the help of special consultants. As recommended, the new plan included an adjustable cost-of-living feature which was eliminated by the council because of objections voiced by employee unions. No radical changes from existing rates were made for the current year but the plan holds out new inducements for the future through successive "step" adjustments. In spite of evidence that the rates compare well with those in private industry and in other cities there have been some employee claims that they are inadequate. Otherwise, the personnel program seems to have enthusiastic acceptance.

The other completely new agency is the division of purchases in the department of finance. In it all buying for the city, including most materials and supplies for the schools, is centralized.

Nine of the eleven heads of the major operating and staff departments are local men, each of whom was continued from the same or a similar administrative capacity under the previous government. Frequent meetings between department heads and the manager are held for consideration of common problems.

One year and a half of a new system, particularly in a period of inflation, perhaps is a rather short time for an evaluation of administrative results. But there is gratifying evidence of progress. The fire department installed a new radio system. It is having a study made by the National Board of Fire Underwriters with the hope that a plan may be developed for a rearrangement of stations and possible elimination of some which were erected in the era of horse-drawn apparatus.

In the police department there has been a reorientation toward increased motorization, permitting a reduction of 28 men by non-replacement. Four hundred thousand dollars is being spent from reserve funds for resurfacing and reconditioning worn-out streets this year.

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[1] Competition for personnel director was open to candidates without regard to residence. Charles F. Yard, formerly on the staff of the New Jersey Civil Service Commission, was appointed.

A capital budget, the first in the city's history designed with an eye to the future and the financial capacity of the city, calls for the expenditure of $7,500,000 in the next five years for schools, a new home for the aged and chronically ill, new fire stations and an incinerator. This program is geared so that if the bond issues are approved by the electorate the work can be done without increasing debt service beyond the existing level.

A partial pay-as-you-go policy, however, is reflected in the appropriation within the regular budget of $458,000 for site preparation incident to a state-assisted housing project for veterans, and the addition of $216,000 to a capital improvement fund for paving and other projects. Net bonded debt as of March 31 stood at $8,347,000, leaving a borrowing margin of $13,302,000.

Over-Liberal Pensions

Chief among the headaches inherited by the manager government are three over-liberal pension systems, the cost of which has tripled since prewar days, now requiring $1,160,000 of the city's $19,500,000 budget.

The first report of an actuarial study, ordered by the pension commission on recommendation of the manager and approval of the council, shows that the cost to the city of the city employees' system, over the next 40 years, will be $31,299,000. Reports for police and fire pension funds, now nearing completion, may add another ten or twelve million dollars according to some observers.

Bills which would have further liberalized the old systems as to retirement age and required years' service and which by similar provisions would have weakened a new actuarial reserve system compulsory for all new employees, failed of passage in the 1949 session of the General Assembly. The legislators thereby, in deference to the arguments of the city administration and civic groups, respected the home rule provision in Hartford's new charter.

Progress, though it is slow, is being made on two important proposals aimed to relieve traffic congestion and to safeguard downtown business property from further decline. Two-way discussions with West Hartford, the other community involved in the proposed project, have taken place on the subject of an east-west expressway; several alternative routes were recently surveyed by Robert Moses and associated experts who have made their recommendations. Appraisals have been made of suitable areas downtown for off-street parking facilities and the administration has supported state legislation to authorize cities to acquire property and issue revenue bonds.

Citizen Watchdogs

Standing watch over the new system is the alert Citizens Charter Committee, which underwent top reorganization necessitated by the illness of former Mayor William H. Mortensen. Mr. Mortensen, the retiring chairman, spearheaded the original drive for a charter commission and led the campaign for approval by the voters and ratification by the legislature. Subsequently, in

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The New German Charter

"Basic rights which are the keystones of the democratic arch are strongly guaranteed" by the document adopted.

By **HOWARD P. JONES***

ON THE anniversary of VE Day, May 8, 1949, four years after the end of active hostilities, the constitutional assembly of the three western zones of Germany adopted a new basic law,[1] which was promulgated on May 23 after approval by Military Government.

After a lingering discussion lasting over a period of nine months, the Germans, in a dramatic burst of speed designed to enable the western powers to present a new western German state as a *fait accompli* to the Paris conference of foreign ministers, adopted their constitution, submitted it to the military governors for approval and finally ratified it by an overwhelming vote of all the state legislatures except Bavaria.

The significance of this rapid action should not be overlooked. It meant that western Germany was in fact western Germany, casting its lot with the democracies of the west. A procedure which ordinarily would take months was wound up in the course of less than two weeks. This involved compromises on the part of both Military Government and the German political parties. The important fact is that the compromises were made.

The document which emerged is more centralist than the federalists would desire—more federalist than the centralists would prefer. And perhaps that is the essence of a sound compromise—that it satisfies neither extreme and leaves the judgment to history. In any event, centralism versus decentralism was, of all the issues, the most overriding and the most bitterly fought.

Typical of German attitudes on the negative side is this:

"It's a bad constitution," remarked one prominent political leader to the writer. "The central government has too much power. The Americans have lost their battle for a real federal structure." He shook his head sadly. "Germany now faces the twin dangers—first of what you Americans call 'the man on horseback'; second, of the Communists for whose strategy a strong central government is an ideal design."

"Quite the contrary," remarked another political leader. "The constitution is in my opinion the constitution of a weak government. I fear the exact opposite—a central government without sufficient power to act, a government in which the forces for decentralization are so great that in a crisis the whole thing will go to pieces—and give the Communists exactly the opportunity they seek."

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[1] The Germans carefully avoid use of the term "constitution" and refer to this charter as "The Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany." It is, of course, no more than that so long as Germany remains an occupied country and the powers reserved to the Allies under the occupational statute include many of the most significant fields of federal action.

But the average German in public life obviously thought it was fair enough and far better than no constitution at all. To the outside world it will reveal a new German spirit as yet little appreciated.

Freedom Guaranteed

A note hopefully symbolic of the new German approach to government and world problems is sounded in the preamble to the constitution:[2]

> Conscious of its responsibility before God and mankind, filled with the resolve to preserve its national and political unity and to serve world peace as an equal partner in a united Europe, the German people . . . has, by virtue of its constituent power, enacted this Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany to give a new order to political life for a transitional period.
>
> It acted also on behalf of those Germans to whom participation was denied.
>
> The entire German people is called upon to accomplish, by free self-determination, the unity and freedom of Germany.

The words "transitional period" constitute a recognition—always near the surface in German thinking—that some day the occupation will be over and some day the eastern zone will once again be a part of Germany.

The basic rights which are the keystones of the democratic arch are strongly guaranteed by the new constitution — freedom of speech, press and religion, freedom of assembly, searches and seizures, equality of men and women, non-discrimination because of sex, descent, race, language, homeland and origin, faith or religious or political opinion. There is a strong emphasis upon the dignity of man which, the constitution states, "shall be inviolable. To respect and protect it shall be the duty of all state authority."

This basic law, it should never be forgotten, is a constitution drawn by an assembly composed in part of concentration camp inmates. Few members of the assembly had not suffered at the hands of the Nazis. Their genuine feeling which runs through the document is, therefore, not merely the expression of a pious hope but of a deep-seated determination to prevent anything similar from happening again.

Academic freedom is guaranteed by the constitution with one notable exception, "Freedom of teaching shall not absolve from loyalty to the constitution." Even freedom of movement is recognized as a constitutional right although it is subject to certain practical restrictions by legislation "to prevent criminal acts," control epidemics, etc.

The fear of the concentration camp again and again burns through this interesting document. "Forced labor shall be admissible only in the event of imprisonment ordered by a court," and "No one may be compelled to perform a particular kind of work except within the framework of an established general compulsory public service equally applicable to everybody."

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[2] Agreed Anglo-American translation. Printed by J. F. Carthaus, Bonn.

Structurally, the new constitution provides for a federal state on the United States pattern. An important difference of special interest to REVIEW readers is a specific guaranty to municipalities of the right to run their own affairs and a provision guaranteeing that in the states (*Laender*), counties (*Kreise*) and municipalities (*Gemeinden*) "the people must have a representative assembly resulting from universal, direct, free, equal and secret elections."

It will be recalled that one of Hitler's first moves after acquiring power in 1933 was to pass a law simply amputating the municipal legislative body and substituting an advisory board of Nazi party appointees, thus obtaining complete control over municipal governments in one fell stroke. It won't happen again if a constitution can prevent it.

Combines Basic Theories

This new basic law provides an interesting combination of the United States federalism and balance of power theory and the orthodox parliamentary system, an endeavor to combine the virtues of both while eliminating the weaknesses of each.

The legislative body of the new German government is bicameral with a weak upper house—sadly weak in the view of the decentralists. The judiciary is specifically endowed with power to declare acts of the legislature unconstitutional. The president is the titular head of the state, the chancellor the equivalent of prime minister and the real head.

The president may be compared to the French president, having none of the power of the great American executive. Primarily, his job is to represent the federation in matters of international law and foreign relations. He has a few other responsibilities—not unimportant. He appoints and dismisses the federal judges "unless otherwise determined by law"—this strange habit of the German constitutional lawyer, so pronounced in the Weimar constitution, of bestowing a power as a right in the basic law, only to take it away by delegation to the legislative body of the power to alter its provisions or restrict its implementation. He also has the right of pardon.

The president is appointed for a term of five years by the federal convention, which consists of the members of the lower house (*Bundestag*) and an equal number of members elected by the popular representative bodies of the *Laender* according to the principles of proportional representation. The president may be reappointed for only one additional term.

The strongest position in the new German state is that of chancellor in accordance with Bismarckian tradition. This prime minister of Germany is chosen by the lower house (*Bundestag*) on nomination of the president. If the person nominated is not elected, the lower house may, within fourteen days after the ballot, elect a chancellor by majority vote of its membership. If no person receives a majority within this time limit, a new ballot takes place at once in which the person who receives the most votes is elected. If the person elected receives the votes of the majority of the members of the lower house, the president must, within seven days after the election, appoint him. If the person elected does not obtain this majority, the president must, within seven days, either appoint him or dissolve the parliament.

Cabinet members are appointed and dismissed by the president upon recommendation of the chancellor, in accordance with standard practice under parliamentary systems.

Legislative Powers

One of the most difficult problems of public law is that of so defining the legislative power of the central government as to give it authority to cope with the political, social and economic problems of the whole, without permitting it to encroach on the desired autonomy of the parts. An effort to solve this problem by definition has been made in the new German constitution. Legislative jurisdiction is divided into exclusive and concurrent.

Generally speaking, the federation or federal government is given exclusive jurisdiction over foreign affairs; foreign and domestic trade and matters pertaining thereto such as customs; currency; money and coinage; federal railways and air traffic; post and other communications; citizenship; and statistics for federal purposes.

Concurrent jurisdiction applies, practically speaking, to everything else, the fields being listed specifically and running the gamut of all governmental functions.

Three general provisions, however, disturb those interested in strong state and local government. The states are given the right of legislation "in so far as this constitution does not accord legislative powers to the federation." In the field of concurrent legislation, the states have power "so long and so far as the federation makes no use of its legislative right."

This right to legislate is defined as applying to: (1) a matter which cannot be effectively regulated by the legislation of individual states; (2) the regulation of a matter by a state law which could prejudice the interests of other states or of the states as a whole; or (3) the preservation of legal or economic unity which demands it, in particular the preservation of uniformity of living conditions extending beyond the territory of an individual *Land*. These provisions, taken together, provide an opportunity for continuing encroachment of the federal government on the states.

Financial provisions, however, formed the most hard fought over battle ground. Political autonomy is, after all, based on financial autonomy. Proposals originally ranged all the way from requiring the central government to be dependent upon the voluntary financial contributions of the states (U. S. Confederation style) to the extreme centralist point of view that practically all revenues should be collected by the federation and redistributed to the states. The division on this issue was geographical as well as political, the Social Democrats leading the fight for a strong central government, the conservative Christian Democratic party, with its heavy strength in Bavaria, resisting vigorously.

The compromise that was reached followed the pattern already established in the effort to cut the cake of legislative power.

The federation was given exclusive legislative power over financial and customs monopolies and concurrent legislative power over: (1) excise taxes and taxes on transactions, with the exception of taxes with localized application, in particular the taxes on real estate acquisition, incremental value and on fire protection; (2) taxes on income, property, inheritance and donations; (3) real estate and business taxes.[3]

Federal-Local Finance

The one safeguard against the federal government preempting these tax sources is that federal legislation on taxes the yield of which accrues to the states or municipalities shall require the approval of the upper house.

As to yield, the revenues from customs monopolies, excise taxes (with the exception of the beer tax), the transportation tax, the turnover tax and non-recurring capital levies go to the federation. Income and corporation taxes, the beer tax, property tax, inheritance tax, taxes on transactions with the exception of the transportation tax and the turnover tax and the taxes with local application go to the states and, in accordance with state legislation, to the municipalities.

The federation, however, may levy on the proceeds of the income and corporation taxes with the approval of the upper house to cover grants which are to be made to the states to meet expenditures in the fields of education, public health and welfare.

A sensitive point is that the federation may also make grants to equalize the differing burden of expenditure of the various states and may take the funds necesary for this purpose from tax sources assigned to the states. The only protection a state has against this action is its direct representation in the upper house. While the necessity for some equalization is recognized, there is a natural fear in Germany that this power is subject to abuse.

Generally speaking, revenues the yield of which accrues to the federation are to be administered by federal finance authorities. But there is also the provision that "in so far as the federation makes a claim to a part of the income and corporation taxes, it shall have the right to administer them." It may, however, delegate the administration to state finance authorities.

The remaining taxes are to be administered by the state finance authorities but the federation may regulate the structure of these authorities, their procedure and the uniform training of their officials. While this is highly desirable from the standpoint of efficiency, it again strengthens the influence of the federal government.

In the attempt to make municipalities more self-sufficient, the con-

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[3] An odd provision is that, while the federal government may claim real estate and business taxes in whole or in part to cover federal expenditures, the states still have the power to fix the rates of these taxes. It seems self-evident that this must lead to conflict and confusion.

Public Library Kansas City, Mo.

stitution provides that the administration of taxes accruing to municipalities may be transferred by the states in entirety or in part to the municipalities. Unfortunately, these taxes represent only a fraction of the requirements of the municipalities which are heavily dependent upon aid from the state.

Finally, there is expressed the pious hope that "the federation and the *Laender* shall be self-supporting and independent of each other in their budget economy," for whatever significance it may have.

The German budget procedure has reached an advanced stage of refinement and the budget provisions of the basic law seem to be reasonably adequate. All revenues and expenditures of the federation must be estimated for each fiscal year and included in the budget and the budget is required by law to be passed before the commencement of the fiscal year.

Furthermore, revenue and expenditure must be balanced although no details are provided as to what constitute revenues and expenditures. Assets and liabilities are required to be an appendix to the budget. In the case of federal commercial enterprises, only the final result and not the detailed revenues and expenditures are required to be included in the budget.

Standard safeguards, common in American practice, are not included with respect to extraordinary expenditures exceeding the budget. The constitution in such cases simply requires the approval of the central ministry of finance, but specifies that this approval may only be given in "unforeseen and irrefutable necessities." The budget is definitely an executive as distinguished from a legislative budget. The upper and lower houses may not increase the budget expenditure proposed by the federal government without its approval.

An independent audit of accounts is provided for by an audit office (*Rechnungshof*), the members of which shall possess judicial independence.

Provisions on indebtedness are notable by their absence. There is only one article dealing with this subject, which specifies that funds may be borrowed only in the case of "extraordinary need and as a rule only for expenditure for productive purposes," and, finally, only on the basis of legislation.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

Courts on U. S. Plan

The court system provided by the basic law follows that of the United States in that both a federal system and a state system are provided. Recognition of the long struggle in the United States over the supremacy of the judiciary with particular reference to the power to declare laws of Congress unconstitutional is reflected in establishment of a federal constitutional court with specific power to declare laws passed by the legislative body unconstitutional.

Powers of this court are broad. The basic law bestows on it the power to interpret the basic law in the event of disputes concerning the rights and duties of the federal agencies it creates, questions of conflict of federal law or state law with the basic law, in cases of differences of opinion as to the rights and duties of federal and state agencies, particularly in the execution of federal law by the state, and in the exercise of federal supervision; and in all other public law disputes between the federation and the state, between different states or within a state, in so far as appeal to another court is not provided.

The members of the federal constitutional court consist of federal judges and other members elected half by the lower house and half by the upper house. They may not hold any other political or governmental office. An interesting variation in judicial appointing procedure is provided in the establishment of the supreme federal court. Here judges are appointed jointly by the federal minister of justice and a committee for the selection of judges consisting of the state ministers of justice and an equal number of members elected by the lower house.

The independence of the judiciary is specifically protected but there are provisions for impeachment by the federal constitutional court on application of a two-thirds majority of the lower house, if a federal judge, in his official or unofficial capacity, infringes the principles of the basic law or the constitution of a state.

Provisions for amendment of the basic law are simple. An amendment requires a two-thirds vote of approval in both the lower and upper houses. Such amendment must expressly alter or add to the duties of the basic law and no amendment is admissible which alters the organization of the federation into states, the legislative relationships of the federation and the states or the principles of the bill of rights.

Any attempt to appraise this document runs into the difficulty of its many generalizations and its many compromises in which the emphasis might in implementation be thrown either way. It is, however, a genuine attempt to prevent a repetition of the German mistakes of the past and to incorporate the lessons of democratic experience in other countries between the wars.

A Transitory Law

From the standpoint of the mechanics of democracy, the basic law is reasonably sound. It provides a short ballot, a strong executive responsible to the legislative body, an independent judiciary with a check on the legislative power, the outlines of a reasonably adequate budget system. The provisions of its bill of rights go farther than those of any other constitution in being. It remains to be seen whether its economic provisions are adequate to meet the challenges of the developing European situation of which Germany is the storm center.

At best this basic law is a transitory thing. Its final provision, indeed, is its own executioner. For it "shall become invalid on the day when a constitution adopted in a free decision by the German people comes into force."

Old County, New Troubles

Warwick, one of Virginia's original shires, may lose either its people or its efficiency because its population grew.

By JAMES E. PATE*

WARWICK County, Virginia, faces a dilemma. Must it yield its great urban area to a nearby city, once more becoming a rural community, which would force it to abandon its modern, efficient manager government, or shall it strive for consolidation of the area of which it is a part as recommended by the Lower Peninsula Planning Commission's Consolidation Study Committee?

The county, one of the original shires of Virginia, lies between the James and the York near where the confluence of these historic rivers makes the great harbor of Hampton Roads. At the end of this area, called the Lower Peninsula of Virginia, is located the city of Newport News, the home of one of the country's largest private shipyards. Adjoining Warwick and Newport News is the county of Elizabeth City, also an original shire. Contiguous to the counties and the city is the small city of Hampton.

It is clear that Warwick County's problems cannot be separated from those of its neighbors. And this is especially true of Newport News, which separated from the county in 1896 and since then has expanded by successful annexation suits at the county's expense. The city again is "bursting at the seams," as the city manager says, and is making another annexation move against Warwick County as well as its neighbor, the county of Elizabeth City.

There is, however, a slight statutory obstacle. An act of the General Assembly provides that no county with less than 60 square miles can be the subject of annexation by an adjoining city. This law protects all of Elizabeth City and all of Warwick except eleven square miles. The city's hope of getting the act invalidated by the Supreme Court of Appeals is based on the law's doubtful legality in view of the constitution's disapproval of special and local legislation as well as the court's generally favorable attitude toward cities seeking to annex the urban parts of a county. This matter was apparently clinched by the court's dictum in Portsmouth versus Norfolk County[1] when it said, "Urban areas should be under urban governments, and rural areas should be in a county."

Because of its strategic location the Lower Peninsula area has been vitally affected by war activities. As a result of World War I the population of Warwick County almost doubled. Hilton Village was founded, an example of a well planned community which has become a permanent and attractive urban area and, since 1945, the administrative seat of the county government.

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[1] *County of Norfolk* v. *City of Portsmouth.* 186 Va. 1032 (1947).

The impact of World War II increased the population about four times that of 1940, making Warwick one of the commonwealth's few urban counties. The population is not distributed uniformly, however. About 80 per cent of the people live in 20 per cent of the county's area—the south end, contiguous and vulnerable to the city of Newport News.

Change Demanded

The war's impact therefore created urban conditions which produced a demand for municipal services, and this called for a better organized and more responsible county government. But, while the war was a contributory factor that made a change of government necessary, there were other forces behind the scene.

One important reason for seeking a change—and some citizens say the most important—was the close control of the county schools by the school board. This board was chosen as follows: The General Assembly elected the judge of the circuit court, who appointed a school trustee electoral board, which in turn appointed a school board, which appointed the superintendent of schools. This roundabout way of selecting the board resulted in an irresponsible body completely separated from the voters.

Someone suggested that the way out was to adopt the county manager plan, which at least would take the school board out of the control of the judge and the electoral board and put it in the hands of the board of supervisors, which is elected by the voters.

This idea worked. After a favorable referendum at a special election in September 1944, the voters at the regular November election chose a board of supervisors which appointed an entirely new school board and a county manager.

Progressive management methods as well as an integrated organization have resulted. In the first place, administrative functions have been departmentalized. The departments of finance, public works, police and fire are closely integrated.

It is the policy of the State Departments of Health and of Public Welfare to identify these functions as closely as possible with the local government. Problems of management are created, however, when most of the pay and part of the supervision come from the state. The manager put his finger on the problem in this statement:

> We feel that where the state participates in the function of the county departments that the personnel should meet our minimum requirements in regard to office hours, days of employment and vacations. . . . My observation has proven that in many instances these cooperative agencies who feel they are responsible to the state more so than to the county have been far less efficient than those directly responsible to the county.

Improvements have been accomplished in the relation of the new government to the school system. Management of the schools, as mentioned, has been related more closely to the county government. A long tradition of separation based on the idea that the schools should be "kept out of politics," however, cannot be overcome in a short time. The manager's alert eye for economy, his persuasion and the cooperation of the county superintendent of schools have brought savings in purchasing supplies, in servicing school buses and in the maintenance of school property—a good example of the housekeeping staff services that government can provide the schools.

Fiscal Program Integrated

An important result of the adoption of the county manager plan was to integrate fiscal agencies. Prior to this change, fiscal functions were distributed among three elective officers—the commissioner of the revenue, the county treasurer, the county clerk and an ex-officio finance board. There had been no single officer responsible for coordinating fiscal affairs. The treasurer's office was in his residence, indicative of the county's indifference about providing office space for its public officials. This was all changed.

The activities of the county treasurer, commissioner of the revenue and the fiscal functions of the county clerk and the finance board are combined in the department of finance, housed in one building and under the supervision of the director of finance. The commissioner of the revenue's functions are now performed by an appointed assessment clerk in the finance department. The county treasurer's duties are carried on by an appointed cashier.

The county budget is prepared by the manager and the director of finance. Current assessments are made by the director of finance and the assessment clerk. Taxes are collected by the cashier under supervision of the director of finance. Custody of funds, purchasing, storage and distribution of supplies, and control of expenditures are under the finance director's supervision. All financial records, including those of the schools, are kept by the finance department. Previously, the state's share of the expense of several of the county officers was paid to these officers directly by the state treasurer. Now the state's share is mailed to the county department of finance, which makes the payment to the proper department.

Reassessment of all taxable property was made in 1946 by employing the State Department of Taxation's staff of trained assessors. These appraisers worked under the supervision of the county board of assessors. They reviewed each piece of real estate, land and buildings, and appraised it at its true market value, using 1940 pre-inflation values as a basis. The board then made its adjustment by taking, as the basis for the tax rate, one-third of the value found by the appraisers. The appraised value of some property was increased, while on others it was decreased. The decrease was almost entirely on colored people's property that showed marked deterioration.

Prior to the reassessment, inequalities were widespread. The ratios of assessed values to sales values of properties sold in 1944 and 1946 ranged from less than 10 per cent to more than 100 per cent. The finance director claims the reassessment removed the worst inequalities.

Centralized purchasing has not only obtained supplies more cheaply but the county gets better goods. Asphalt, for example, used to be purchased in small quantities at fifteen cents per gallon. In 1947 the county got it at 8.02 cents per gallon. Exceptions made to central purchasing are on perishable goods and fresh produce bought by the sheriff for inmates of the county jail and laboratory and library supplies for the schools. It is the practice to purchase locally, if conditions justify, but goods are bought where the best prices can be had.

The purchasing agent is in charge of the county garage, shops and storage which are all in one building. The central store room is stocked with supplies and equipment needed for current operation of the county's motor vehicles; for the cleaning, lighting and maintenance of public buildings; and with those things called for by the occupational demands of the employees, such as raincoats and hats, boots and gloves, which are sold to them at cost. A perpetual inventory shows date each item is received, time of its departure and the balance and location of all items in stock.

Activities of the public works department include road construction and repair, garbage collection and disposal, sewer construction and maintenance, and upkeep of buildings and grounds.

Garbage, collected three times a week on a county-wide basis, is disposed of in land fills, which is economical as well as having the advantage of land reclamation. The sewer system of the urban area is financed by a special sanitary district tax. It is contemplated that the system's main lines will soon be connected with the sewer system operated by the Hampton Roads Sewage Disposal Commission. This commission was established to remove pollution from the waters of the Hampton Roads area and for this purpose has constructed pumping stations and central mains and filter plants to treat raw sewage before its subsequent subaqueous disposal.

Protective Services Improved

Both police and fire services have been improved. The elective sheriff's office is political in nature. Besides his law enforcement role the sheriff is an officer of the court and the keeper of the county jail. The county police, on the other hand, are law enforcement officers responsible to the county manager. It is obvious that there is a slight functional conflict between the two offices. At the 1946 election, the chief of police was a candidate for sheriff. If he had been elected, the two offices would probably have been combined.

All administrative officers, except the school superintendent, report once a month directly to the manager. These reports, quantitative accounts of activities, are brought together in the manager's monthly report to the board of supervisors. Besides contacts by reporting, the manager has made it a practice to hold regular "cabinet" meetings which all administrative officers except the school superintendent, clerk of court, commonwealth's attorney, sheriff and farm agent attend.

Central filing and mailing, a central telephone and information service, and attention to employee welfare should also be mentioned among improvements. A county zoning ordinance, proposed by the planning commission, has recently been adopted by the board of supervisors.

The county is now the subject of an annexation suit by Newport News which has announced its intention to annex the eleven square miles of the county's urban area referred to earlier. Under the Virginia annexation law, a court of three judges—two from the area and one "remote" from the vicinity—will decide the issue.

In the meantime, the Lower Peninsula Planning Commission's Consolidation Study Committee has made its report based on more than two years study. Several plans of consolidation were considered, but the one favored by the committee calls for a merger of the city of Newport News, the city of Hampton, the town of Phoebus, and the counties of Elizabeth City and Warwick[2] into a greater city with a council-manager government. Each of the existing political subdivisions would retain its identity as a borough in the city, but it is not contemplated that this status will carry any governmental functions.

HARTFORD LIKES NEW PLAN

(Continued from page 385)

the first councilmanic election, he directed the successful election drive for the six candidates endorsed by the charter group. For this public service he recently received a citation from the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Hartford's success in obtaining a new charter and the prestige it has since enjoyed have stimulated council-manager charter movements not alone in other Connecticut cities but in communities in other nearby states as well. New Haven sought, unsuccessfully, in the recent General Assembly to obtain legislative authority for a vote on a council-manager charter this year. A group in Providence, Rhode Island, also is considering the plan. Springfield, Massachusetts, has filed petitions for a referendum this fall. In each of these cities speakers from Hartford have appeared.

In the words of Jack Zaiman, political writer for the Hartford *Courant*, whose query of former Mayor Mortensen about four years ago might be said to have opened up the issue of council-manager government, "In the space of little more than a year's time the city manager form of government has taken such a hold in Hartford that it seems as if it has always been here."

In the by-line story from which this quotation is taken Mr. Zaiman wrote, "The simple fact is this: the council-manager system is a success in Hartford and any effort to change it would meet with quick disapproval." The action of the 1949 session of the legislature in failing to pass bills proposing a return to partisan, district nominations and elections gives solid testimony to this observation.

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[2] The consolidation committee seriously considered a proposal for putting the urban parts of the counties into the greater city and uniting the rural area into one county. One of the factors influencing its decision for merging all the political subdivisions into the greater city was that not a great amount of land was left for urban expansion after deducting military reservations and water and marsh lands, and that the area left out would be too small and poor to constitute an effective unit of local government.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Government Levels Cooperate on Housing

New Legislation Calls for Concerted Action

ACCENTUATED by the passage of the Federal Housing Act of 1949, the need both of positive action at all governmental levels and of intergovernmental cooperation is being urged. Already substantial results have been produced.

The National Association of Housing Officials reports that under the provision of the federal housing bill cities must demonstrate a need for low rent housing before they can receive federal funds. Many cities already have the necessary information available on family income, rental prices and number of available rental units. A number of other cities are undertaking comprehensive surveys to collect this data.

Legislatures of 42 states have authorized local governments to establish low-rent housing authorities and at least 25 states have laws authorizing local participation in federally supported slum clearance projects. Iowa, Kansas, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Utah and Wyoming do not have housing enabling laws that will qualify their cities for federal funds for public low rent housing. Slum clearance aid also may be denied to those cities which do not have modern building codes and housing and sanitation regulations.

Recent approval by the Ohio legislature of a bill permitting cities to condemn and buy slum areas for resale to private developers, who would be required to rebuild according to a master plan, makes municipalities of that state eligible for federal aid. Under terms of the federal slum clearance law, two-thirds of the difference between the original price of the property and the resale price of the cleared land could be paid for out of the redevelopment subsidy.

An agreement which pledges the maximum use of the resources of the Public Health Service, the Federal Security Agency and the Housing and Home Finance Agency for the improvement of housing and community conditions has been signed by Housing Administrator Raymond M. Foley and Surgeon General Leonard A. Scheele, of the Public Health Service, acting for Federal Security Administrator Oscar R. Ewing.

Intended to avoid unnecessary overlapping and duplication of functions, the agreement provides that the home finance administrator and the surgeon general will cooperate in seeking the collaboration of other federal agencies, state and local governments, public and private institutions and representatives of various professional, industrial, labor and civic organizations.

Problems of administering the urban redevelopment and slum clearance program under the housing act of 1949 were considered in Chicago in mid-July at a three-day conference of municipal organizations, HHFA representatives, and local planning and housing authority officials, according to the American Municipal Association. The conference theme was the HHFA-municipal relationships necessary to make the program succeed.

It was agreed that local angles should be stressed—local responsibility for putting the program into effect, local coordination of all elements of the program, local decisions on rezoning and planning, etc. References were made to the need for analyses of state redevelopment enabling acts to insure wide municipal participation. About half of the states have not authorized local redevelopment programs.

HHFA officials, urging improvement in municipal redevelopment laws, indicated intentions to get local viewpoints before establishing administration policies or issuing regulations.

82 City Councils Drop Rent Control

Since Congress enabled cities to terminate rent control by their own action, 108 cities have done so, subsequent to April 1, the American Municipal Association reported on August 10. Such action is in addition to the lifting of rent controls in about 170 other localities by the federal housing expediter.

Under the rent law passed last spring controls can be removed in individual cities by the expediter or by the city's legislative body. Rents can be decontrolled for an entire state by its legislature. Municipal decontrol is final but decontrol by the housing expediter can later be rescinded.

A number of cities, the largest New Orleans, have held hearings on rent control and have decided to leave it in effect. In three small areas decontrolled by the expediter, rents rose so rapidly that controls were re-established.

The vast majority of the urban population is still under rent control. Municipal termination is largely in the south and southwest with more than half the completed actions occurring in Texas and Oklahoma.

The AMA reported that 56 cities were to hold decontrol hearings soon, but that, in recent weeks, completed decontrols have dwindled.

A Texas law decontrolling the entire state becomes effective October 19. The law permits cities to reinstate rent supervision by ordinance. Nebraska has a statewide decontrol statute, effective when the governor notifies the housing expediter of intent, which must be done before November 15. In Wisconsin decontrol became effective early in August. In Alabama and Nevada bills decontrolling rent have been passed by the legislatures and await action by the governors.

The decontrol action reported was stated to be effective despite the recent decision of U. S. District Judge Shaw in Chicago that the 1949 rent control act is unconstitutional. The federal housing expediter is appealing the case to the U. S. Supreme Court. Meanwhile decontrol proceedings under the act continue though they may be retarded somewhat by the litigation.

Council Manager Plan Developments

Voters of **The Dalles, Oregon,** (1940 population 6,266) adopted a council-manager charter on June 10 by a vote of 746 to 401.

Chadron, Nebraska, (4,262) voted 620 to 62 on July 12 for adoption of the statutory city manager plan.

Purcell, Oklahoma, (3,116) adopted a council-manager charter on August 2 by a vote of 652 to 224.

Monroe, North Carolina, (6,475) adopted the council-manager plan by ordinance of the council on March 30 after passage of legislation authorizing such action.

The city council of **Daly City, California,** (9,625) adopted the manager plan by ordinance on June 27.

In **Fairhope, Alabama,** (1,845) an ordinance establishing the manager plan was adopted March 28, effective April 1.

Surfside, Florida, (295) recently adopted a council-manager charter and a town manager was appointed on June 13.

The International City Managers' Association reports the following additions to manager cities since January 1, 1949, not previously reported here: **Whittier, California**; **Marion, North Carolina**; and **Levelland, Texas**; and that **Valdese, North Carolina,** which adopted the plan in 1932, has been added to the list.

The **New Hampshire** legislature has passed a bill allowing a popular referendum in November in **Portsmouth** on the question of retaining the manager plan. A referendum on a new council-manager charter for **Keene** was also authorized, for September 13.

A nine-member commission has been appointed by the mayor of **Barre, Vermont,** to study the feasibility of the council-manager plan. Such action was authorized by the voters at a special city meeting in March.

The Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court decided on June 30 that the proposed Plan A (strong mayor type) charter for **Boston** would be the only one to be voted on in November, despite charges that the Boston board of election commissioners had exceeded its authority in issuing petition forms to Plan A adherents six days before doing so to the advocates of Plan E (manager and P. R. council).[1]

The Plan E for Boston Committee on June 24 filed petitions containing more than 50,000 signatures with the Boston election commission. Despite the unfair advantage given to the Plan A advocates in February the Plan E Committee had continued to collect signatures as a matter of civic importance and in the hope that the courts would rule out the Plan A petition. Chairman Francis X. Ahearn of the committee stated that the Plan E petition contained signatures from each of the city's 362 precincts, and that although the Plan A signatures, after actual count, numbered somewhat over 60,000 only a few more than 47,000 had been certified by the commission.

The Massachusetts Civic League reports that **Haverhill, North Adams** and probably **Springfield** will vote this fall on adoption of Plan D (council-manager without P. R.) and that **Chelsea, Gloucester** and probably **Somerville** will vote on Plan E—which, however, with P. R. forbidden by the legislature,[2] will be substantially like Plan D.

The Citizens Charter Committee in **Southington, Connecticut,** has voted ten to three in favor of the council-manager plan.

In **Poughkeepsie, New York,** the Tax and Rent Payers' Association filed a petition of 2,116 signatures in July, calling upon the city council to order a referendum at the November election on the question of adopting the council-manager plan.

Council-manager proposals suffered defeat in three **New Jersey** municipalities in July. In **Passaic** on July 12 the movement started by the "six housewives" and bitterly opposed by the city's political machines lost by a narrow margin, 9,215 to 8,376.[3]

Council-manager proposals also lost in **Bayonne** and **West New York** on July 19, the commission plan being retained. The vote in Bayonne[4] was 10,207 to 8,125 in favor of the manager plan, but 11,356 votes (30 per cent of the vote at the last general election) were needed. In West New York the vote was 4,851 to 2,750, against the manager plan.

The new city charter commission in

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[1] See the REVIEW, March 1949, page 133; April, page 183.

[2] See page 409, this issue.

[3] See "Housewives Jolt Politicians," by Carl Ek, page 377, this issue.

[4] See also page 375, this issue.

Philadelphia organized on July 26 with the election of Frederick D. Garman, president of the city council, as chairman. Philadelphia's Committee of Seventy urged the commission to study the council-manager plan.

An election on the question of adopting the manager plan in **Columbia, South Carolina,** has been set for September 6.

A bill to authorize an election in **Dalton, Georgia,** on adoption of the manager plan failed at the last legislative session but remains on the calendar for the next session. Dalton voted for the plan on December 10, 1947, under the home rule act of 1947, but the city council ruled that the act was illegal and the election invalid—without a court test.

A referendum on adoption of the council-manager plan will be held in **LaGrange, Georgia,** on September 14.

Petitions filed by the Citizens Committee for Council-Manager Plan of **Mansfield, Ohio,** asking a vote on election of a commission to frame a new charter, have been accepted as sufficient. The question will appear on the November ballot.

The board of directors of the **Cincinnati** Chamber of Commerce opposes the submission of any amendments to that city's council-manager charter at the November election and recommends a special election in the spring of 1950 at which nothing but charter amendments will be considered. It asks that the recently appointed charter revision committee be continued, with funds to make a more comprehensive study.

In **Madison, Wisconsin,** the city council has declined to act on a resolution by one member calling for a referendum next April on the question of continuing the manager plan. Local newspapers report that a group of citizens are circulating petitions for a referendum on abandonment.

In **Illinois** an optional council-manager bill for all cities but Chicago failed of passage. A committee of the House refused to pass it with provision for a small council elected at large, and brought in its own bill which retained the status quo as to the council in any city adopting the plan. Most Illinois cities have the ward system, sometimes with large councils.

The **St. Louis, Missouri,** board of freeholders, which is engaged in drafting a new city charter, has decided on the strong-mayor form. It showed no support for the commission form, and voted twelve to one against the council-manager plan.

In **Shreveport, Louisiana,** the charter commission voted five to four to retain the commission plan.

Voters of **Arlington, Texas,** on June 7 approved by a vote of nearly three to one a home rule charter amendment empowering the council to employ a city manager if it so desires.

In **San Antonio, Texas,** the city commission on August 4 defeated by a four to one vote an ordinance proposed by Mayor-Commissioner Jack White to establish a council-manager charter committee of 25 citizens; it approved, four to one, an ordinance to establish a "charter revision committee," its members to be appointed by a majority vote of the commission. Mayor White, who was recently elected on a council-manager platform, then announced his appointment of the 25-member committee as an unofficial group to draft a council-manager charter. He denounced the commission for opposing the drafting of such a charter and its submission to popular vote.

The city commission of **Ogden, Utah,** voted unanimously on July 12 to place the question of adopting the council-manager plan on the November ballot.

The plan is supported by the Ogden Business and Labor Council and the Ogden Metropolitan Development Conference.

A citizen committee to study municipal reorganization in **Portland, Oregon,** with possible emphasis on the manager plan, has recently been appointed by Mayor Dorothy McCullough Lee.

On June 24 the voters of **Springfield, Oregon,** retained the manager plan by a vote of 1,111 to 1,002.

St. Helens, Oregon, defeated a charter amendment to establish the manager plan, 287 to 153, on May 17.

A council-manager charter has been drafted in **San Luis Obispo, California,** and is to be voted on in the near future.

National City, California, will vote on a proposed council-manager charter in September.

Grand Rapids Mayor Resigns, Forestalling Recall Election

On June 29 the Michigan Supreme Court decided that an election on the question of recall of Mayor George W. Welsh of Grand Rapids, Michigan, should be held as petitioned for by the Citizens Action organization. The group had sought his removal for interference with the appointment of city assessor by the city manager.[1] On July 18, however, Mayor Welsh resigned and City Commissioner Stanley J. Davis was appointed mayor by the city commission, four to two. Mr. Welsh's supporters included commissioners who were also the objects of the recall movement. One of them thereupon also resigned. Municipal elections will take place in 1950.

Home Rule Vital Issue in Northwest

At the fifteenth annual convention of the Association of Washington Cities in June, attended by 400 delegates, the theme of municipal home rule was in the foreground throughout, from the annual address of President William F. Devin, mayor of Seattle, to the adoption of resolutions.

One of the latter directs the executive committee to work in conjunction with the Bureau of Governmental Research and Services of the University of Washington, and other interested agencies, to study the desirability and practicability of proposing to the 1951 legislature a constitutional amendment to prohibit special interest laws tending to establish state control and regulation, and to broaden the authority of cities to govern themselves on purely local matters.

At the seventeenth annual convention of the Montana Municipal League, held in Glendive, Montana, in June, the central theme was the financial plight of Montana cities and their need for home rule powers to meet their problems.

Cities Cooperate in Rate Case

In a statewide telephone rate case the League of Virginia Municipalities organized a special telephone rate committee for joint intermunicipal participation in the proceeding before the State Corporation Commission. Each participating community agreed to pay its proportionate share of the cost, which included fees for legal and economic experts.

Municipal Public Relations Officers Organize

The Association of Municipal Public Relations Officers, the formation of which has been under way for some time, especially since the National Municipal League Conference in Boston last November, where municipal public relations were an important subject of discussion, was officially launched at a meeting on June 17 at the Town Hall Club in New York City.

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[1] See the REVIEW, June, page 291.

A constitution and by-laws were adopted at the meeting, which was presided over by Harold S. Rand, public relations officer of Rochester, New York. The group of twenty men from widely scattered parts of the United States heard Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of *The American City,* welcome the new organization to the municipal field. Another speaker was Eric Carlson, associate editor of the publication, who has been especially active in the development of municipal public relations.

AMPRO's program will include: a publication devoted to the field of MPR (municipal public relations); information service on MPR and MPR personnel; MPR case histories and monographs for working use; an MPR library including bibliographies, film lists, radio scripts, visual aid material; model ordinances; publications information; and advisory service to members.

Tennessee Has Advisory Service for Cities

A municipal technical advisory service has been authorized by the 1949 Tennessee legislature and established at the University of Tennessee, according to the Municipal Finance Officers Association. Financed jointly by state funds and Tennessee municipalities, the new service is designed to furnish cities and towns with factual information to help them solve their problems. The service is centered in the extension division of the university.

Illinois, Missouri Legislatures Approve Bi-state Agency

A planning agency for the development of the metropolitan St. Louis area was approved by both the Illinois and Missouri legislatures in 1949 sessions.

According to the American Society of Planning Officials, the agency will be organized along the lines of the Port of New York Authority, which operates in New Jersey and New York. The newly founded bi-state district will take in three Illinois counties—Madison, St. Clair and Monroe, which include the heavily populated Alton-East St. Louis industrial area—and the Missouri counties of St. Louis, St. Charles and Jefferson west of the Mississippi River.

Commissioners appointed by the governors of the two states are to contract for creation of a bi-state development agency of ten members, five from each state, with authority to submit to the communities within the area plans for coordination of various public projects. It is also authorized to construct, maintain, own and operate bridges, tunnels, airports and terminal facilities. Illinois has appropriated funds for half the initial cost of the agency, but Missouri must await its next legislative session.

Tennessee Provides Vote on Limited Constitution

Constitutional revision is under way in Tennessee—the state with the "virgin constitution," unamended since its adoption in 1870. The 1949 legislature has authorized a referendum on a limited constitutional convention at the November election.

Twenty unsuccessful efforts have already been made to alter the basic law. Failure has been attributed to the general apathy of the citizenry, inclination of a large part of the public to regard the existing constitution as divinely inspired, opposition of the Crump machine of Shelby County and the very difficult amending process.

Proposed amendments must be approved at two biennial sessions of the General Assembly, in the first instance by a majority vote and in the second by a two-thirds vote; they must then be approved at the next general election by a majority of those voting for legislators in that election. The legislature may not propose amendments more often than once in six years.

Amendments may also be initiated by a convention authorized by a majority of those voting on the question in a referendum. Convention delegates are elected, and proposed amendments are submitted to the voters for ratification at the following general election.

The present movement began in 1945 when the General Assembly established a constitutional revision commission which recommended that a convention be called for the purpose of amending nine sections of the constitution. The commission's proposed amendments would simplify the amending process, authorize a classified property tax and an income tax on income-producing intangibles, establish total rather than voting population as the basis for apportioning representatives, reduce the legislative quorum from two-thirds of the membership to a majority, raise the compensation of legislators from four to ten dollars per diem, lengthen the governor's term from two to four years, give the chief executive an item veto on revenue and appropriation bills and allow him five days beyond the close of legislative sessions in which to sign bills, give the legislature discretion as to a poll tax, establish municipal home rule, and authorize city-county consolidation.

The 1947 General Assembly took no action on the commission's report. In the 1948 general election, however, the victorious Democratic party made an issue of constitutional revision, and at the 1949 legislative session a referendum was authorized on the calling of a limited constitutional convention to draft amendments dealing with the sections of the constitution treated by the revision commission.

The state attorney general, however, has issued an opinion that the constitution does not provide for calling a limited convention. A declaratory judgment on this point has been requested from the Tennessee courts.[1] In case of a favorable ruling it will be necessary for the electorate (1) to approve the convention at the referendum on November 8; (2)to elect delegates on April 20, 1950, for the convention to convene May 15, 1950; and (3) to adopt the amendments proposed by the convention at the general election in 1950.

On the chance that the proposal for the limited convention might be rejected, the legislature has approved eight of the revision commission's recommended amendments—all except the one reducing the quorum requirement—and started the process of constitutional amendment by direct legislative initiation.

CATHERINE F. SIFFIN
Massachusetts Federation of
Taxpayers Associations

Efficiency of State Governments Furthered

Changes in governmental organization, to increase efficiency, were undertaken by the legislatures of several states in their 1949 sessions. Various others provided for major studies of state government modeled after the National Commission for the Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government headed by Herbert Hoover, the Council of State Governments reports.

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[1] On August 12 the chancery court of Davidson County (Nashville) ruled that the 1949 legislation was legal, as the people can limit the scope of a constitutional convention. An appeal to the state supreme court is expected shortly.

In Arkansas the legislative council created in 1947 was reorganized. Membership was reduced from 34 to 23 and will now be confined to legislators. A resolution endorsing the idea of a unicameral legislature and urging the electorate to initiate a constitutional amendment to provide for one was adopted by the Senate.

A state department of agriculture was established by the Colorado legislature, thus unifying the work and organization of various related commissions into a single executive department. Montana's legislature approved a constitutional amendment to establish a department of labor and industry.

The Nevada assembly created the offices of state budget director and legislative auditor, and a state purchasing agency.

North Carolina created a state personnel council, and functions with respect to personnel administration formerly performed by the budget bureau were transferred to it.

In Tennessee the assembly established a reference, research and bill drafting agency to serve the legislature.

States setting up reorganization study commissions include Arizona, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, New Hampshire, North Dakota and Wisconsin.

States Expand Conservation Activity

Increasing awareness of the importance of conservation of natural resources is indicated by state legislative action in 1949 sessions.

In some cases, the American Society of Planning Officials notes, expanded conservation activities involve new approaches in interstate cooperation. Nevada provided for cooperative agreements with surrounding states concerning fish resources and created a special committee to work with California in dealing with problems of the Lake Tahoe area.

In Arkansas the General Assembly adopted a broad program for stream pollution control and approved an expanded game and fish development program. Idaho provided appropriations to develop lands for watershed protection and recreational use.

The Tennessee legislature expanded the state's forestry control program and gave conditional approval to the Ohio River Valley sanitation compact already in effect among eight states. It also created a nine-man fish and game commission, a stream pollution control study commission, a new advisory conservation commission and a west Tennessee flood control and soil conservation district.

Both Montana and Nevada enacted water pollution control acts and legislation on construction and financing of sewerage facilities. New York approved a law to establish a statewide program for water pollution control.

Illinois Cuts Amount of Veterans' Preference

Reversing the general postwar trend, the Illinois legislature has reduced the amount of preference given to veterans in state civil service examinations, according to the Civil Service Assembly. Under the old law all veterans who passed state civil service examinations were placed at the top of the eligible list ahead of all non-veterans. The amendment provides that veterans are given five points in entrance examinations if they pass the examination, and their place on the eligible list is determined by their augmented rating. No extra preference is given for disability.

(Continued on page 424)

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Home Rule Sought for North Carolina Counties

Constitutional Amendment Suggested by Commission

ONE of the recommendations submitted by the North Carolina Commission on Public-Local and Private Legislation is that the state adopt a county home rule constitutional amendment. The commission was appointed as a result of legislative action in 1947 and reported early in 1949 after more than a year of intensive study. It recommended also that the 1949 General Assembly create another commission to continue its work.[1]

Regarding county home rule the commission recommended:

1. That counties be given constitutional authority to legislate for themselves with respect to all matters requiring or properly permitting local rather than statewide legislative treatment;
2. That the General Assembly be prohibited by the constitution from enacting special laws dealing with any matters upon which counties could legislate;
3. That the General Assembly then enact county home rule enabling legislation somewhat similar to the North Carolina home rule act for cities and towns;
4. That the General Assembly broaden the powers of county commissioners to enable the latter to legislate on county matters; and
5. That legislation be enacted classifying the counties, as well as cities and towns, upon some suitable basis

Press Reports on Manager Plan in Anne Arundel County

A feature story in the Annapolis, Maryland, *Capital*, reports that the newly adopted manager plan for Anne Arundel County has resulted in great improvement. It emphasized, however, that there remain many pitfalls that might result in the plan's failure. County Manager William S. Coburn was given credit for much of the plan's initial success. Improvement already had been noted in the conduct of county board meetings.

A reorganization plan drafted by the manager was approved by the board on June 21. It provides for establishment of three departments, finance, public works and administration. Fifteen bureaus and divisions are grouped under them. Finance includes the bureaus of treasury, assessments, accounting, and procurement and supply. Public works includes the divisions of plans and surveys, bridges and roads, public building, shore erosion, and utilities. Finally, the department of administration has divisions of dog license, mail and general file, weights and measures, building permit and inspection, amusement device inspection, and legal.

County Manager Plan Developments

A proposal to adopt the manager plan of government in Santa Cruz County, California, meets with the full approval of the Santa Cruz city council. Although the city has had the plan only ten months, the councilmen are enthusiastic. In a letter signed by all of them to the county they comment: "The operation of the city manager plan has proven every bit as effective as we anticipated when we accepted the responsibility of serving on the city council to put the new charter into effect."

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[1] For the full report of the commission see *Popular Government*, published by the North Carolina Institute of Government (Chapel Hill), February-March, 1949.

The home rule manager plan charter of Santa Clara County, California, has been approved by the state legislature, but operation is delayed because of an attack in the courts by charter opponents. Since the type was garbled in some of the publications, the opponents are claiming that the charter was not published the requisite ten times. The Board of Supervisors has denied the allegation and has asked the Superior Court to dismiss the suit.

A survey group employed by the board of supervisors has recommended that Oakland County (Pontiac), Michigan, should adopt the manager form of government. Most of the recommendations in conjunction with the manager plan, however, cannot be adopted until the Michigan constitution is amended.

Virginia County to Vote on Executive Plan

The board of supervisors of Prince William County, Virginia, recently voted unanimously in favor of a popular referendum on adoption of the executive form of county government. The circuit court judge for the area is required to call the referendum in 60 to 90 days. If the vote is favorable to the executive form, a newly elected board of supervisors would succeed the present board next November.

The county executive plan is provided under the optional forms act passed by the Virginia legislature in 1932. It is somewhat similar to the manager plan which also is provided as an option under the act. Under the executive form the board of supervisors appoints subordinate officers upon recommendation of the county executive, while under the manager form the manager has full power of appointment.

In other respects the plans are virtually identical. Both vest full legislative and administrative power in the county board, both provide for appointment of all administrative officers except the clerk, sheriff and commonwealth's attorney, both abolish the fee system of compensation, both provide the board with a responsible executive agent in the executive or manager, and both effect the abolition of many obsolete county offices.

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King County, Washington, Drafting Home Rule Charter

Under authority of recently enacted enabling legislation[1] the King County, Washington, Advisory Charter Commission is engaged in studying the problems of drafting a home rule charter. The commission hopes to make its decisions regarding the desired basic form of government by early autumn. It has divided itself into five committees to study various phases of county government.

Evidence received by the commission to date is in conflict regarding the desirability of nonpartisan elections. It has received testimony in favor of merit and budgetary systems. One of its committees has reported unfavorably regarding the desirability of adopting the commission form of government. It pointed out that the commission form is losing its popularity throughout the United States.

Richard Watts, executive director of the Washington Association of County Commissioners, in an appearance before the advisory commission, urged it to perform its task well because he believed the King County charter would then become the model for other counties in the state.

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[1] See the REVIEW, December 1948, pages 607 and 616.

Wisconsin Counties Urged to Enter Public Health

The Wisconsin State Department of Public Health has established a new division of local health administration to encourage counties and cities to enter the public health field on a much more extended scale than they have in the past. The state has enabling legislation permitting creation of county, city-county and multiple county health departments. At the present time approximately a third of the population of Wisconsin lives under the protection of a full-time local public health program.

State officials in the Health Department concede that financial assistance must be given to the counties to encourage them to adopt or expand public health programs. It is anticipated that the federal government will provide additional subsidies for public health in the future. State officials propose that the federal government, the state and localities share equally the cost of an expanded local program.

County Provides Intern Program

Westchester County, New York, probably can lay claim to being the first county in the United States to provide an internship program comparable to those already instituted in some states and in the national government. It is giving five young college graduates, referred to locally as "Westchester's career boys," a practical introduction to the problems of county government. At the end of a twelve-month period of internship, they probably will be placed in regular positions of the county government in so far as vacancies are available.

The training program is begun with a week of orientation lectures on the administrative, judicial and legislative branches of the county government. The second week consists of a series of field trips to county installations throughout Westchester. The remainder of the year is devoted to tasks or special projects in the county assigned on a rotating basis.

The five young men composing the original class of interns have taken their graduate and professional work at Syracuse, Columbia, New York and Fordham Universities.

Pittsburgh Area Adopts Smoke Abatement

Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, recently adopted a county-wide smoke control ordinance effective in all parts of the county except Pittsburgh. A comparable Pittsburgh ordinance went into effect in October 1947. Railroads are required to comply with the ordinance immediately, but industry has one year of grace and homeowners have until June 1, 1953, to make the needed installations.

County Fights Fire with Radio

Crawford County, Pennsylvania, has installed a complete radio system throughout the county for use in fire prevention and fire fighting. It is operating upon a radio frequency recently allocated to fire departments by the Federal Communications Commission. All volunteer fire departments in the county are connected with the system. In addition to the equipment at the central station and at the various fire stations, walkie-talkie machines are used for communication between persons at the fire site and the local fire department's headquarters.

(Continued on page 428)

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Massachusetts Legislature Scuttles P. R.

Prevents Future Adoption of the System by Any City

After numerous unsuccessful attempts, enemies of P. R. in Massachusetts have finally succeeded in persuading the legislature to remove proportional representation from the state's optional Plan E charter for cities. Almost from its inception this feature of Plan E—council-manager plan with P. R. for election of the council and school committee—has been under legislative attack. While the Senate has frequently polled a majority against it, until now P. R. has been sustained by the House.

This is at least the third vote this year excluding reconsideration votes. The vote on March 16, the first time the bill was presented, was 122 to 92 to sustain P. R. The vote on August 1 against it was 102 to 100. A motion to reconsider was defeated next day 98 to 93. Governor Dever signed the bill on August 10.

The bill exempts from its provisions the six cities which have already adopted Plan E—Cambridge, Lowell, Worcester, Medford, Revere and Quincy. However, it provides that a referendum on abandoning P. R. may be held in those cities on petition signed by 10 per cent of the voters.

Pointing out that present statutes make ample provision for cities which do not desire to use P. R. (Plan D provides the manager plan with ordinary majority voting) the Springfield *Republican* says editorially: "By its action the legislature has been guilty of a flagrant violation of the principle of home rule. It has taken from the voters . . . the right to determine how their local officials shall be elected."

Following the Senate's vote on the question the Boston *Traveler* commented editorially, "That was a mighty shabby vote in the Senate on the repeal of Plan E. By 19 to 17 that august body took it upon itself to prohibit the citizens of Massachusetts from voting on Plan E in the future. . . .

"To us it is shocking that the freedom of expression for the citizens of this state—traditionally one of the foremost states in the union on the matter of civil liberties—should be arbitrarily curtailed by nineteen autocratic senators.

"We happen to believe that Plan E has demonstrated itself as a remarkably successful form of city government. Its proportional representation feature has for the most part reduced ward heel political influence to a minimum. The argument that it encourages Communism is completely specious in Massachusetts where the Communists have absolutely no political standing."

In its editorial of August 5 the Boston *Herald* comments: "The legislature has taken a backward step by voting to eliminate the proportional representation feature of Plan E charters. . . . There is not one iota of evidence to show that the proportional voting system loses its proportionality only for Reds. It would be strange indeed if such anti-Communist countries as Ireland and Switzerland should continue to use P. R. if it were a device which radicals could manipulate. . . . We sadly fear that it is not the discriminatory character of P. R. but its failure to discriminate in the right direction that has earned it the enmity of many of our local politicians."

In at least two cities, Chelsea and Gloucester, petitions have been filed for a vote on Plan E this fall. Other cities, including Somerville, have been working toward the same end.

Belgium Chooses New Parliament by P. R.

A general election in Belgium on June 26 produced little change in the political position of the two largest parties but saw the small Liberal party almost double its strength to become the third largest while the Communist party lost almost half of its parliamentary strength.

The Christian Social party polled 39.9 per cent of the vote as against 42.5 per cent in the 1946 election. Because of the slight departures from proportionality inherent in the use of districts, however, it secured twelve more seats than it obtained in 1946. The 104 seats obtained this time out of the total of 212 members of the Chamber of Deputies were still a few seats short of a majority, so that at least one of the other parties was needed to support a new government.

The hand of the Christian Social party has been strengthened by its obtaining undisputed control of the Senate, winning a majority of the 106 seats subject to direct election as well as a majority of the indirectly elected senators. This gives it a veto power over the government.

The Socialist party, which together with the Christian Social party backed the government of Premier Spaak, lost three seats and now has 66, although it gained slightly in popular vote—from 31.6 to 31.8 per cent.

The Liberal party, which favors more of a free enterprise economy, obtained 16.2 per cent of the vote as against 8.9 per cent in 1946, and raised its representation in the Chamber of Deputies from 17 to 30. The Communists, on the other hand, went down to 8 per cent of the votes and 12 seats, compared with its 12.7 per cent vote and 23 seats in 1946.

A summary of the Chamber of Deputies election, based on a report in the New York *Herald Tribune,* is given below:

Party	*Per Cent Votes*	*Seats*	*Per Cent Seats*
Christian Social	39.9	104	49
Socialist	31.8	66	31
Liberal	16.2	30	14
Communist	8.	12	6
All others	4.1	0	0

Formation of a government to replace that led by Premier Paul-Henri Spaak, which continued in office on a provisional basis, met some delay because the Christian Social party was unable to get either the Socialists or the Liberals to agree to its desire to recall King Leopold III from exile. On August 11, however, the Christian Social and Liberal parties undertook to form a government under Gaston S. Eyskens, who thereupon became premier.

Municipal Elections Held in Netherlands

Proportional representation elections under a party list system were held in all municipalities in the Netherlands on June 15. Some 1,860 council positions were filled. There was little change in the distribution of party strength except that the Communist party lost about half its following and obtained a mere 6 per cent of the total seats.

The cities of The Hague and Rotterdam by themselves showed a similar pattern, but in Amsterdam the Communist vote was not so small nor did it show quite so large a decline over the 1946 elections.

Nationwide summaries shown below, as well as those for the three cities named above, are reported by the Netherlands Information Bureau.

NETHERLANDS MUNICIPAL ELECTION
NATIONWIDE SUMMARY

Party	*No. of Seats*		*Per Cent Seats*	
	1949	*1946*	*1949*	*1946*
Catholic People's	557	543	29.9	29.7
Labor	547	556	29.4	30.4
Protestant Christian Group[a]	444	392	23.8	21.4
Freedom and Democracy	157	97	7.6	5.3
Communist	112	214	6.0	11.7
Other parties	43	26	2.3	1.4

[a] Consists of the Anti-Revolutionary, Christian Historical and Political Reformed parties, which in some localities contested the election individually and in others did so jointly.

SEATS IN THREE LARGE CITIES—
1946 AND 1949

Party	*Amsterdam*		*The Hague*		*Rotterdam*	
	1949	*1946*	*1949*	*1946*	*1949*	*1946*
Catholic People's	9	8	10	11	7	7
Labor	14	15	15	14	19	18
Protestant Christian	6	5	10	9	9	8
Freedom and Democracy	4	2	6	4	5	3
Communist	12	15	4	7	5	9

P. R. and Majority Systems Contrasted in Alberta

The provincial election held August 17, 1948, in the Canadian province of Alberta shows a sharp difference in results between the constituencies of Calgary and Edmonton, which elected five members each by the Hare system of P. R. to the provincial legislative assembly, and the rest of the province, which chose its representatives by the Hare system of majority preferential

Public Library Kansas City, Mo.

ALBERTA PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE
1948 ELECTION OF CALGARY MEMBERS

Party	*Votes*[a]	*Percentage of Votes*	*Seats*	*Percentage of Seats*
Social Credit	13,048	33.4	2	40
C. C. F.	5,742	14.7	1	20
Liberal	6,215	15.9	1	20
Independent	6,339	16.2	1	20
Others	7,757	19.8	0	0
	39,101	100	5	100
1948 ELECTION OF EDMONTON MEMBERS				
Social Credit	22,997	49.8	3	60
C. C. F.	8,684	18.8	1	20
Liberal	7,692	16.7	1	20
Others	6,777	14.7	0	0
	46,150	100	5	100

[a] The votes given are the effective votes for the candidates elected as reported on the last count. Percentages are based on the total number of valid votes cast.

voting ("the alternative vote") in single-member districts.

The Social Credit party monopolized representation except in the P. R. districts of Calgary, where it elected only two out of five, and Edmonton, where it elected three out of five. It carried every one of the single-member districts except Banff-Cochrane, where an independent Social Credit candidate led the poll. The results in these districts were all the same as they would have been under the usual plurality system, for the leading candidate on the count of first choices won in every case.

Over the entire province the Social Credit party had approximately 56 per cent of the votes, but won 50 out of the 56 seats contested. The minority parties outside the two P. R. districts polled about 30 per cent of the total vote cast in the province but failed to elect any representatives.

The summaries for Calgary and Edmonton are given in the table on page 411.

Western Germany Holds First Elections

On August 14 the voters of Western Germany elected members of the German *Bundestag* under the country's new constitution. The electoral law adopted by the Parliamentary Council at Bonn provides that half of the four hundred members be chosen by proportional representation, the other half by single member districts.[1] This department will carry a full report on the election in its October columns.

P. R. League Loses Two Council Members

The Proportional Representation League has recently lost two widely known and respected members of its advisory council, Lent D. Upson of Detroit and Carl D. Thompson of Chicago.

Dr. Upson, for many years director of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research and subsequently dean of the School of Public Affairs and Social Work at Wayne University, was one of the foremost leaders in the improvement of American local government. His survey of the government of Cincinnati set the stage for that city's adoption of P. R. and the city manager plan in 1924. He was a member of the P. R. League Council from 1919 until his death on May 9 of this year. Further information about his distinguished career was given on page 266 of this REVIEW for June.

Mr. Thompson was the veteran executive director of the Public Ownership League of America. He had been a helpful and interested member of the P. R. League's council since 1914. In failing health for some time, he died in Lincoln, Nebraska, on July 3.

Millard Appointment

Mr. Thompson's place as director of the Public Ownership League and editor of its publication, *Public Ownership of Public Utilities,* has been filled by the appointment of Walter J. Millard of Cincinnati, who is well known to proportionalists. Mr. Millard has been field secretary of the P. R. League since 1918 and before the League's merger with the National Municipal League in 1932 spent most of his time travelling throughout the United States and Canada speaking in the interests of P. R. and the council-manager plan. He has probably participated in more city charter campaigns than any other living man.

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[1] See the REVIEW, June, page 298.

Taxation and Finance . . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

In Lieu Payments Dead for 1949

Congressional Action Looked for Next Year

HOUSE hearings on the Engle bill to authorize federal payments in lieu of taxes[1] to local government agencies appear to have quenched likelihood of passage of such legislation this year. According to some observers, however, conferees generally accepted the principle of federal responsibility to make some kind of payments and the reporting of an acceptable bill next January is regarded as "virtually guaranteed."

Most tangible hopeful feature from the local official's point of view was a committee request that the Budget Bureau approve a $42,000 expenditure by the Federal Works Agency to cover the expense of bringing up to date federal property records from which the cost of in-lieu payments could be estimated.

The White House attitude toward the proposal seemed to be summed up in the message President Truman sent to the Senate in vetoing a bill providing for payment to Reno, Nevada, of $1,620 in street improvement assessments levied against a Federal Forest Service property.

The president cited the "numerous cases of hardship in particular communities" resulting from the doctrine of intergovernmental immunity, acknowledged the desirability of adopting general legislation to provide a comprehensive program for payments on account of federally owned property, and noted that general legislation was pending before Congress dealing with the problem's over-all aspects.

Vetoing the bill to avoid establishing a precedent for piecemeal action, the president said: "Any legislation providing relief should be of general application, should not be retroactive in its coverage, and should deal with the problem on a comprehensive basis."

States Boost Gas Tax Rates

The 1949 legislatures in fifteen states have raised gasoline tax rates. Increases of two cents per gallon were enacted by Missouri, New Mexico and North Dakota, while Washington raised the rate one and a half cents. One cent increases were made by Delaware, Kansas, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon and Pennsylvania, and a rise of a half cent was made by Nevada and Vermont.

Several of the raises have been or will be passed on by the voters. At a referendum in June North Carolina voters approved raising that state's gas tax beginning next January. The North Dakota increase, scheduled to take effect July 1, has been referred to the people and will be voted on in June 1950, while it is expected that the voters will have opportunity to pass on the Missouri legislation.

In addition to the new increases—which were the second since 1945 in Vermont and Kansas—three states made permanent the temporary increases enacted in 1947 and scheduled to expire this year. They were Idaho, Maine and West Virginia.

Higher revenue from the gas taxes will be used primarily to finance construction and improvement of state road systems, according to the Federation of Tax Administrators. Last year, state gas taxes yielded approximately $1,300,000,000, while gasoline sales were about 8 per cent higher than in 1947.

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[1] See the REVIEW, June, page 300.

State-Local Financing Continues High

New borrowing by state and local governments continued extraordinarily substantial through the first seven months of 1949. Although the total of state and municipal bonds issued during the first seven months of the year, as compiled by *The Daily Bond Buyer,* was 12.6 per cent below that for the corresponding period in 1948, the difference was more than accounted for by several unusually large state soldier bonus bond issues sold last year so that state-local financing for capital improvements this year was actually ahead of the 1948 period.

State-local financing during the period through July 1949 totaled $1,680,254,049, according to *The Daily Bond Buyer's* data, compared with $1,923,022,923 during the comparable months in 1948. The 1948 period included, however, $300,000,000 New York State veterans bonus bonds and $200,000,000 Ohio veterans bonus bonds, as well as a similar $85,000,000 issue of Illinois. In the 1949 period, the largest state veterans bond issue was $84,000,000 by Minnesota, and all bonus issues aggregated something less than $220,000,000, or little more than the 1948 Ohio issue alone. Thus, if the veterans bonus issues are excluded, other financing approximated one and one-half billion dollars for the 1949 period compared with about one and one-third billion for the same 1948 months.

The continued absorption of a large volume of new state and municipal bonds is being accomplished at interest costs which still average low. The *Bond Buyer's* index of municipal bond yields stood on August 4, 1949, at 2.13 per cent for twenty representative issues, compared with 2.19 per cent January 6, 1949, and a 1949 high of 2.21 per cent on June 2. During 1946 the index had reached its all-time low at 1.29 per cent, and had increased thereafter to a postwar peak of 2.47 per cent in March 1948. On August 5, 1948, the index had been 2.33 per cent.

Toll Roads Sought by More States

Success of toll roads in Pennsylvania, New York and Connecticut has spurred the 1949 legislatures of at least two states to approve their construction: The Colorado legislature passed a bill permitting construction of a $5,000,000 toll road between Denver and Boulder, authorizing the State Highway Department to guarantee payment of 30 per cent of the bond issue necessary to finance the project; Ohio has approved a measure creating a turnpike commission with authority to build toll highways.

New Jersey recently authorized construction and operation of a 130-mile cross-state toll road. Discussions are under way with Pennsylvania officials on the possibility of linking existing and planned turnpikes of the two states, providing an extended express highway, according to the American Public Works Association.

Construction of New Hampshire's $7,500,000 superhighway is nearing completion. Work was begun at five points along the road's fifteen-mile right-of-way. Oklahoma also has a 100-mile toll turnpike between Tulsa and Oklahoma City under construction. That state has recently extended the life of its turnpike authority for two more years.

A study is under way in Massachusetts to determine whether a 90-mile toll road across the state would be self-liquidating on the basis of traffic volume. The road would join Connecticut's expressways and would cross the state to New Hampshire. First reports from Maine's toll road project indicate that it went in the red despite a mild winter.

Transit Systems in Trouble

Increased fares have brought increased revenues to municipally-owned transit systems. Despite this, however, many lines, both public and privately owned, are in the red because of the slump in passenger traffic and increased costs. Among the factors boosting operating costs are pay increases for transit system employees.

A *Wall Street Journal* survey reports 63 cities now with fares of ten cents or more. In 1945 only 23 cities paid a fare that high. The highest reported is in Chicago with a 15-cent fare.

For the first quarter of 1949, the Cleveland transit system showed a net income of $119,408 as compared to a deficit of $830,473 in a like period last year. The change reflects the effects of a two-cent fare boost last year as well as a change from a two-man to a one-man operation.

Reports from New York's transit system show that total revenues in the ten months ending April 30 amounted to $174,000,000 against $112,000,000 in the same period last year. Earnings for the period totaled $10,600,000. New York increased subway and elevated fares to ten cents and raised surface line fares to seven cents a year ago.

The Detroit Department of Railways made a one-third cut in deficit in the first four months of this year. It has been proposed that the city council help the transit lines by forgiving all or part of its taxes which amounted to more than $700,000 last year. Detroit's thirteen-cent fare became effective in April 1948.

The loss by San Francisco on its transit operation for the first four months of the year was $406,347 as compared to $617,463 through April 1948. Chicago showed a net income deficit of $402,403 for the quarter as compared to a $116,000 profit last year.

The Boston Metropolitan Transit Authority, headed by a state appointed board of trustees and representing the fourteen communities served by the system, estimated that it would be in the red $11,000,000 by the end of 1949, based on the $5,000,000 loss sustained in the first six months of the year. A ten-cent fare, first adopted in 1919, still prevails in that system.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS (Continued from page 374)

Bill. He has done a grand job and I hope that he will agree to keep serving for the next fifteen or sixteen months.

I am deeply grateful in the knowledge that you and the others of the nominating committee want me to serve again. If I am re-elected, I will do my best in helping to guide the League's destiny. If not re-elected for any reason, I will do the same.

Sincerely yours, /s/ CHARLES EDISON

The nominating committee's complete report will be sent to all members, probably in the October issue of the REVIEW, prior to its formal presentation at the meeting of members at 5 P.M. November 28 at the National Conference on Government in St. Paul. Suggestions for members of Council will be welcomed by the committee and may be addressed to Dr. Bird at the League office.

Winnetka Caucus—How It Works

Unique Device Eliminates Local Partisan Politics

WINNETKA, Illinois, (population 13,000) is one of those pleasant high grade residential suburbs which grace the lake shore just north of Chicago. It has no manufacturing (zoned out) and its amenities have been cherished under the council-manager plan and the enlightened managership of H. L. Woolhiser who holds the record among city managers for length of service—31 years—in a single city.

Back of this political serenity lies a unique device, the Winnetka Caucus. At its beginning the caucus was a meeting of a group of citizens of both parties who organized to keep all party politics, Republican and Democratic, out of village affairs and if possible to eliminate meaningless party contests. They won their way against partisan activity after several decisive victories for their nominees, and partisan activity has never reappeared.

A dainty brochure published by the council celebrates the 75th year of the village's existence and officially describes the success of this novel formula.

"Even where the tradition of good citizenship is well grounded and the sense of individual responsibility highly developed, a dependable mechanism for expressing the community's will for good government must be available. In Winnetka this has been achieved over the past 29 years through its unique 'caucus' system for nominating candidates for local office.

"The basic plank of the caucus, and the one chiefly responsible for its continued success, is that 'the office seeks the man, never the man the office.' Thus nomination for office carries with it a degree of public recognition which is quite at variance with the stigma that sometimes attaches to self-initiated political aspirations.

"Through the caucus the community is enabled to draft virtually whomever it chooses for public office. Moreover, since nomination is, or at least always has been, the equivalent of election, the necessity for an election campaign by the candidate is eliminated, serving as a further inducement for attracting qualified men and women to stand for election.

"The Caucus Committee, the main spring of the caucus system, is chosen annually. Each new committee is initiated by the outgoing committee through the designation of a Caucus Nominating Committee of twelve members chosen from outside its membership, thus eliminating any tendency toward self-perpetuation. The members of the Nominating Committee are selected to give representation to each precinct in the village and may not name any of their own number to the Caucus Committee.

"The Nominating Committee, after careful deliberation, designates its nominees, reporting directly to the caucus meeting rather than to the Caucus Committee. Two members, sometimes three, are chosen from each of the twelve precincts in the village and five are chosen as representatives-at-large.

"A few members of the expiring Caucus Committee may be selected to assure familiarity with procedure but the large majority are entirely new. They are chosen for their demonstrated interest in community affairs and their known sympathy with the established procedures, traditions and ideals of the village. If and when accepted at the general caucus meeting held in advance of the election in April, they then become the Caucus Committee for the ensuing year.

"The Caucus Committee, thus chosen, meets in the fall of the year, elects its chairman, secretary and treasurer and proceeds to organize into various subcommittees—publicity, finance, platform, candidates, etc., so as effectively to discharge its duties.

Selecting Candidates

"The principal task is, of course, the selection of suitable candidates for the offices to be filled at the spring election. Originally these consisted only of the village and library officials but the results there were so satisfactory that, at the request of voters, selection of the candidates for the school and park boards were later added.

"Suggestions both as to platform and candidates are invited from all organizations in the village and from individual citizens as well. Possible candidates are checked from all angles but fitness is the one final determinant for selection. Partisan politics does not enter into the picture at all.

"After protracted deliberation the Caucus Committee makes its decisions. It then obtains the consents to serve of the candidates chosen, also their signed agreements to conform to the platform declarations, after which the nominees are announced and a public caucus meeting for their ratification or rejection is called.

"The general caucus takes much the form of the old New England town meeting. Outgoing officials report on their trusteeship and discussion is invited.

"The Caucus Committee then offers its platform for approval, reports on its finances and finally presents its nominees for office. Opportunity is allowed for the presentation of alternative nominations, though rarely have any been offered. If and when the Caucus Committee's nominees are approved by the general caucus group, they then become the official candidates of the Caucus party and, in the absence of successful competition, are elected at the annual election in April.

"That the caucus candidates have been consistently elected is evidence of its painstaking choice of nominees and reflects the community's approval of this method of choosing its public servants."

The Winnetka *Weekly Talk* in an editorial urging attendance at the annual village caucus on February 5, 1948, said:

"This, the open caucus system, is, locally at least, Winnetka's contribution to American political science. It has been adopted, with minor changes, by the other three villages of New Trier Township.

"It was devised before the First World War by a group of public spirited Winnetka citizens who grieved over the heated nonsense of municipal elections in which, except for personalities, there were no real issues.

"In the old days, two or three groups of citizens would meet in closed caucus and handpick a slate of candidates for the forthcoming election. The people had no say in the nominations; they could only make a guess at which of the two local parties was the better.

"The caucus system changed that. A committee, which cannot perpetuate itself, is selected each year. It makes its report to all the villagers at an open meeting. No candidates can be selected in secret.

"While the village caucus generally concurs with the recommendations of its committee, it is under no compulsion to do so, and it has happened in the past that the caucus has named its own candidates.

"Legally, the caucus is simply a group of citizens who form a new local political party each year. There is nothing to prevent an opposition organization getting on the ballot.

"It is significant, however, that the caucus plan has never been defeated and that it has not been seriously challenged since 1933."

From the manuscript of a speech made locally by Howard E. Green, a caucus committee chairman of several years ago, we cull some additional points:

"One of the unique characteristics of the caucus system as practiced in Winnetka is its lack of constitution or by-laws, rather it works within a framework of tradition. . . . By tradition which has grown up, there is almost a complete turnover of personnel on the committee from year to year. . . . The committee does have access to the records of the preceding committee and thus there is an historical background on which each committee is able to establish its methods of operation and general procedures.

"The petitions committee . . . assumes the responsibility for drawing certain resolutions, looking after the details of filing petitions and seeing that the regular party ticket is presented for the voters' consideration. . . .

"Having eliminated office seekers by having an office seek the man or woman, having eliminated the unpleasant and often bitter friction which results from rival candidacies, we have succeeded in obtaining the services of some of the best qualified men and women in the village to fill these offices and, as all of you know, their labor is entirely a labor of love, for they serve without other compensation than the satisfaction of doing the job on behalf of the people of the community."

In order to avoid the difficulties and expense of primaries the Caucus party adopts a different name each year and, as a new party, the "Village" or other party, places its candidates on the ballot by petition. No other group or party having polled enough votes to be on a primary ballot, no primary is held.

Others Adopt Plan

Glencoe (population 6,825), adjacent to Winnetka, and two other villages in the township have copied the caucus principle. Glencoe reduced it to a set of written by-laws, "The Caucus Plan for Selecting Candidates for Elective Offices" (official pamphlet), and the town meeting adopted them in 1936. Caucus nominees to the elective offices have prevailed in all elections since and the present village manager has held his office since 1927. The 1948 caucus platform renews its support of the method which "avoids village election contests which are distasteful to candidates and to residents alike."

The long success of this nonpartisan caucus in Winnetka and in the adjacent villages undoubtedly depends upon the homogeneous high character of the residents; similar villages without the device are frequently noncontentious and well served by their local governments too.

Its results in a village split on class, religious, or area lines might be very different and its capacity for resistance to capture by self-interested groups happens to be untested. Like any other system dependent on the turn-out at a kind of town meeting of a large enough proportion of the voters to avert packing, the Winnetka Caucus is hardly suitable for cities and would be harder to start now in Winnetka than it was with the much smaller population of that village (6,694) 29 years ago.

RICHARD S. CHILDS

Developments in Education for Democracy

Formation of the **National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools,** said by Harvard President James B. Conant to be "potentially the most important move for the advancement of public education in the last 50 years," has been announced by its chairman, Roy E. Larsen, president of *Time, Inc.* The commission is composed exclusively of laymen representing business, labor, law and publishing. The idea for the commission, says Mr. Larsen, "was originally suggested by a group of leading educators who felt that real improvement in the public school situation could not come without citizen understanding, planning and action."

Henry Toy, Jr., an executive of the du Pont Company and founder of the Council for Delaware Education, has been appointed executive director.

One of the first projects of the new organization will be to cite instances of successful community action for improvement of the schools. The Carnegie

Corporation and the General Education Board are giving financial support to the project.

One of the **University of Wisconsin's** citizen seminars, "a program series designed to aid Wisconsin citizens to achieve a fuller understanding of the public affairs of the community, state, nation and world," is "A New Constitution for Wisconsin." The seminars are designed for either individuals or groups and may be obtained on a loan basis or purchased by a group at one dollar for each study kit. Rental for audio-visual material is an extra charge. The new constitution kit contains a copy of the Wisconsin constitution and various pamphlets including *Modernizing State Constitutions,* published by the National Municipal League, and *Revising the Wisconsin Constitution, Wisconsin Makes a Constitution* and *A New Constitution for Wisconsin* (discussion guide), all prepared by the University Extension Division.

In its first six months experience with Citizen Seminars, the university sold approximately a hundred study kits and lent some 325 more to 115 groups representing over a hundred communities. A much larger circulation is anticipated for the coming club year.

President Harold E. Stassen of the University of Pennsylvania addressed the **Association of American Colleges** in New York City on "The Citizenship Obligations of the American College Graduate." He listed four imperative obligations of the citizen: Exercising the right to vote, being reasonably well informed on major issues, forming opinions on these issues, and expressing those opinions in an appropriate manner to associates, officials of the government or the general public.

The second annual observance of Good Government Day was conducted by the **Massachusetts Civic League** at the State House on April 8. The league, which acted at the request of the governor, prepared a pamphlet, *Your Government,* for the use of students which explained the functions of the three departments of state government. Forty student senators and 240 student representatives, from every senatorial and representative district in Massachusetts, were elected by fellow high school students to serve in the model legislature. The elections were conducted, in accordance with the Good Government Day statute passed by the legislature, under the supervision of the State Department of Education. A student governor and other student state officials participated in the "day."

In Quincy, Massachusetts, colored slides which explain the Plan E form of government—council-manager plan with proportional representation—were shown recently to certain officials and teachers of the schools who, in turn, will present them to high school pupils.

A competition on the problems of planning, open to students of public speaking, English literature and architectural drawing in Somerville, Massachusetts, public and parochial schools, was recently conducted by the James S. Logan Post of the V.F.W. Prizes were awarded for oratory, essay, and planning and analysis. The winning essay, by Nancy Foster of St. Joseph's High School, has been published in the July issue of *The American City.*

Let's Look at the Student Council (twelve pages) is another in a series of publications issued by the **Citizenship Education Study** sponsored by the Detroit Public Schools and Wayne University. Copies may be secured for 25 cents, with discounts on orders for ten or more.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Municipal Services Show Huge Expansion

Over Two Hundred Added in Madison Says Union Study

SOME 239 municipal services have been added to the government of Madison, Wisconsin, since 1900 a survey by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL, discloses. The published report, *What Your Taxes Buy!* (16 pages, 25 cents), was summarized in the April-May *Public Employee,* official publication of the union.

An introduction explains that the year 1900 was used as a starting point because "1900 marked the beginning of a new period in community life and development that was markedly shaped by economic and social forces with which municipal government did not have to cope before the turn of the century" as well as "the beginning of a period in which citizens became more aware of the importance of local government."

Tables list the 239 added services by function and chronologically and show that in only two years since 1900—1919 and 1932—no new ones were undertaken. In other years additions have varied from one in 1902, 1921, 1924 and 1944 to eighteen in 1937. The list reflects changes due to technological and economic developments, wars and depressions.

Here are a few random samples from the chronological list: 1900, street paving program begun; 1902, children's library established; 1905, fire inspection, domestic science in schools; 1906, spring cleanup started; 1908, landscape architect first employed; 1909, bathing beaches and bath houses provided; 1910, traffic signs, first building code adopted; 1912, motorized patrol, dairy and milk inspection, garbage collection and disposal; 1913, plumbing inspection, dental examination of school children; 1915, policewoman added; 1916, chlorination of water; 1917, school lunches; 1920, motorized street cleaning; 1922, city zoning; 1925, guidance department in the public schools; 1929, city purchasing agent, toboggan slide built; 1930, traffic lights, Saturday morning classes in art and music; 1933, tavern licensing; 1934, new contagious hospital built; 1937, smoke inspection and abatement, drunk-o-meter tests begun; 1940, insurance fund for city buildings; 1941, parking meters first installed; 1942, mosquito abatement; 1943, nursery school; and 1947, cancer detection center.

Bureau Notes

Annual reports have been issued by the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Governmental Research Bureau of Duluth, New Haven Taxpayers Research Council, and Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council. The Duluth bureau's report is its 28th.

The National Training School for Public Service has announced that its Volker program will be continued and has named Loren Miller as acting director of the school, to succeed Dr. Lent D. Upson as director.

Topics for the lecture-discussions of the Metropolitan Chicago Research Center for the 1949-50 season include Illinois, Cook County and Chicago government, as well as housing in metropolitan Chicago.

Production — Participation — Accomplishment is an activities report of the Cleveland Citizens League and its Bureau of Governmental Research.

Con F. Shea, graduate fellow of the Department of Government of the University of Denver, has begun an administrative survey of the government of Joplin, Missouri. The survey is sponsored by the Jasper County Tax Economy Association which recently completed a financial survey of the city.

Strictly Personal

Lennox L. Moak, former executive director of the Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans, has been named director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research where he succeeds Robert K. Sawyer, now executive director of the Greater Philadelphia Movement. Val C. Mogensen, former research associate of the New Orleans bureau, has been appointed as its director.

Roscoe Martin, director of the University of Alabama's Bureau of Public Administration, has been appointed chairman of the Department of Political Science at Syracuse University.

Edward W. Weidner, assistant director of the Intergovernmental Relations Research Project of the University of Minnesota, has received an appointment at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Assessment

Assessment Procedures in Rural New York. By Will Simmons. Ithaca, Cornell University, New York State College of Agriculture, 1949. 75 pp.

Proceedings of the Third Annual Short Course for Municipal Assessing Officers. Assessment of Commercial Buildings, Assessment of Industrial Buildings, Assessment of Commercial Personal Property, Building Cost Schedules—Their Necessity and Theoretical Application, Practical Application of Residential Building Cost Schedules. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Bureau of Government, 1949. 72 pp. $2.

Budgets

Appropriations of the 19th Legislature, Compared with Those of the 18th. Sante Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* June 1949. 5 pp.

Where Does the Money Go? (Recommendations in the interest of tightening the city's control over its expenditures). Cleveland, Citizens League, *Greater Cleveland,* June 10, 1949. 4 pp.

County Government

Administrative Survey: McLean County Government. Springfield, Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, 1948. 38 pp.

Cost of County Government in Oklahoma, 1948. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, *Your Report on Government,* July 1949. 4 pp.

A Guidebook of County Appointive Offices. By Huey Blair Howerton. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 77 pp.

A Program of Constructive Economy for St. Clair County Government. East St. Louis, Illinois, St. Clair County Taxpayers' Association, 1948. 87 pp.

Home Rule

Home Rule Powers and Limitations. Framing and Adopting a New Charter. Some Charter Considerations. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* May 3, 10, 17, 1949. 4, 4 and 6 pp. respectively.

Housing

Rents for Regent Park: A Rent-Scale System for a Public Housing Project. ("Rents are based on the financial capacity of families. . . . For each family size rents are graduated from a certain income level at which the rent is exactly 20 per cent of a family's income.") By Humphrey Carver and Alison L. Hopwood. Toronto, Civic Advisory Council, 1948. 49 pp.

Syracuse State Housing Units to Cost $12,000. Rochester, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Bulletin,* May 1949. 1 p.

Insurance

The Administration of Fire Insurance on Municipal Buildings in New Hampshire. By Joseph R. Coupal, Jr. Durham, University of New Hampshire, Bureau of Government Research, *New Hampshire Town and City Notes,* Winter 1949. 15 pp.

Legislation

Law Making in South Dakota (Revised). By T. C. Geary. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Government Research Bureau, 1949. 36 pp.

1949 Legislative Review. Denver, Colorado Public Expenditure Council, *Colorado Taxpayer,* May 1949. 8 pp.

Report of the Commission on Public-Local and Private Legislation Authorized by the 1947 General Assembly. (Recommendations of the Commission; The Problem of Private, Local and Special Legislation and City and County Home Rule in North Carolina; Thirty Years of Private, Local and Special Legislation in North Carolina, 1917-1949; State Constitutional Provisions Relating to Private, Local and Special Legislation and City and County Home Rule.) Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, *Popular Government,* February-March 1949. 79 pp. 25 cents.

The Session Ends (A poem). By William D. Belknap. Sante Fe, Taxpayers Association of New Mexico, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* July 1949. 1 p.

Six Proposals Submitted by the Legislature. Progress Report. (Codification of School Law, Election Laws, Home Rule, Ton-Mile Tax, County Fees, Retirement of Public Employees). Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, May 1949. 48 and 9 pp. respectively.

Legislative Bodies

Cleveland's City Council. Toward a Stronger City Council (summary of *Cleveland's City Council*). Cleveland, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1949. 22 pp. and 4 pp. respectively.

Licenses

Fees for Building Permits. Building Fees by Cities. Taunton, Massachusetts, Association of Commerce, *Research Brevities,* June 20 and 22, 1949. 1 and 2 pp. respectively.

Milk Regulation

Milk Control in Portland. Portland, Oregon, City Club, *Bulletin,* May 20, 1949, 18 pp.

Municipal Government

Buffalo's Mayors. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* May 26, 1949. 4 pp.

Improving the Government of Salisbury. By Joseph M. Ray. College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 42 pp.

Poughkeepsie City Government: A Survey Report on the Governmental Structure and Operations. Part One, General Administration; Part Two, Operating Departments. ("Although improvements to various administrative procedures could undoubtedly provide immediate answers to some of these problems, it is apparent that in most cases the solutions lie in basic structural changes in the government. It should be remembered that these can be made only by amending the present charter, or by the adoption of a new charter establishing a different basic form of government." Poughkeepsie, Area Development Association, 1949. 26 and 31 pp. respectively.

Personnel

Carmen's Wage Determination. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* July 14, 1949. 2 pp.

Civil Service and Personnel in the City of Cleveland. By the Citizens League Subcommittee on Civil Service of the Griffenhagen Follow-Up Committee. Cleveland, Citizens League, 1949. 10 pp.

Civil Service vs. Spoils System. By James R. Watson and Thomas J. Graves. New York, Governmental

Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* May-June 1949. 4 pp.

How Practical Are Cost-of-Living Salary Plans for Cities. By John C. Crowley. Los Angeles, *Western City,* April 1949. 3 pp.

Municipal Personnel Problems. An address delivered by the Director of the Citizens Research Institute of Canada before the Annual Conference of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities. Toronto, the Bureau, 1949. 6 pp.

Operation of the Civil Service System in Schenectady County and City. Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* May 1949, 3 pp.

Standards for Professional Jobs: Survey Yardsticks Outlined. By Garret R. Breckenridge. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* July 1949. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Veterans' Preference. Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* May 1949. 3 pp.

Police

St. Louis Reorganizes Police Department. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* June 23, 1949. 3 pp.

Salaries and Working Conditions of Policemen in Various Virginia Police Departments. Richmond, League of Virginia Municipalities, April 1949. 33 pp. tables. $1.

Political Parties

The Republican Party in New Mexico: A Challenge to Constructive Leadership. By Charles B. Judah. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Department of Government, Division of Research, 1949. vi, 37 pp. 50 cents.

Public Health

Comparative Health Administration in Metropolitan Los Angeles. By Margaret Gorsuch Morden and Richard Bigger. Los Angeles, University of California, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1949. 52 pp. 50 cents.

Social Security

How Much Should We Pay for "Security"? (A summary of proposed federal public welfare, social security and compulsory health insurance programs.) Detroit, Michigan Public Expenditure Survey, May 9, 1949. 4 pp.

The Old Age Assistance Program in Louisiana. New Orleans, Bureau of Governmental Research, *State Problems,* June 1949. 8 pp.

State Government

A Manual of State Government in Michigan. (Facts about the state government including its 104 boards and commissions.) By the Department of Administration, State of Michigan, and the Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1949. xiv, 266 pp. $2.50.

The "Welfare State" at the State Level. By John F. Sly. New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Review,* June 1949. 6 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Ability of Boroughs to Finance Capital Improvements. (Conclusion: Under existing debt limitations many municipalities can finance large-scale capital improvements, if at all, only by means of an authority, since the local cost of a sewage disposal system has nearly doubled in the last ten years—or nearly tripled if federal aid available in 1938 is considered.) Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Institute of Local and State Government, *Borough Bulletin,* May 1949. 2 pp.

Comparison of State Income Tax Rates and Exemptions. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* April 1949. 7 pp.

An Economy Program. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* May 5, 1949. 4 pp.

Give and Take in State Taxes.

("Table showing the contributions made to state funds by each county of the state and the benefits received by each county in the form of services or financial aid from state funds."). Rochester, Bureau of Municipal Research, May 1949. 1 p.

Unemployment

Disability Unemployment Compensation. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, November 1948. 37 pp.

Unemployment and Relief Rolls. Newark, Bureau of Municipal Research, July 1949. 2 pp.

Utilities

Policy and Practice Concerning Charges for Electric Services to Municipal Departments and Contributions to the City's General Fund by Publicly Owned Electric Utilities in Cities Over 40,000 Population. Policy and Practice Concerning Charges for Water Services to Municipal Departments and Contributions to the City's General Fund by Publicly Owned Water Works in Cities Over 250,000 Population. Los Angeles, City Bureau of Budget and Efficiency, March and April 1948. 11 and 12 pp. respectively, tables.

Rochester Transit Corporation—Tax Collector. Rochester, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Bulletin*, May 1949. 1 p.

Water Charge Complications. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, June 28, 1949. 3 pp.

Veterans' Bonus

Discussion of Some of the Major Tax Proposals Included in Substitute Bonus Measure. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, May 1949. 6 pp.

Waterfront Development

Riverfront: The Protection of Municipal Waterfronts in Tennessee. By Edith Foster Howard. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration, March 1949. 59 pp.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 405)

In promotional examinations veterans' preference is also restricted.

The new policy, effective September 1, is supported by Governor Adlai Stevenson and has the endorsement of veterans' organizations.

Hoover Reorganization Plans Produce Great Economies

With the passage of the Tydings bill on August 3 and other legislation enacted to date, the Hoover Commission is "definitely 'in the black,'" according to *Reorganization News*, official publication of the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report.

Pointing out that the entire report cost less than $2,000,000, the *News* declared that the recommendations now in effect will permit annual savings of at least $1,250,000,000. This figure, the committee explains, is based on $1,000,000,000 for the Armed Services and at least $250,000,000 to be saved through the General Services bill passed on June 30. This measure is designed to combine and simplify purchasing, records management, building management and disposition of war surpluses.

"On the other side of the ledger," the committee's publication commented, "at least $2,000,000,000 more remain to be saved. Beneficial improvements in governmental operation by the score still must be made. Some 40 per cent of the Hoover Commission report could be accomplished within bureaus and agencies by executive action."

Civil Service Assembly to Meet in San Francisco

The 1949 conference on public personnel and administration of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada will meet in San Francisco, October 24-27, at the Palace Hotel.

Books in Review

Home Rule for America's Cities. By Rodney L. Mott. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1949. 68 pp. $1.50.

This is a timely and useful pamphlet for furthering the crusade for municipal home rule. It is scholarly, yet nontechnical, and constitutes an important addition to the procession of standard works on this subject, viz Goodnow 1906, McBain 1916, McGoldrick 1933. As the last date shows, this is overdue. The torch has been carried in the interval mainly by the National Municipal League as part of its *Model State Constitution* and *Model City Charter.*

Approximately 28 states give some degree of home rule to cities and 646 cities out of two thousand plus have home made charters. In many states the situation is still very bad, the cities being treated like conquered provinces by irresponsible remote control. In some southern states the local county delegation by amiable exchange with other county delegations gets its way unhindered within its bailiwick and the municipality becomes a shuttlecock when one partisan faction controls the city and another the delegation. A vast array of bills, each affecting only one city and dealing with minute details, encumbers many legislative calendars and bedevils local authorities.

Dr. Mott recognizes that his tentative proposal for constitutional local federalism, which would reverse the present rule and place residual powers in the cities rather than the states, is open to debate. But the reckless way in which legislatures and courts have whittled away or denied home rule clearly intended by state constitutions invites a drastic remedy.

Recognizing the need to reduce the complexity of local government, the author suggests that a liberal home rule policy be "coupled with simplified and fair procedures for consolidation of units and functions of government and with encouragement of intergovernmental agreements." To which, "Amen." But the $64 question is how to get the local citizens and politicians voluntarily to use "fair" procedures to abolish some of their precious little boroughs and offices. Some municipalities lack the human and material resources necessary for real home rule, and unless the state sometimes exercises its authority to unmake and remake them to fit modern facts they probably never will be fit for it.

That is the dilemma. Dr. Mott's book and the zeal of the American Municipal Association should put new life into a many sided attempt to solve this problem in time to preserve self-government in the home town, where it must have its roots if it is to survive at all.

In the long run, success will depend on citizen understanding and action as Dr. Mott points out in the following paragraph:

"A final condition which is necessary if home rule is to be truly effective is a genuine public support of its principles. Without citizen interest in local government, it is nearly impossible to develop either the local leadership or the legislative interest necessary to install genuine local self-government. The states in which there are active citizen organizations are usually the states in which local self-government flourishes. These organizations are both a cause and a result. They exist because there is a warm civic interest, and their very existence tends to stimulate further citizen participation in government."

Toward Efficient Democracy. By Arthur C. Millspaugh. Washington, D. C., Brookings Institution, 1949. 307 pp. $3.50.

With a diligence and skill worthy of a better cause, Dr. Millspaugh has dragnetted American history to bring up an amazing well documented list of past complaints and proposals of reform relating to the structure of our national government.

Then, unlike most scholars, he sticks his neck out and propounds a new proposal of his own wherein he would abolish the House of Representatives and substitute a council of 15 to 25 members elected at large by the list system of proportional representation. The lists of candidates would be provided by the Republican and Democratic national conventions (no independents allowed) so that each party would see its candidates seated in the order established by the convention, as far down its list as the party's proportion of the votes justified. The council would pick the president who would hold office at its pleasure.

As the Senate is fortified by the constitutional provision that no state may without its consent be deprived of its equal representation therein, he yields to expediency at this point and retains it in his plan with powers like those of the House of Lords to impose delay and second consideration. We skip further details.

Dr. Millspaugh fondly pictures a swift effective management in the hands of eminent party leaders expressing consistent and well studied party policies.

Here in the National Municipal League we, as long-time promoters of the council-manager plan of municipal government, might be expected to applaud this translation of our municipal concept to the national field.

However, mere size and general unwieldiness of the national unit alter the principle. We can and do get along without parties in nonpartisan municipal elections but on the national scale the two national parties are unofficial yet essential mechanical supplements to the constitutional mechanism, to screen candidates for national office down to two (or three). They enjoy an effective binopoly of hopeful nominations. They are not parties in the European sense. New ideas which arise do not in our country lead promptly to formation of effective new parties but seep through both parties and, to the impatience of doctrinaires, give us the spectacle of so-called parties that include and retain all shades of belief with wider differences of opinion within them than there are between them.

But this flexible free play, as manifested in the House of Representatives, is valuable even if not neat. To funnel the vast diversity of pressures through a bottleneck of a group of 25 politicians or less would produce calamitous heat and strain.

Again, consider the conventions! They are clumsy enough when handling their prime task of selecting one major candidate. In this task they are rather effectively governed by the need of catering successfully to intensely concentrated public awareness and concern. Divide up the task into 20 parts and the state delegations under their local party leaders will be able to barter and trade amid confusion and obscurity. The slate will include some leaders but will, I fear, be made up mostly of favorite sons who have catered diligently to their respective state machines and whose very names will elude the scrutiny and even the memory of most voters. The chess game in the smoke-filled rooms would be more complex and obscure—more absolutely controlling—than now! The public cannot squeeze into any such game! Show it to a politician, Mr. Millspaugh, and watch his mouth water!

H. G. Moulton, president of Brookings, in the preface explains that the author's conclusions are not be regarded as a pronouncement of the institution.

R.S.C.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Authorities

A Missouri Valley Authority: Remarks of Senator James E. Murray, Senator Guy M. Gillette and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1949. 30 pp.

Report for the Six Months Ended June 30, 1949. New York, Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority, 1949. 15 pp.

Budgets

Simplifying Procedures Through Forms Control. Washington, Executive Office of the President, Bureau of the Budget, 1948. 49 pp. 45 cents

Building Codes

Administrative Requirements for Building Codes. New York, American Standards Association, 1949. 15 pp. 50 cents.

Report of the Joint Legislative Committee on Statewide Building Codes. Albany, State of New York, 1948. 44 pp.

Standard for Grandstands, Tents and Other Places of Outdoor Assembly. Boston, National Fire Protection Association, 1949. 15 pp.

Communities

Scoring Community Desirability. Chicago, Housing Authority of the County of Cook, Illinois, 1949. 17 pp.

Elections

Use of Schools and Other Public Buildings in Cities as Polling Places. Albany, New York State Conference of Mayors, 1949. 5 pp.

Federal Government

United States Government Organization Manual — 1949. Washington, Division of the Federal Register, National Archives Establishment, 1949. 725 pp. $1.

Government Textbooks

American City Government: Its Machinery and Processes. By Ernst B. Schultz. New York, Stackpole & Heck, 1949. 554 pp. $5.

Government of Cities in the United States (revised edition). By Harold Zink. New York, Macmillan Company, 1948. 637 pp. $5.

Outside Readings in American Government. Edited by H. Malcolm MacDonald, Wilfred D. Webb, Edward G. Lewis and William L. Strauss. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1949. 854 pp. $2.75.

Land Subdivision

Land Subdivision in California, Laws and Regulations. By Charles D. Clark. Washington, Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* June 1949. 6 pp.

Legislation

Nationally Recognized Standards in State Laws and Local Ordinances. New York, American Standards Association, 1949. 43 pp. $1.

Suggested State Legislation: Program for 1949. Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1948. 70 pp.

Licensing

Business License Tax Ordinance. Beaufort, South Carolina, City Council, 1949. 46 pp.

Local Government

Local Government Areas, 1834-1945. By V. D. Lipman. Oxford, England, Basil Blackwell, 1949. 506 pp. 25/-.

Metropolitan Areas

Report of Study Committee of the Lower Peninsula Planning Commission

of Virginia on Consolidation of Local Governments.[1] Newport News, the Commission, 1949. 63 pp. map.

Planning

Local Planning and Development, with Special Reference to the Smaller Wisconsin Communities. Madison, Wisconsin State Planning Board 1949. 55 pp.

Planning Cleveland, 1948. Annual report of Cleveland City Planning Commission. Cleveland, the Commission, 1949. 13 pp.

Police

The Boston Police Survey: Report of the Finance Commission of the City of Boston. Boston, the Commission, 1949. 50 pp.

Political Parties

The American Party System (fourth edition). By Charles E. Merriam and Harold F. Gosnell, New York, Macmillan Company, 1949. 530 pp. $4.65.

Population

Estimates of the Population of the United States, by Regions, Divisions, and States: July 1, 1948. Washington, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1949. 6 pp.

Proportional Representation

The Sure Foundation for Strong Stable Government: P. R. (Annual Report for 1948-49 of the Proportional Representation Society). London, the Society, 1949. 51 pp. 6d.

Trailers

Taxation and Licensing of House Trailers. Chicago, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1949. 3 pp.

Water Pollution

Report of the Special Committee on Pollution Abatement of the Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Cooperation, 1948. Albany, New York, the Committee, 1948. 106 pp.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 408)

California Urban District Bill Dies

A bill in the California legislature which would have permitted counties of 2,000,000 population or over (Los Angeles only) to create urban districts in unincorporated areas passed the Assembly but died in the Senate. These districts would have been created by the county board of supervisors. Their residents would have had the option of electing their boards of selectmen if they so desired. The districts were to have limited jurisdiction over zoning, sanitation, roads and streets, parks and recreation, flood control, building and alterations, permits, licenses, vital statistics, health, police and fire protection, education and libraries, and similar functions.

South Dakota Acts to Remove Constitutional Term Limits

The South Dakota legislature has adopted a constitutional amendment to permit county officers to serve more than two consecutive terms. The proposal will be submitted to popular referendum.

Zoning Plan Submitted in Hamilton County, Ohio

A zoning plan for the unincorporated areas of Hamilton County (Cincinnati), Ohio, has been submitted by the rural zoning commission to the board of county commissioners. Final hearings by the county board were held in June, and the plan will be submitted to the voters on the November 1949 ballot.

The county's rural zoning commission was created following state enabling legislation effective September 1947.

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[1] See also page 393 this issue.

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PERIODICAL DEPT.

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the Review by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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Publication Office: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
Editorial and Business Office: 299 Broadway, New York, 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXVIII, No. 9 **Total Number 392**

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

'United Action for Good Government' Twin Cities Conference Theme

UNITED action for good government will be the keynote of the League's 1949 National Conference on Government, to be known as the Twin Cities Conference, in St. Paul, November 28, 29 and 30.

Jack Kroll of Cincinnati, director of the Political Action Committee, CIO, and Ed. P. Phillips, president of the Phillips Machinery Company, Richmond, speaking on the common stake of labor and industry in good government, will sound the keynote of the conference at the opening luncheon at the Hotel Lowry, Monday, November 28. Both Mr. Kroll and Mr. Phillips have been active in charter movements in their home cities.

Throughout the conference speakers and subjects will symbolize the growing realization of the pressing need for teamwork among citizens of all walks of life and public officials at all levels of government.

At luncheon, afternoon and evening sessions outstanding public officials and civic leaders who can speak with the authority of accomplishment will talk on such vital subjects as the need of cities for home rule and modern charters and how to get them, the human and financial dividends of expert city management, modernizing state government and the whole problem of intergovernmental relations and how to preserve a maximum of responsibility and self-determination at the community level. League President Charles Edison will be the principal speaker at the annual dinner Tuesday night.

Group sessions for intimate discussion of vital problems with which citizens and officials are wrestling will be held Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday mornings. In each group there will be people who have demonstrated their expertness in dealing with the problems under discussion. There will be short papers or talks during the first hour or so of the two and a half hour sessions but those in attendance will have ample opportunity to get practical answers to their immediate problems.

Among the subjects to be threshed out in group sessions will be successful civic campaigning—to get or keep a good charter, for example; roads to effective home rule; how to get a new state constitution; university services to state and local governments and civic-minded citizens; the future of the direct primary; the status and prospects of proportional representation (annual meeting of P. R. League); what makes an efficient city government; businesslike management in small communities; progress in state government; and the problem of too many overlapping and competing governments serving the same community.

The National Association of Civic Secretaries and the newly organized Association of Municipal Public Relations Officers will hold supplementary sessions and their members will take part in the conference. The first supplementary session of the NACS Sunday evening, November 27, will deal with the money problems of local civic organizations. AMPRO, organized as a result of an informal get together at the National Conference on Government in Boston last year, will assist the League in a group session on municipal public relations and hold a special regional meeting of its own.

Look for more details and names of speakers and participants in the November NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and in the preliminary program. For reservations write as soon as possible to the Hotel Lowry, St. Paul, Minnesota, being sure to say you are attending the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government.

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Leadership Is Where You Find It

WHEN the council-manager plan was very new, Charles A. Beard dropped into the discussion a mild suggestion that it made no provision for leadership. The criticism reappears, as a quotation or otherwise, in other textbooks although Dr. Beard later endorsed the plan in the light of 30 years' experience.

The *Model City Charter* and most of the cities using the plan give the chairman of the council the title of mayor. This may have been a tactical mistake; to have had no such title might have been better. For although such mayors are only chairmen, chosen usually by the council from its own membership and having a vote but no veto or separate powers, campaigns for adoption get muddied up by what salesmen call a "talking point," namely that the people are to lose their former power to elect the mayor. If there just were to be no mayor at all, these protests would have to take some less plausible and mischievous form.

Charter commissions frequently yield the issue by providing separate election of the mayor while faithfully keeping him to the regular *primus inter pares* position. Thus the 1949 *Municipal Year Book* lists 451 council-manager charters of which 254 provide for election of the chairman-mayor by the council from among their own number, 184 for his selection at the polls and thirteen for giving the title to the candidate who gets the highest vote.

In Dallas a local theorist is campaigning to switch from choice by council to a separate balloting upon a separated group of candidates for mayor although the mayor of Dallas is to remain one of the council in terms of his authority.

The prime virtue of the council-manager plan lies not in its creation of the post of manager but in its ability to produce good councils. Anything which tends to play up one councilman at election time over the others runs wild and, in so far as it over-dramatizes one member, diverts public attention from the rest.

Because it equalizes the posts that are up for election and makes every councilmanic seat important, the choice-by-council method is desirable. The Dayton highest vote method is next best if the "talking point" must be catered to. Other reasons are:

1. It is undesirable to put candidates into two ballot sections, one for mayor and one for councilman. Good candidates who would have made acceptable councilmen may lose because they aspired to the mayoralty.

2. The tendency of voters to be content with an informed vote for mayor and negligent of the equally important councilmen makes for lopsided decisions at the polls and the slipping of undesirable candidates into council.

But how about leadership? Is there a craving of people for someone to follow apart from this craving for drama? Undoubtedly. Sometimes leaders appear and sometimes they don't.

Leadership is where and when you find it. It is purely relative; the strong man drops out of the council, the next strongest man takes his place for a while and gets eclipsed by a newcomer a few years later. A man chosen at the polls to be mayor may not turn out to be the man whom the council or the people feel most like following. You cannot single one man from a group and say "You shall lead!" and "You others shall follow!"

Surely the sound way is to let the council decide which member to honor. The need of the moment may be for a highly articulate spokesman who does well in public debate, or for a middle-of-the-road man whom both factions of a divided group consider fair-minded, or for the man with the biggest popular following or greatest intrinsic dignity and eminence. The original thinker who is first to arrive at solutions may be dependent on a slower, less inventive mind to carry the ball for him. Which of them is the real leader?

If it is a good team we want, it had better be allowed, as in football, to choose its own captain. The team-mates rather than the constituents have got to work at close quarters with the selectee. The ability to get elected by the people to a separate but empty mayoralty may rest on factors of support that have nothing to do with the candidate's fitness for the chairman's duties; the ability to attract the support of his peers in the council is a good test of leadership in direct intimate relation to his duties.

℞ for California

TWO vivid, bold articles in *Collier's* (August 13 and 20) describe Artie Samish, "the secret boss of California," a super-lobbyist with great funds and staff supplied by various commercial pressure group clients. He serves them primarily by expertly influencing elections of legislators and minor state officers, manipulating procedural detail in the legislature and splashing misleading advertising on billboards in initiative campaigns. Governor Warren concedes him greater power than the governor in issues of interest to the clients.

The author of the articles, Lester Velie, volunteers as remedies: (1) reversion to a mythical thing called party responsibility instead of the open primary—he has forgotten Southern Pacific, (2) better salaries —$5,000 instead of $1,200—for legislators, and (3) better identification of campaign contributors.

These remedies will not be enough to halt this kind of political piracy.

Samish's effectiveness depends on the scatteration of public attention among a shadowy array of minor elective offices and the profligate use of the initiative.[1] He throws his weight around among candidates who, by reason of their relative littleness and rather technical charac-

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[1] See "Can We Afford the Initiative?", page 437 this issue.

(Continued on page 466)

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Mayor Charlie Cuts Corners

Louisville's chief executive drops red tape to get things done; hires city administrator; acts on citizen 'beefs'.

By **GEORGE KENT***

WHEN Charles Peasley Farnsley was a boy, his mother sat him down in the parlor one day and said that this time, rather than spank, she was going to reason things out with him. Young Charlie, twisting the seam of his trousers, said, "Just spank me, ma!"

Today, as mayor of Louisville, Kentucky, he displays the same impatience with words. "Let's just get things done," he says. And during his brief 21 months in office he has expedited a breath-taking total of civic improvements and innovations.

He has done most of it by a disarming indifference to the conventional way of getting things done. He has cut corners, ignored political caution and always dared to be an original and courageous city executive.

Forty-two years old and a big slouchy six feet two, with thinning carrot colored hair, Charlie—everybody calls him Charlie—was born in Louisville, son of a Louisville judge, and took his law degree from the University of Louisville. Later he spent four years in the state legislature. All of this is quite orthodox. But there's nothing ordinary either in the man or his career.

The great grandson of slave owners, he is a regular contributor to the Urban League, a national Negro organization. When a woman complained about colored people moving into her street, Charlie said sharply, "A Negro has a right to live anywhere." In Kentucky such a remark takes courage.

You see his unconcern with the conventions in the clothes he wears —the Robert E. Lee hat, the derby sack coat and that mark of the old south, the string tie. When he gets into a chair he slumps down, coming to rest somewhere in the middle of his back. In the words of a wag, "He sits up recumbently." After meals he stretches out on the floor, flat on his back, covers his eyes with blinders and goes to sleep. This may occur at home, in his office, wherever he happens to be.

But make no mistake! In Charles Farnsley, Louisville has an extraordinary executive. Charlie became mayor in February 1948 by a vote of the board of aldermen after the previous incumbent died. His first gesture was characteristic. Instead of ceremoniously moving into the city hall, he went off to the state capital, Frankfort, where 54 bills concerning Louisville were coming up for a vote. All were considered dead ducks. The mayor lobbied life back into the legislative program. Before he left 39 had been passed.

His next move tickled the headline writers. He established some-

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thing new in city government, the *beef session.* Farnsley, who had specialized in political science at college, was disturbed over the great gulf dividing the city executive from the people. What worried them, what they wanted, what they liked—he did not know. Except for a vocal minority, the people had no way of saying what they were thinking. Charlie said as much one day to Ed Edstrom, city hall reporter for the *Courier-Journal,* and Edstrom replied, "That's easy, give them a time and a place—and they'll tell you. They'll *beef,* all right."

Beef Sessions Held

"A wonderful idea," exclaimed His Honor, and a week later all Louisville was invited to come and pour out their hearts at the city's first beef session. They have kept coming ever since, once weekly. Anyone can come. Everything that goes on is reported at length in the newspapers. Farnsley presides surrounded by his department heads, who are assembled there to answer specific complaints. The beefer comes up and sits in a chair alongside the mayor, sharing the microphone with him. What they say goes out over the air through a local broadcasting station.

Most of the complaints deal with traffic and street maintenance. Where possible the grievances are promptly cared for. In every case the mayor checks through to see that what has been promised is done.

Charlie exhorts his department heads to read the "letters to the editor" in the newspapers and take care of the complaints that appear there. He also invites citizens to telephone him and he is trying to get the phone company to make it possible for anyone to reach him simply by dialing m-a-y-o-r.

One of his first acts was to create the Louisville Citizens Survey which now sends expert interviewers into homes to discover how the people are thinking. This grew out of his long friendship with Elmo Roper, whose organization does the interviewing. So far, surveys have been completed covering such subjects as traffic, taxation, schools, housing. From them Mayor Farnsley learned that what the people wanted most was well paved streets and recreation facilities for their children. He saw that they had both, in less than a year.

The paving problem was largely one of finances. There just wasn't enough money. For nights Farnsley sat up reading reports from other cities and technical discussions of street maintenance, making calculations. Finally, early one morning, he hit it—again an unorthodox notion.

Instead of doing an expensive curb-to-curb job, the mayor said the city would pave only the driving portion of the street. Let the parking lanes remain rough. They did not matter. In two months Farnsley resurfaced—"half-soled," he called it—42 miles of Louisville streets, more than had been done in the 25 years before. The saving to the city was 30 per cent of what a conventional job would have cost.

In providing recreation, instead of projecting ambitious parks, he took a leaf out of the book of New York and other city planners and opened up play streets. He had more than 40 in a short time. And he added to them by taking over vacant lots. To all he distributed play paraphernalia, including balls and baskets. And the other day he rolled obsolete streetcars into ten of them, which will be employed to show movies and for use as indoor play rooms when it rains.

Balm to the Farnsley soul was the March report of the chief of police. Vandalism, he said, had dropped to zero in every neighborhood where a play street had been established.

To protect children against traffic accidents, Charlie invited women to serve as part-time crossing police. He put 25 women through school, outfitted them with uniforms, paid them $50 a month. The women were proud of their work and are doing an excellent job.

The same watchdog attitude toward the city pocketbook was apparent on other occasions. A pretentious four-lane highway—an outer drive — was being contemplated. Farnsley winced when the cost was mentioned—one and a half million dollars. "Maybe there's another way," he said. He and his engineers piled into cars and drove slowly around the city. On the ride they discovered that a badly paved street called the old River Road, badly engineered and impeded by boulevard stops, was actually shorter than the projected four-laner. A few weeks later the old River Road became a through street. It was repaved, its curves banked, the stops eliminated, lights eliminated. So for $500,000—a saving of one million dollars—Louisville had its outer drive.

Charlie did it again with the schools. They were unquestionably in poor condition. But one new school would cost almost twice the $600,000 available for improvements. The mayor rounded up twenty of the town's leading architects, dropped the problem in their laps, directing his appeal to their pride as citizens. They agreed to cooperate and then, one week-end, they went out and blueprinted 24 schools, outlining possible improvements and repairs. A survey of this kind would have cost $75,000. They did it for nothing. After the survey came the work. Louisville schools today are far from perfect but they have been modernized to the limit of the money available.

New Ideas in Education

Of all the accomplishments of this amazing mayor, perhaps the most spectacular are the developments in education he has fathered. One night he sat late considering the crowded conditions of the city's colleges. Suddenly he had an idea and although it was two in the morning he phoned Dr. John L. Taylor, president of the University of Louisville. Taylor came over and the pair worked out a scheme for neighborhood colleges. This called for setting up university classrooms in all the branch libraries. They would be open to the general public, would be taught by university professors, and those attending would receive full university credit.

Charlie had classes in session in ten days. Shortly afterward, he brought the educational director of the National Broadcasting Company to Louisville. Out of their talks came a scheme which has given great vitality to radio education. The University of Louisville set up a course in the great novels. Hollywood stars dramatized them. The university issued assignments, corrected papers, gave final examinations. For the first time, a person could listen to the radio and—if he did the supplementary work—get college credit for his effort. The program, called the University Theater, is now broadcast over 131 stations.

Farnsley also installed television in the city libraries, explaining, "People might as well look-listen in a library as in a bar. It makes business for the bar, why can't it make business for the library?" As a matter of record, the borrowing of books has materially increased.

In the Louisville library a reader can hear and borrow phonograph records. Special ear phones enable him to listen without disturbing neighbors who are reading. If he misses one of the university broadcasts he can hear it again simply by requesting it of the librarian. The main library, the nine branch libraries and several high schools are all linked by wire to a central studio which each day plays for card holders and schools a request program of classical music and drama. A teacher, for example, who wants her class to listen to *Macbeth* has but to telephone and at the specified hour the play will come into her room. The library soon will be operating a ten-watt FM station for the general public that will accept no sponsors.

In this day, when people look hungrily to a life in the country, Farnsley is almost unique as a believer in cities and city life. Attending the United States Conference of Mayors, he said: "If a farmer gets just a despondent look in his eye, a dozen agencies rush in and the farmer gets not only fertilizer but money. But if the city businessman gets a similar look in his eye, people rush in with warrants."

Mayor Farnsley is now about to do something about the idea. He is preparing to appoint a city agent who will do for the small businessman and other urbanites what the county agent does for farmers. The project is experimental, it has never been tried before. Charlie will start the man off with a desk and a secretary and let him develop the job.

Political Suicide?

The mayor has committed enough political suicide to inter a dozen ordinary officials. Twice, for example, he has demanded an increase in taxes on the eve of an election. To professional vote getters this spelled sure political death. Charlie fooled them. Last November, running on the Democratic ticket and making only two speeches, he polled a majority of 11,500—4,000 better than Truman received.

Shortly after taking office, he announced that it was impossible for him to put his ideas into effect and at the same time sit at a desk puttering with papers. So he hired Roy Hamilton Owsley, famous as a city administrator, to take care of the details. He called him a "consultant," and paid him $15,000 a year out of his own contingent fund. No one on the municipal payroll got as much money, not even the mayor.

(Continued on page 442)

Can We Afford the Initiative?

California's experience indicates need to revamp law to insure sound measures and solvency of state's finances.

By **ALFRED F. SMITH***

SINCE California adopted direct legislation in 1911, the citizens have in twenty elections voted on an average of eight initiative or referendum measures. Direct legislation was a major factor in nearly every election, and generally provided the most controversial issues. In the last election, for example, out of nineteen state ballot measures eight were initiatives, and four of these were highly controversial.

The public is inclined to view ballot measures, especially initiatives, with misgiving or outright suspicion. With so many measures submitted at every election it is impossible for the average citizen to be properly informed. The voters are asked to pass upon as many as 25 measures submitted by the legislature and seven or eight initiatives or referenda. Some of the propositions are lengthy and deal with complex problems. In addition the ballot sometimes contains an equally large number of local issues.

Since 1912 the voters have passed upon 118 initiatives, 34 referenda and 287 legislative propositions. They rejected 74 per cent of the initiatives and 45 per cent of the legislative measures. Hence, it is not unusual for the voter to state his feelings with the phrase, "When in doubt, vote 'no'." In the last election, of eight initiative propositions, only two, the railroad crew featherbed and the pension proposition, were approved by a narrow margin. The remaining six were rejected by a substantial vote.

Initiative measures rejected over the years include public power proposals involving many hundreds of millions of dollars, propositions substituting the single tax for existing tax laws, proposals to legalize greyhound racing and betting, several local option liquor regulatory acts, and a variety of other subjects. While some measures were merely ill advised or poorly drafted, others were clearly unsound and would have had serious consequences if enacted.

The most significant feature of the initiative in the past twelve years has been promotion of various schemes of the "something-for-nothing" variety that promised elderly people a state pension to be paid for by ingenious and sometimes fantastic fiscal schemes. Pension promoters seldom allow an election to pass without qualifying a proposition for the ballot and, of course, raising hundreds of thousands of dollars for campaign expenses.

A number of groups have been organized among elderly people, and reports indicate they have raised substantial sums to campaign for pension plans. Not all these proposals have reached the ballot. One was disqualified by the State Supreme Court in 1948 after it had received sufficient signatures to qualify. These pension propositions generally involved unorthodox methods of raising the vast sums needed to meet their requirements.

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*Mr. Smith has been a member of the staff of the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research for a number of years. Now its director, he has served as the bureau's engineer and its assistant director, specializing in public utilities and public works. He is a registered engineer in the state of California.

Pension Promoters Active

In 1944 an initiative proposition proposed to pay $60 monthly to all citizens 60 years of age or over. A 3 to 5 per cent gross income, or gross transactions, tax was authorized to pay the bill. The state director of public welfare estimated the annual cost as $720,000,000, or $20,000,000 more than the federal government's contributions to aged relief in the previous year. The pyramiding effect of the tax was one of its worst features.

In 1938 and 1939 initiative measures proposed life payments to unemployed or unemployables—"retirement life payments." The measures were more familiarly called "Ham n' Eggs" and "Thirty Thursday." The proposition proposed to pay $30 every Thursday to every unemployed person over the age of 50. It came uncomfortably close to passing in the first attempt. A system of warrants was set up to pay the cost. Anyone holding one of these dollar warrants on Thursday would be required to fix a two-cent stamp to each such warrant. At the end of 52 weeks the stamps, bought with "hard" money, were supposed to clear the warrant and administrative expenses.

A watered down version of the pension series, Proposition No. 4, was approved last November by the slim margin of 37,000 votes out of 3,638,000 cast on the proposition. This measure increased monthly payments to the aged and blind, extended benefits to a much larger group by reducing the age of recipients to 63 years, eliminated relative responsibility and greatly increased the minimum assets permitted those qualifying for a pension. Among the worst features were administrative changes.

Act Names Director

Administration of both blind and aged aid was a local function under the former welfare act. The amendment transferred administration to a central state agency under a director of social welfare. It named the director to serve until 1951—one of the principal organizers of the group sponsoring the proposition. If the act is not repealed the director will be elected after 1951.

Previously the department was under the direction of a social welfare board appointed by the governor and an appointive director. The state agency reviewed the acts of the local authorities. Under the new setup the director of social welfare appoints the social welfare commission instead of the governor.

Medical treatment and hospitalization are provided also by the new act, the ultimate cost of which is an unknown factor. It further provides that funds needed shall be, in effect, a first lien on state funds, including school moneys. This provision was one of the grounds for opposition by parent-teacher associations, women's

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clubs and teachers organizations, as well as business and tax groups.

The new welfare act increases old age payments from $65 to $75 per month (a $5 monthly increase, to $65, had been authorized by the legislature earlier in 1948), and blind aid from $75 to $85. This portion of the measure was estimated to increase annual costs by $24,000,000 for the 200,000 recipients under the act repealed by Proposition No. 4.

It is the extension of benefits to a much larger group and the anticipation of a more liberal attitude that materially increases the costs. In the first few months since adoption of the law nearly 50,000 have been added to the rolls. The reduction in the age limit from 65 to 63, a substantial increase in the allowable assets a recipient may possess and elimination of all responsibility by relatives are primary factors that brought about official estimates of an increase in yearly costs of $89,000,000 the first year, $110,000,000 the next year and more in succeeding years when the measure is fully operative.

The long term effect of this measure is incalculable, as many persons believe it will tend to attract aged people from other states where old-age provisions are less liberal. The total cost of social welfare is set at $212,303,000 in the state budget for the current fiscal year.

A repeal measure was quickly qualified earlier this year, and will come before the voters on November 8. This measure does not change the amount of aid from the $75 for the aged and $85 for the blind granted by Proposition No. 4, but proposes to re-adopt administrative provisions existing prior to the adoption of No. 4, remove the subject from the constitution and return it to legislative control.

The next general state election in 1950 will, according to present indications, find the electorate facing the severest test yet encountered. It is reported that another something-for-nothing proposition will be revived by a coalition to include the forces that were successful in passing Proposition No. 4, the promoters of the "Ham n' Eggs" measures and Townsend plan organizations. The proposition said to be under consideration involves payment of monthly pensions of $100 and legalizing gambling and bookmaking to raise the necessary funds.

The ghost of "Ham n' Eggs," "Thirty Thursday" and "Bill of Rights" so-called pension plans continues to haunt the citizens in spite of the success of Proposition No. 4. Probably because of the passage of this measure thousands of elderly persons will contribute funds to another campaign—funds that most can ill afford to give.

Constitutional Powers

The "first power reserved to the people" in the California constitution provides that if the secretary of state certifies that a petition submitted to him has been signed by 8 per cent of the qualified voters who voted for governor at the last gubernatorial election, the secretary must submit the measure to the voters at the next general election unless the governor calls a special election before then.

The constitution provides an alternative method for initiating legislation but it is used infrequently. A petition signed by 5 per cent of the qualified voters voting for governor, presented to the secretary of state not less than ten days before the start of a regular session of the legislature, together with a draft of the proposed law, must be transmitted to the legislature which must act within 40 days, either adopting or rejecting the measure without amendment. If not acted upon, the secretary of state shall submit it to the voters. The legislature also may pass and submit an alternative law to the voters at the same election.

Legislature Studies Revision

Thirty bills and proposed constitutional amendments affecting the initiative were considered by the 1949 legislature. The intention of the authors undoubtedly was to place restrictions on its use by selfish and unscrupulous minorities, but the general effect would have been to restrict all initiative proposals regardless of merit. Only one measure succeeded in passing both houses and the governor. It is a constitutional amendment, to be voted on at the November election, which prohibits naming candidates for public office in ballot measures. The immediate cause of this amendment was Proposition No. 4, in which the director of social welfare was named.

A majority of these measures proposed to achieve control by one of five or six methods. Suggestions included an increase in the number of signatures required to qualify a petition, an increase in the vote from a bare majority to two-thirds of the votes cast on the proposition; submission at primary elections and resubmission at the general election if the measure received less than a two-thirds majority; elimination of paid professional petition circulators. Five proposed amendments would have required initiative propositions involving the expenditure of funds to provide for the raising of such revenue or to specify the tax source. The intention of the authors was to force the voters to vote for the taxes when they voted for the benefits of a measure. Proposition No. 4 again was responsible, as it left to the legislature the unwelcome task of raising the huge sums needed.

Some observers claim that the activity of the pension groups had an important bearing on the defeat of these measures. More important, perhaps, was the fact that there was no clearly expressed sentiment on the part of major newspapers or citizen groups for restricting use of the initiative.

Some Improvements Voted

A classification of the thirty-two initiatives approved by the voters since adoption of direct legislation—whether to improve government and in the public interest or to regulate an industry or group—gave these results:

Fourteen propositions were classified as regulatory, affecting a business, profession or sport—chiropractors, osteopaths, boxing and wrestling (two), commercial fishing (two), usury, land title laws (two), and the sale of intoxicating liquors (four). An initiative act approved last November repealed a railroad crew feather-bedding provision.

The most significant measures adopted in the interests of better government included: state budget reform, poll tax repeal, legislative reapportionment, permanent voter registration, a state civil service system, nonpartisan judicial elections (judges "run against their records" instead of opposition candidates) and three measures reforming certain phases of court and legal procedure. The 1926 legislative reapportionment amendment, establishing a federal system legislature and balancing legislative power between rural areas and urban centers, was among the most important pieces of legislation adopted in the last quarter of a century.

Signature Collectors

The development of professional petition circulation is an interesting phenomenon and an important factor in the success of most initiative or referendum measures in reaching the ballot. The number of issues that qualify probably would be greatly reduced without this professional assistance.

Any group with sufficient funds usually can qualify a measure for the ballot by employing professional petition circulators to get signatures. A San Francisco firm has been operating for 30 years under the guidance of one individual who claims he has taken part in or qualified 95 per cent of initiative and referendum measures that reached the ballot in that period. Elderly persons do most of the actual circulating for a small fee for each signature. This organization has been an almost indispensable factor in the success of smaller groups who have backed petitions. It would be exceedingly costly, if not prohibitive, for each group to create a petition circulating organization for its measures.

The same organization often is employed by both sides in a controversial issue as the San Francisco firm has a virtual monopoly, at least in the northern half of the state. In the last election this firm was reported as assisting church and WCTU groups to qualify the local liquor control initiative, and the liquor interests, to qualify a measure for minor changes in the law relating to local control and enforcement. The sponsors of the 1948 blind and aged pension amendment employed it to secure signatures to qualify Proposition No. 4. The repeal movement found this same firm gathering signatures for its measure, although there was also some amateur circulation of these petitions.

The cost involved varies with the type and character of the measure, with difficult or less popular measures being more expensive. Information available indicates the minimum is about $75,000 for a guarantee to secure the necessary 206,000 valid signatures to qualify a measure.

How Correct Weaknesses

The criticism most frequently heard concerning the initiative is that public opinion is not consulted. The situation surrounding preparation, drafting and promotion of an initiative may be compared to the "smoke filled room" tactics of politicians. Proposals for laws or changes in the constitution, affecting the state's welfare and having far-reaching results, may be the work of only a few persons. Since neither representatives of the press nor the public are consulted, the public seldom knows who has had a hand in drafting or promoting propositions. State law requires that campaign expenditures be reported, but this information is not forthcoming until after the election. The only opportunity given the voters to register an opinion is when the measure reaches the ballot. If there are objectionable provisions the only recourse is to reject the proposal.

On the other hand, it is argued that the initiative was intended to provide a means whereby legislation could be taken to the public for action when legislative bodies failed to act, or when legislation is compromised or amended out of all semblance to its original intent. For this reason it is contended that participation of persons other than the sponsors would nullify the major purpose of direct legislation.

The answer to the riddle in California may be abandonment of the direct initiative in favor of the constitutional provision relating to proposals presented to the legislature by petition. As stated previously, if the measure is rejected or not acted upon, the secretary of state must submit it to the voters at the next election. But the legislature may submit an alternative proposal at the same election.

If this principle were applied also to constitutional measures, with some modification, such as increasing the number of necessary signatures and requiring submission to the electorate, the ensuing legislative debates, press coverage and public participation would tend to clarify an issue and bring most of the essential facts into the open. The right of the legislature to submit an alternative also would give the voters a choice which they do not have at present.

MAYOR CHARLIE CUTS CORNERS

(Continued from page 436)

There was a row, of course. People said, who ever heard of two mayors? The politicians said that now at last Farnsley has really cut his own throat. But the scheme actually saved the city cash. Less than six months later the board of aldermen conceded the wisdom of the move, approved Owsley's salary.

There are three musts in Charlie's life. The first is the press conference which takes place each morning. He has moved the reporters right into his own suite and given them permission to prowl and snoop to their hearts' content. The talk with the press is a feet-on-the-desk affair, with Charlie asking as many questions as are asked of him. The second is the beef sessions. The third comes at dusk when he and two or three of his four children and Mrs. Farnsley stroll down to the end of their home on Confederate Place to watch the trains go by. "It's a fine place for train watching," he said.

Income Tax Aids Annexation

New levy helps Toledo reduce property taxes, making city attractive to suburbanites who also pay city payroll levy.

By R. T. ANDERSON*

THE virtues and evils of municipal income taxes are being much discussed as the result of efforts of cities to cure their fiscal troubles with direct levies on earnings. The financial relief afforded by this tax is usually the subject of the discussions. But there is another factor that probably is quite as important. In truth, its results may be far-reaching in shaping the pattern, size and character of the cities of tomorrow.

The anxiety for a secure homestead that has driven many city dwellers to the country or suburbs may drive them back into the cities—by annexation, not removal. Falling real estate tax rates in cities levying an income tax may tumble scores of communities together into one large urban area, in a smooth, quiet trend without compulsion. Quite unexpectedly that trend has started to manifest itself in Toledo where the tax has been levied some four years.

Toledo was the second of the large cities to apply an income tax. The tax has been responsible for lowering real estate levies—now $17 a thousand valuation, a rate lower than that of any other large city of the country.

There was a time when a city that felt the need of expansion extended its borders by royal decree or the force of arms. American cities, deprived of those simple means of growth, usually have relied upon pressure of populations or economic interests.

Formerly, American cities had some leeway in determining what their city lines should surround. They had the power in some instances to annex without much fuss or ado. But, in more recent years, barriers have been thrown up in many states against extensive annexation without consent of the persons affected. In Ohio suburban areas have long been protected and a recently enacted state law makes almost impossible wholesale annexations.

Of course such laws grow in part out of the apprehension felt by small governments who sometimes see their taxable property slip away because of the greed of some urban neighbor, or because of the urgency of some improvement conceived by the big brother of the community.

The best motives have not always impelled cities to take over taxable property on their fringe. A few years ago, one official group toyed with the idea of annexing rich shipping and industrial properties lying just outside the city. Ordinarily there might be some reason for a move of this kind, if those industries or developments called upon the city for services such as power and water, but these did not and never would need to.

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*Mr. Anderson, director of the Toledo Department of Finance since 1943, has been in the city's service since 1937. He is a member of the executive board of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada.

The city in question would have gained materially from a tax standpoint because there was a very small population involved, few streets, few sidewalks and little protection needed. Annexation would have increased the city's property tax income up to $100,000 annually, with little additional cost. A neighboring government, however, would have suffered from a depreciated income.

Toledo once studied a proposal to annex a large industrial belt about the city. Then it was learned that some of the township governments would be impoverished by the move, some schools would be sadly affected and a degree of ill-will would be generated that would outlive many city administrations.

But now the seizure of such properties by cities is barred in Ohio unless approved by a vote of the people in the entire unit of government affected. If a city seeks to annex half an adjoining township, it no longer is a matter of the desires of the city and of the inhabitants of the district to be annexed. The electorate of the entire township must vote on the question. A district initiating its own petitions of annexation, however, does not need the sanction of the rest of the district.

While the daily press, fast transportation, urban employment and the radio and telephone have pushed residents of suburban areas closer to their neighboring cities, usually these communities have remained aloof. They like the services found in the cities—hospitals, police protection, water systems and such—but there almost always has remained one economic factor—the real estate tax—that has made isolationists of these bordering souls.

Suburban Advantages

While the cities have been bedeviled by high tax rates and sick financial pictures, the small communities, doing with less as a rule, have enjoyed tax rates about half those of the cities. It has been pleasanter, these communities felt, to do without some of the fine things of life if a little security is provided by a lower tax on the home.

It has been a pleasant situation for the suburban or rural dweller. If he wanted to send his son to a university, the nearby city maintained one. It might not be just exactly the university the boy wanted to go to, and there was a non-resident tuition fee that had to be considered, but withal it was cheaper than sending sonny elsewhere.

Then there is the museum, with its courses of study. The Toledo Museum of Art is completely endowed and calls for no tax support, but it is tax free. The hospitals in the cities are tax free too, and the investment there runs into millions of dollars.

These institutions are entitled to the protection rendered by a city government to its citizens, but liberation of these properties from taxation calls for an actual cash contribution from the taxing community. The suburbanite's domain, on the other hand, has few tax free institutions—the public schools and churches, and that probably is all.

This neighbor of the city actually

does avail himself of the services the city offers. In Toledo, for example, about one-third of the babies born in Toledo hospitals are of parents living outside the city and even outside the county. Toledo, foregoing taxes, is making possible the institution in which these children are born; a careful analysis would probably show that the city taxpayer actually bears some of the cost of caring for these babies and their mothers.

This, by the way, is not a complaint. Nevertheless, cities are rendering outside communities desirable service, and often contributing substantially to the care, comfort and well-being of their citizens.

Beyond that, the city provides fire, police and health protection to visiting workers, it maintains streets for suburbanites to use in going to and from their employment within the city and provides many other services to the daylight citizen.

The utilities problem, too, has gnawed at city administrations. Outside communities need factories, but these in turn tax to the limit the output of city-centered power systems, private or public, as well as water and sewer systems. The Toledo water plant, under state law, can and does charge 10 per cent more than urban rates for the services rendered outside the city. The city also escapes cost of construction and maintenance of distributing lines, an item borne by the water plant for service within the city. Toledo has not complained about this, for more factories in Toledo or just outside are much desired by an expanding city. Toledo's water system is not faced with any shortage since the source is Lake Erie, but some cities scarcely have the water they need for themselves and are sorely pressed in trying to serve suburban communities.

As a result, possibly with an eye to annexation, it has become rather common for some cities to refuse these utility services outside the city. This has a tendency to drive surrounding communities into the city, but sometimes this forceful measure has not been successful and has engendered antagonisms.

The Picture Changes

For many years there has not been any substantial indication that this picture would ever change. Cities, it was believed, would be the victims of annexations that were sought by suburbanites only for the advantages to be gained. But annexations desired by the city from a tax standpoint would be stopped on every hand—and pretty largely were.

Unless special levies are voted by the people, communities of Ohio are restricted by constitutional provision to a one per cent levy on real estate, on tangible personal property and on properties of privately owned utilities. This one per cent, or ten mills, must be divided between city, school and county governments on a formula basis that renders for Toledo $4.445 per $1,000 tax valuation. Even supplemented by gas and auto taxes and allocations from state sales tax funds and intangible property taxes, Toledo and other Ohio cities have been unable to obtain enough money with which to operate.

Toledo's income tax ordinance provides for a stabilizing reserve fund.[1]

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[1] For a further account of the Toledo

After major debt and operating allocations are made, income tax excesses go into this fund. Whenever it reaches about $480,000, excesses beyond that are paid into the bond retirement fund, and the $480,000 is turned into the city's operating fund. When this happens the city is obligated to reduce its operating levy rate of $4.445 per $1,000 accordingly, or approximately to $3.445 per $1,000. The levy released then may be allocated by the county budget commission to the county or the city school governments. It is now divided between the two. Thus, while the city operating rate is cut, the over-all rate levied in the city remains practically unchanged.

The Toledo school district extends beyond the city limits into some districts that have levied so much of the ten mills allowed for operating purposes that full advantage cannot be taken by the Toledo school district and the county of the mill released by the city.

When this situation was discovered, Toledo officials and school authorities joined in a program for extending the city boundaries to those of the school district. This would have provided use of the full rate released by the city. But Toledo's tax rate was high compared to some suburban townships, and the proposal was defeated by the township voters.

The next year Toledo had accumulated enough in its bond retirement allocation of the income tax fund to make it unnecessary for the city to levy the three mills previously required for debt service. Instead of meeting the bond obligations out of the real estate levy beyond the one per cent limitation the city met them out of accumulated income tax bond retirement funds.

New rumblings began to be heard in the suburban areas. One large district, looking at the increased services provided by the city under the income tax plan, and beholding the sharp reduction in taxes, circulated petitions for annexation. Since then eight separate suburban sections have petitioned for annexation and upon approval by the county commissioners and acceptance by the Toledo city council, these areas will become part of Toledo. Meanwhile, frightened at the turn of events, some groups surrounding Toledo have proposed the incorporation of a village up to the city's boundary.

Commuter Pays Income Tax

It is not the lower tax rate alone that has caused this change in view of suburban residents. Toledo's income tax is levied upon nonresident workers in the city as well as resident workers. Suburbanites who pay the income tax are goaded into a desire for new services such as they help pay for in Toledo. Meanwhile their own real estate levy has suddenly become greater than that in the city.

Toledo's tax rate will not sink to the one per cent operating limitation until levies voted for the county government and the schools expire. These represent approximately $7.00 on $1,000 valuation now. This keeps the city property tax rate slightly higher than some outlying communities and probably will continue to.

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income tax see "Payroll Tax Boon to Toledo," by Ronald E. Gregg, the REVIEW, April 1949.

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Still, it becomes obvious that the school problems of these smaller communities are driving their rates higher and higher.

Fifteen of the 45 taxing districts in the county have rates as high as or higher than Toledo's. One village has a rate of $24. There are 28 districts with lower rates, running down to $10 per $1,000. Generally the lower rates are in communities not close to the city.

If Toledo's rate should drop further and as services and facilities improve, the desire of the outsiders to come inside will be greatly increased.

Strength will be added to this movement, it is almost certain, because Toledo has more and more with which to carry out needed programs—of course shared by the suburbanites who come to Toledo to work or play or study.

What Toledo Offers

The extent of the advantages that may be offered by Toledo to those who determine to join the Toledo community in fact as well as in spirit are these: zoning protection, adequate street lighting and cleaning, reduction in water rates, uniform waste collections, increased fire protection and lower insurance rates, increased police protection, reduced university fees, sanitation and health controls, supervised recreation for children and adults, centralized administration and lower real estate taxes.

New equipment and replacements in 1946, 1947 and 1948 included: 78 automobiles, jeeps and station wagons; 34 rubbish collection trucks; seven fire pumpers, two 100-foot aerial ladders; one ladder truck and one tractor; a complete new, two-way radio installation for police, fire, water division and fire station equipment; 20 motorcycles and ten sidecars. In all $664,000 was spent for this purpose.

Public improvements already completed total approximately $1,500-000, including bridges, parking meters, war memorial, soft ball stadium, civic center land purchases, a quarter million dollar pool and shelterhouse, extensive workhouse improvements and numerous other pool installations; new playgrounds and golf courses; veterans' housing; contagious disease hospital costing a quarter million; airport improvements and sewer and street improvements.

Beyond that, of course, is a backlog of cash for debt retirement that has placed Toledo almost in the class of debt free cities, excepting utility and special assessment obligations. This means that the advantages thus far created will be continued.

With this fortification of Toledo's position the quiet pressure of self-interest and taxes in the neighboring communities, no doubt, will continue to influence them to seek annexation to the city. From present appearances the leverage will be effective not only in the Toledo situation but also in that of other cities levying income taxes.

Old Father Penn's Weakling

War and unsympathetic officials aid in undermining civil service provisions for some Keystone State departments.

By H. ELIOT KAPLAN*

APOLOGISTS for the failure of the civil service merit system in Pennsylvania to get fully under way after its adoption, in August 1941, plausibly place the blame on the rather sudden entry of the United States into the war.

The new law, limited though it was to the so-called social security agencies required to be under a merit system by the federal social security act, the Liquor Control Board and the Civil Service Commission staff, nevertheless sought to establish for such agencies a modern system of personnel control on a merit system basis.

The law contained most of the provisions recommended in the *Model of a State Civil Service Law* sponsored by the National Civil Service League, the National Municipal League and the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. What was unfortunately lacking was full coverage of the state service, although the law authorized its extension to other state agencies as the legislature might decree.

Having gotten off to a poor start anyway, it was relatively easy for those who were out of sympathy with any proposal which impinged on their patronage prerogatives to succeed in suspending operation of the new law for the duration of the war. This was done in early 1943, when war duration appointments were authorized.

The social security agencies continued to make appointments without competitive tests. Some agencies, particularly the Liquor Control Board, avoided the civil service rules. Many of the war duration appointees continued to serve notwithstanding the legislative mandate terminating such appointments after June 1947, and the direction to hold competitive examinations for them.

Even before 1947 the legislature, purporting to make the revived merit system law "more workable and practical," watered down the law. Its gravest error was to dilute the authority of the state personnel director and subordinate his authority—some might call it stripping his authority—by requiring all his acts to be under the "direction and supervision" of the Civil Service Commission.

The whole idea, so fundamental to sound administration of the civil service law and demonstrated by long practice in other jurisdictions, of confining the functions of the commission to policy-making, rule establishing and investigating operation of the system was undermined. The commission was patently made the administrative head though it was clear from experience in Pennsylvania that the commission was not expected to have that training or responsibility, that the very nature of the commission's activities never contemplated more than a lay group of prominent citizens acting as overseers of the system.

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*From 1928 to 1948 Mr. Kaplan acted in the dual capacity of executive secretary of the National Civil Service League and of the New York Civil Service Reform Association. He is a teacher of public administration at New York University and a contributor to various publications in his field.

It was originally deliberately designed to have the personnel director, who was expected to have a good working knowledge of the practices and techniques of personnel administration, to operate the merit system and be accountable for its success. With this basic change in the whole concept of administration of a modern merit system it was inevitable that the postwar revived "merit system" would at best hobble on crutches.

Commission Takes Over

Indeed, the Civil Service Commission has become so imbued with its apparent responsibility for the merit system's administration, and so confident of its capacity to manage the affairs of the agency—even on a part-time basis and substantially by remote control, that it has failed to select a responsible personnel director of experience and administrative capacity to carry on its operations as contemplated by the law.

The commission may be sincere in applying the merit system law, but it has neglected to supply the talent and the tools for doing so effectively. Sincerity alone is a poor substitute for adequacy and professional competence. In fairness to the commission it must be appreciated that it was never expected that its members would necessarily have such professional or technical capacity.

It is little wonder then that the administration of the merit system law in Pennsylvania has bogged down, even though the commission has had $500,000 budgeted annually to operate a state system involving only 13,000 employees—about $40 for each employee covered. What essentially has been happening to cast doubt on the efficacy of the merit system law in Pennsylvania and loss of confidence in its integrity?

To begin with, the commission's recruitment policies are hardly designed to attract through its examination procedures and practices the talent essential for maintaining a high standard of appointees. It appears to be concerned primarily with "overall evaluation" of candidates, discounting specialized training, knowledge and aptitudes, and ignoring the basic deficiencies of candidates as reflected in one or another basic battery of tests.

Following the poor practices in other inadequately administered jurisdictions, qualifications for admission to examinations, test techniques and similar devices are rather mediocre. Worse still, the commission has been much too slow in holding competitive tests for most positions which should long ago have been filled on a permanent basis. The result is that provisional (temporary) appointments, painfully slowly replaced, have been piling up to a point where it has become almost impossible for the commission with its limited staff of technically equipped employees to cope with the overwhelming examination program.

Without an adequate professional staff the commission could hardly presume to function effectively in serving as a staff organization for the departments contributing to its maintenance and operation. The operating agencies, frankly, are not getting adequate return for their pro-rata share of the cost.

Too Many Provisionals

Although the 1947 amendment provided that competitive examinations shall be completed within one year after its enactment, June 1947, the commission has suffered the provisionals to continue indefinitely after the one-year lapse. The fact that the law permits provisional appointees thereafter to serve for only 90 days has been ignored; at least the commission has done little about it.

With the attorney general ruling that provisional appointees may serve indefinitely until replaced by appointments from eligible registers on a permanent basis, the field for perpetuating patronage appointments is wide open. Obviously pressure has been brought, and will continue to be brought, on the commission to delay the holding of examinations to enable provisional appointees to remain in their positions in the hope that ultimately they may be covered in without examination. In desperation the commission may be forced to yield to this pressure to unburden itself of the yoke it has placed over its own shoulders.

The commission has unnecessarily complicated its problems by purporting to establish two eligible lists—one open competitive, the other a promotion list. With the use of promotion lists discretionary with the appointing authorities, and the commission virtually impotent in regulating their application, abuses have crept in, at least enough to cause suspicion of favoritism and to discourage those with potentially superior talent from competing for responsible public positions.

The civil service law in Pennsylvania, as is the case with practically all other civil service laws, requires the commission to implement the law with adequate rules. Only recently has any serious attempt been made to promulgate such rules, so that neither the commission nor the departments sought to be served by it—not to mention the employees whose rights and privileges are often directly involved—have known just where they stand under many provisions of the law which are vague and purposeless without such implementation.

The experiences of the state health department under the Pennsylvania merit system, as described in the survey made by the American Public Health Association, is undoubtedly typical of what is the situation in most departments and agencies under the Civil Service Commission's jurisdiction. It indicates alarmingly that the merit system in Pennsylvania, never flowering even in earlier seasons, will soon wither on the vine unless some drastic stimulating vitalizer is applied.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

14 State Capitals Choose Manager Plan

Columbia, S. C., Votes Two to One for Change

THE addition of **Columbia, South Carolina,** (1940 population 62,396) makes a total of fourteen state capitals that have adopted the manager plan, or 29 per cent of the 48. As state capitals vary greatly in size, this may be compared to 17 per cent of manager cities out of all cities with more than 2,500 population.

The fourteen capitals are: Phoenix, Arizona; Sacramento, California; Hartford, Connecticut; Dover, Delaware; Tallahassee, Florida; Des Moines, Iowa; Raleigh, North Carolina; Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Salem, Oregon; Columbia, South Carolina; Austin, Texas; Montpelier, Vermont; Richmond, Virginia; and Madison, Wisconsin.

Columbia, on September 6, casting a popular vote of nearly two to one, adopted the council-manager plan, to take effect about June 1, 1950. The act provides that the manager must have had at least two years' experience as a manager or assistant manager. The council will consist of five members and will choose one member as mayor. At present four council members are paid $4,000 dollars each, with the mayor receiving $5,000. Under the manager plan the mayor will get $2,000 and each councilman $1,000.

Park Ridge (12,063) and **Western Springs** (4,856), both in **Illinois,** have adopted the manager plan by ordinance.

In **Hastings-on-Hudson, New York,** the village board has established the office of clerk-manager by ordinance under home rule powers. The new officer, besides acting as clerk, treasurer and assessor, will have direct supervision over all other departments as designated by the board. Resignations of the clerk-treasurer and assistant treasurer occurred recently, following disclosure of shortages by a state audit.

Westbrook, Maine, will hold a referendum October 10 on the council-manager plan as provided in a bill passed at the last session of the Maine legislature.

At an election in **Saco, Maine,** on October 3 the voters will choose between a new council-manager charter and the present mayor-alderman charter somewhat amended. The Saco Civic Association advocates a change to the manager plan.

The fourth annual New England Managers' Institute, for town and city managers, was held August 29-September 1 at the University of Maine.

On September 13 **Claremont, New Hampshire,** voted to retain the council-manager plan by eleven to one.

In **Keene, New Hampshire,** the voters favored their present limited manager government over an improved charter giving the manager greater administrative power. The city's bicameral legislative body will be abolished as of January 1, 1950, under a legislative act providing a unicameral council of fifteen.

A popular vote on Plan E (council-manager plan with proportional representation) scheduled in **Chelsea, Massachusetts,** for November 8, is barred according to a ruling of City Solicitor A. E. Finger because of the legislative act prohibiting proportional representation in new Plan E charters, which takes effect November 7. Since then, however, it has been brought out that the new legislation amends the wrong sections of the existing law, thus making it meaningless.[1] **Gloucester** and **Somerville** have Plan E scheduled for a vote in November.

The manager plan is under serious consideration in the town of **Reading, Massachusetts.**

In **Bergenfield, New Jersey,** Mrs. Frank Kalbac, independent candidate for council, states that she will join with other citizens who desire council-manager government, to bring about a referendum.

Three **Pennsylvania** newspapers actively advocate the council-manager plan—the **Danville** *News,* the **Mifflinburg** *Telegraph* and the **Greensburg** *Tribune.* The latter assails the League of Third Class Cities for failure to endorse even a weak form of council-manager government.

Petitions calling for a popular vote on a proposed council-manager plan in November have been filed in **London, Ohio.**

Petitions are being circulated in **Kearney, Nebraska,** to place the question of adopting the state's optional provisions for the council-manager plan on the ballot.

In **San Antonio, Texas,** signatures on petitions circulated by the People's Petition Committee, calling for an election on the manager plan, have already reached 10,000. This exceeds by 2,000 the number needed to place the question on the ballot.

Petitions requesting a vote on the council-manager plan have been filed in **Twin Falls, Idaho,** and an election has been scheduled for October 18.

Voters of **Modesto, California,** will ballot November 8 on a council-manager charter that has been drafted by an elected board of freeholders. **National City** will also vote on a newly drafted manager charter.

The League of **California** Cities has undertaken a study of the principles and alternative choices that should be included in a council-manager ordinance, and expects likewise to prepare a statement of principles for inclusion in any city charter.

Midsummer conferences of **California** city managers, administration officers and their assistants were held in July —a northern meeting in Berkeley on July 8 attended by 40 and a southern meeting in Pasadena on July 15, at which 37 were present.

Detroit Gets Neighborhood Planning Act

Detroit has recently received authority to deal with urban blight as it sees fit. The Michigan legislature passed a neighborhood betterment act which was drafted by the city's corporation counsel assisted by the City Plan Commission. It is supported by the Michigan Municipal League.

The act is "designed to encourage cooperation of home owners and municipal governments in accomplishing together what neither can do alone," says George F. Emery, Detroit's planning director, writing in *The American City* for August.

The act establishes a procedure for preparation of a neighborhood betterment plan through efforts of both homeowners and the city plan commission. It provides for financing improvements by local special assessments through established city taxing procedures.

Property owners are protected against arbitrary or unwise action by taking part in drafting the betterment plan, by a council hearing and by the requirement that a majority of the owners agree to a special assessment, payment of which may be spread over a period of years. Plans may include opening, widening or closing of streets or alleys, acquisition of playgrounds and parks, elimination of land uses which fail to conform to approved uses, rehabilitation of blighted areas, street tree-planting, etc.

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[1] See page 461, this issue.

Louisville Trains Students as Expert Administrators

Both the city of Louisville, Kentucky, and the University of Louisville benefit from an internship program by which a group of students in government administration work part-time in city departments.

"The city profits because it gets fresh intelligence at cheap rates," says the Louisville *Times*. In the university the teaching of public administration and political science is given broader and more realistic significance, and student interest in civic affairs is increased. The plan has completed its first year and is expected to be a permanent arrangement. Its founder is Dr. Reuel G. Hemdahl, professor of political science at the university.

Interns devote twenty hours a week to city work and receive $75 a month from the city and four hours of academic credit in their university courses. According to Dr. Hemdahl:

"The students are moved from one responsibility to another in the various bureaus or divisions of the department during the year of internship, so as to receive an over-all view of departmental operations. They are furthermore given definite assignments. Thus they have an opportunity to handle raw data, deal with live situations and gain first-hand experience. Periodically they confer with me. They also are obliged to read in their field of activity and submit written reports both on their readings and their experience."

There were seven interns during the past academic year, one of whom was engaged on a permanent basis before the year ended by the welfare department as assistant to the director. Another became acting chief examiner for the civil sevice board in July. Each of these two positions was at $251 salary per month.

Placement of an intern in a city department is only at the request of that department. In the past school year interns were in the civil service, finance and welfare departments and the planning and zoning commission. For the ensuing year it is expected that all regular city departments will participate in the program except the health and law departments.

In a redrafting of the classification system for the city last spring a separate "class" for the university interns was added.

Consolidated Inspections Will Save for Milwaukee

A comprehensive study of Milwaukee's building inspection services has been completed for consideration by the city's board of estimate this fall.

One of several cities critically reviewing inspection practices, according to the International City Managers' Association, Milwaukee studied four departments—safety engineering and building inspection, health, fire and public works. As many as ten inspectors were found to be making routine visits to some buildings. Most frequent duplications were found to occur in sanitation and public health inspections and in fire prevention, building and safety engineering inspection.

Under recommended consolidation, with inspectional duties reassigned among the fire, health and building departments, building inspectors and building inspection supervisors could be reduced from 39 to 20 at a saving of $100,000 annually. Milwaukee is reported to have the highest number of building inspectors of any of the ten cities in its population group—500,000 to 1,000,000. St. Louis ranks second with 29.

Places which now have consolidated inspection services in the areas of general building, housing, hazardous occupancies, public assembly and condemnation include Baltimore, Kansas City (Missouri), Madison, Miami, Newark, Philadelphia, Seattle, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Los Angeles County and St. Louis.

Seattle Has Civic Promotion Committee

The city of Seattle, Washington, has recently established by ordinance a civic promotion committee to keep the public informed of operations of the various city departments and to seek to attract new industry to Seattle. It has already published a report on city activities, in the form of an eight-page tabloid section in each of the city's two daily newspapers. This included articles about Seattle's public works and planning programs, and an analysis of the distribution of the tax dollar to meet the costs of the city's numerous services.

Longer Terms Proposed for Cleveland Officials

The city council of Cleveland, Ohio, has acted to place before the voters at the November election a charter amendment to extend the terms of mayor and councilmen from two years to four years. The council vote was 29 to 3.

Mixed Results in Birmingham Annexation

On September 13, in a vote taken in Birmingham and adjoining areas on annexation, thirteen and a half square miles of unincorporated territory, including about 6,500 people and several industrial plants, were annexed to the city. The annexation proposition was defeated, however, in all of the five nearby incorporated municipalities which voted separately. Actually, the total vote, including Birmingham and the municipalities in question, was in no case less than two to one in favor of annexation. But the legislative act providing the referendum had required that a majority be obtained both in the central city and in each of the satellite communities.

York Wilbern

University of Alabama

Culver City Grants Citizenship Awards

An annual system of citizenship awards, in recognition of commendable work of members of clubs, associations, fraternities or other groups within the city, has been instituted by Culver City, California.

An awards advisory board was established, consisting of the mayor, president of the Chamber of Commerce, and president of the school board. Recommendations for awards will be presented each year to this board by organizations within the city.

Reorganization Studies under Way in 16 States

Studies on governmental reorganization are reported under way in at least sixteen states and two territories. They include Arizona, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee and Wisconsin; and Hawaii and Puerto Rico.[1]

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[1] Action by eight of these states was reported in the Review, June 1949, page 294.

Oregon's new interim committee on reorganization is to study the need for revision of the constitution and propose a time for holding a constitutional convention in addition to recommending changes in administrative setup.

The governor in New Hampshire is authorized to examine organization of the state government and to determine what changes are necessary to reduce expenditures and promote economy. A reorganization commission of nine persons is provided to cooperate with and advise him in the preparation of plans. To supplement this assistance and the small appropriation of $7,500, the governor has appointed some 21 others to an advisory commission. Fifteen subcommittees have been set up for specific tasks.

Puerto Rico's commission on reorganization is limited to the executive branch in its study of how to achieve efficiency and more economy. In Hawaii a subcommittee on governmental efficiency is to survey the organization and operation of all territorial and county departments.

Proposals for agencies to study reorganization were considered by the legislatures of Massachusetts and Ohio. Governor Paul A. Dever of Massachusetts recommended the creation of a nonpartisan commission to overhaul and streamline the state's governmental structure, unchanged in general since 1919.

Amendments Proposed to California Constitution

Voters in California will pass on eleven proposed constitutional amendments and one initiative statute (to provide for daylight saving time) on November 8. Ten of the proposed amendments originated in the legislature; one is an initiative proposal.

The first amendment would authorize a $250,000,000 bond issue to aid poor school districts unable to provide adequate facilities. Another would return administration of aid to the aged and blind to the counties and would re-enact welfare laws superseded by a recently adopted amendment (Article xxv).[1] The present elective director now having power over pensions would be supplanted by an appointive director.

A third proposal would increase legislators' salaries and expense allowances and limit the length of sessions. Other proposed amendments would repeal obsolete and inoperative constitutional provisions.

Easier Amending Process Sought in Illinois

Following the loss of the constitutional convention referendum proposal in the Illinois House of Representatives, by failure to obtain the necessary 102 votes although receiving a large majority, the legislature approved the so-called "gateway" amendment, which would liberalize the amending clause of the present constitution. At the same time it also adopted a separate ballot act designed to facilitate the passage either of an amendment or of a constitutional convention call. Popular referendum on the gateway amendment will be held in November 1950.

Ohio Group Seeks Office Type Ballot

A group of public spirited citizens in Cleveland, Ohio, has organized under the name of the Committee for Adoption of the Office Type Ballot. Its purpose is to circulate petitions throughout the state to obtain a popular vote on adoption of the so-called Massachusetts or office-type ballot, where candidates are grouped according to the offices for which they are running. Ohio uses party grouping.

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[1] See also page 437, this issue.

Arizona Civil Service Law Unconstitutional

The state civil service law adopted by the voters of Arizona last November has been declared unconstitutional by the Arizona Supreme Court on various grounds of rather technical character. A new act, designed to meet the court's criticisms, is being drafted.

Oklahoma to Vote on Constitutional Convention

The governor of Oklahoma has signed a resolution, recently adopted by the legislature, providing for submission of the question of calling a constitutional convention to the people on November 7, 1950.

Kentucky's New Welfare Department Succeeds

The Department of Economic Security, created by the 1948 Kentucky General Assembly[1] to integrate unemployment insurance, state employment service, child welfare and public assistance, is showing greater effectiveness at less cost. During the first year of its operation the unemployment insurance and employment service program saved more than $133,000 in administrative costs alone and all divisions stayed within their budget for the year. The Kentucky agency was the only one in the United States that did not find it necessary to request a deficiency appropriation from Congress for administration of the employment security program this year, according to the American Public Welfare Association.

In the same period, unemployment insurance claims handled by the department increased 120 per cent while aid to dependent children rose 31 per cent. Old age assistance was up 6 per cent and aid to the needy blind rose 5 per cent.

Limit on Local Legislation Urged in Maryland

The Maryland Legislative Council has prepared a new rule, which will be proposed to the legislature, to bar local bills at special sessions. The League of Municipalities emphasizes that a great deal of the time of the legislators is taken up with local legislation and points out that the League's home rule program would mean a large reduction in this type of detail work.

The legislative council has also adopted a policy which limits bills at the 30-day sessions in 1950 and subsequent even-numbered years to the annual budget, financial measures of an acute emergency nature and emergencies affecting the welfare of the entire state.

A constitutional change providing for the short sessions in alternate years was approved by the people last fall, but although designed to permit legislative action on state finances it did not specifically restrict topics. According to *State Government,* a recent interpretation of the law by Attorney General Hall Hammond holds that bills to be presented at the short session must conform to the three categories established by the legislative council.

Conference and Exhibit on Governmental Purchasing

The National Institute of Governmental Purchasing will hold its fourth annual conference and products exhibit in Cleveland, Ohio, at the Hotel Cleveland, October 23-26.

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[1] See the REVIEW, July 1948, page 380.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Counties Seek New Charters

Manager Plan Discussed by Citizens and Boards

NEW charters, with emphasis on the manager plan, are being discussed in many communities.

Buchanan County, Missouri, will vote November 8 on a proposed charter providing the council-manager plan (see the May 1949 REVIEW, page 243).

The county commissioners of Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Ohio, have voted in favor of a referendum November 8 on the question, "Shall a county charter commission be chosen?"

The Citizens League of Cleveland already has announced a slate of fifteen candidates whose names will be placed on the ballot at the same election. If the voters by a simple majority vote indicate their approval of the question, the charter commission, elected simultaneously, will have ten months in which to prepare the new county charter. The Citizens League has been working for approximately two years to secure a vote on the question.

If the county succeeds in securing a home rule charter, it will be the first in the state to operate under the county home rule provisions of the constitution which have been in effect since 1933. A manager charter submitted to Cuyahoga County voters in 1935 received a majority vote. It was declared void by the courts, however, which ruled that because of certain of its provisions it needed a four-way majority to become effective.[1]

In Virginia, the newest county to consider adoption of the plan is Fairfax, which adjoins the highly successful manager county of Arlington. In reply to a request for a manager referendum, however, made by Harold A. Ward, former president of the County Federation of Citizens Associations, the board of supervisors has declined to place the question on the ballot. It agrees that a change is necessary, because of the county's rapid growth, but feels that the move should start with the voters. Mr. Ward announced he will circulate petitions to place the question on the November ballot.

The Loudoun County board of supervisors on July 21 approved submission of adoption of the manager plan to the voters, but on August 25 it rescinded this action by a three to two vote. On a prior occasion the residents of Loudoun County petitioned for such a referendum, but the circuit court held the signatures to be inadequate. Activities in Prince William County looking toward adoption of the executive plan were described in this section last month.[2]

A committee of the St. Louis County Charter Commission, appointed to draft a home rule charter, has reported a reorganization plan which does not include provision for a manager. *The St. Louis Globe Democrat* has criticized the report and emphasized that the commission should examine the advantages of the manager plan.

The present proposal would replace the county court with a five-man board of supervisors four of whom would be elected by districts with the chairman elected at large. The elective offices of county clerk, recorder of deeds, auditor, assessor, collector and treasurer would be abolished. The functions of the collector, treasurer, auditor and assessor would be consolidated in a department of finance. A records department would assume the functions now exercised by the recorder of deeds and the county clerk.

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[1] See the REVIEW, March 1936, page 189.

[2] See page 407.

The Globe Democrat emphasizes that the new charter should include also provisions for the merit system, strengthened county zoning, countywide fire and police protection and the development of recreational facilities.

Following a negative report from one of its committees, the King County (Washington) Advisory Charter Commission has decided against consideration of the commission plan. The chairman of the study committee pointed out some of its disadvantages—inadequate purchasing control because of independent department heads and the possibility of "log rolling" among the commissioners.

The Seattle Municipal News, in urging a discussion of provisions to be included in the proposed King County charter, published a letter from a local citizen who urged inclusion of the manager plan. The correspondent would increase the size of the county board from three to twelve members, elected at large on a nonpartisan ballot for staggered six-year terms. This board would appoint the manager, pass judgment on his policies and approve his appointments. The manager in turn would appoint, subject to confirmation by the board, a county engineer, health officer, auditor and treasurer. The assessor, purchasing agent, coroner, clerk of court and sheriff also would be appointed by the manager but with confirmation by the superior court judges.

The Democratic candidate for county executive of Westchester County, New York, William C. Fitts, Jr., advocates adoption of the county manager plan. Speaking before a meeting of the Greenburgh Democratic Committee, Mr. Fitts declared himself in favor of abolishing the county's 45-member board of supervisors for a council of nine which would appoint a manager on the "basis of merit." Westchester County now elects a county executive as chief administrative officer under its 1938 charter.[3]

City County Consolidation Discussed in Three States

The consolidation of county governments with their major cities is under discussion in Oregon, Ohio and New Mexico.

Cleveland is considering consolidation of all its functions with those of Cuyahoga County. This suggestion is embraced in a proposal by the Cleveland Planning Commission. The commission emphasizes that Cleveland taxpayers are furnishing the entire area with welfare institutions, airports, auditorium and stadium, lake front development, zoo, freeway, rapid transit, sewers and sewage disposal, water supply and harbor developments.

The commission does not believe, however, that it is necessary for the city and county to be consolidated in a single step. It points out that the same result may be achieved by piecemeal functional consolidation.

The advocates for consolidation of Portland, Oregon, with Multnomah County are stimulating much discussion of the problem in that area. Opponents also have been active. Their major point of argument is that Multnomah County contains too much rural area for effective consolidation. They argue that the city should not administer traditionally rural functions and that a consolidated city-county would be a threat to adjoining counties. They urge that an adequate solution can be found merely in expansion of the present city to embrace the urbanized sections immediately beyond its present boundaries.

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[3] See "Westchester Likes Executive," by Hugh W. Robertson, the REVIEW, May, page 219.

In New Mexico, where the people of the state voted on ten proposed constitutional amendments on September 20, amendment No. 6 permits city-county consolidation in all counties containing a population of 50,000 or more. The residents of such city and county, voting separately, may by majority vote bring about consolidation of all their local governmental units. The newly established city-county would have the power to frame a charter for its own government. At the present time the proposed amendment is applicable only to Albuquerque and Bernalillo County.

Wisconsin Expands County Authority

The 1949 session of the Wisconsin legislature enacted over 40 statutes affecting the authority of counties, most of them expanding it. All the statutes are specific in the authority granted; a few apply only to urban counties.

Many statutes authorize appropriation of additional funds, levy of additional taxes and issuance of bonds because of increased costs and expanded activities. Counties, cities and towns are authorized to issue bonds jointly for airport purposes. Authority to apply funds for war memorials is expanded. Milwaukee County is authorized to acquire, build, furnish and rent housing to low income families, as well as to appropriate money for group entertainment of children on Halloween.

Other legislation permits counties to zone, with the planning to be done by park commissions or rural planning boards on instructions from county boards and with final approval reserved to the towns in the respective counties. Counties of 50,000 or more are authorized to employ a corporation counsel. Also county boards may provide group insurance for all county officers and employees. They may establish small claim courts and take emergency action to suppress and control insect pests, weeds and plant or animal diseases. They are authorized to accept federal grants for abatement of water pollution. Finally, Wisconsin county boards are authorized to hire county recreation directors.

The Wisconsin County Boards Association, in a recent issue of *Wisconsin Counties,* indicated its approval of this expansion of county authority, but declared, "It is hoped that at some not too far distant date at least a partial home rule law can be secured for county governmental operations which will eliminate the need for the multitude of laws governing special authorizations."

Hazards—or Opportunities—of County Politics

When Mrs. Fern Camel, a widow, decided to run for treasurer of Hale County, Texas, and Carroll Bird decided to run for commissioner, they little realized what political activity had in store for them. They met while they were campaigning, each was elected to his and her respective office, and now the two projects have culminated in their marriage. Presumably, harmonious relationships should exist between the office of the county treasurer and at least one segment of the board of commissioners.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Germany Holds National Elections

Uses Combination of Single Member Districts and P. R.

THANKS to the P. R. feature of the new German election system, representation in the *Bundestag* (lower house) has been accorded to substantially every important element in each of the eleven states of the German Federal Republic in approximate proportion to the votes cast. The election, held August 14, was the first free national election in Germany since 1933. The three largest parties together drew 72 per cent of the votes and obtained 80 per cent of the seats. Nearly 80 per cent of the registered voters participated.

Seats were initially apportioned to the eleven states on a population basis. Three-fifths of these seats were filled by single-member-district elections. Each voter cast his ballot for the candidate of his choice in these districts. The remaining seats were then distributed in each state among the recognized parties so as to give each as nearly as possible its proportional share on the basis of the single-member-district vote cast in that state. A party failing to obtain 5 per cent of the vote cast in the state, however, was not entitled to share in the distribution of these so-called "reserve list" seats.

In this distribution the seats obtained by a party on a single-member-district basis were counted toward its proportional share, but if a party obtained more seats on a district basis alone, it was entitled to retain the excess and the excess was added to the total number of seats for the state. Thus, although the delegations were initially apportioned among the states to provide a chamber of 400 members, the actual number of representatives chosen on August 14 was 402.

In a few states the party with the greatest following obtained all its seats in the district election. This was accomplished by the Christian Social Union in Bavaria, where it obtained 34 per cent of the seats with 29.2 per cent of the vote. A corresponding result was obtained by the Christian Democratic Union in Württemberg-Baden and by the Social Democrats in Lower Saxony—in this case with a slightly greater excess over proportionality.

The Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union, which are essentially two regional wings of a single party led by Dr. Konrad Adenauer, polled 31 per cent of the vote cast in the entire republic. The Social Democrats obtained 29.4 per cent of the total vote and the Free Democrats, a previously little known party outspokenly favoring a free enterprise economy, emerged as the third largest party, with 11.8 per cent of the vote.

By comparison with the state elections of 1947, the two leading parties lost ground somewhat in the percentage of the vote attracted. Not only the Free Democrats but also a number of conservative and nationalist parties of small size gained in strength, obtaining a few fair sized delegations in one or two states but only a small proportion of the seats in nationwide perspective.

The election forecast a coalition of moderate and non-socialist parties led by the Christian Democrats. Such a coalition promptly took form and elected Dr. Theodor Heuss of the Free Democrats as first president of the federal republic on September 12. Dr. Adenauer of the Christian Democrats became the first prime minister on September 13.

Dr. Heuss failed to get elected in his home district but secured a place on the Württemberg-Baden delegation by virtue of the reserve list. In a similar manner the national leader of the Communists secured a reserve list seat although his party won no district elections. The reserve list was responsible for the entire Free Democratic delegation of seven from Bavaria as well as for the twelve members of the extreme right Economic Reconstruction party also elected in Bavaria. The Free Democratic party would appear to have been an important beneficiary of the reserve list device, for it seems to have won few of its 52 seats on a district basis.

The Communist vote showed the greatest proportional decline, falling to a mere 5.7 per cent. The Communists met the 5 per cent requirement for reserve list seats in only five of the eleven states, garnering but 3.7 per cent of the total seats. In the 1947 state elections the Communists drew 9.5 per cent of the votes.

Three independent candidates were elected. Ballots cast for candidates of a party not officially recognized do not participate in the distribution of reserve list seats. One of the independents elected ran as the candidate of the Refugees Emergency Association, which offered a number of candidates and polled about 17 per cent of the votes in Württemberg-Baden. Since it failed to get official recognition as a party it was not permitted to elect reserve list candidates. The association protested this was unconstitutional.

The German election system is similar to Denmark's of many years ago. Its provision for some district elections with a proportion-correcting reserve list election seems to have relieved one of the unsatisfactory characteristics of the particular type of proportional representation system used for many years in Germany—the inability of the voter to express a preference for a particular candidate rather than for a party slate. This is a defect that the Hare system avoids entirely and which is minimized by the party list system of P. R. in Norway, for example, and to a lesser extent in Belgium and the Netherlands.

Public Library Kansas City, Mo.

'Boner' May Save P. R. Law in Massachusetts

Unless the courts correct the defect, the law prohibiting more Massachusetts cities from adopting P. R. for council, and school committee as part of Plan E[1] is void because of an error in drafting. According to an editorial in the *Boston Herald* of September 9:

"The much discussed law to prohibit proportional representation in Plan E elections now turns out to be a dud. Because of careless drafting it amends the wrong section of existing law and is totally meaningless. This is the culminating stupidity in a stupid proceeding.

"The result, presumably, is that P. R. is saved for another year. Unless the courts ignore the plain meaning of the words used and declare the mere intent of the legislature to be the law, the P. R. sections of Chapter 43 will remain the same as they were before the legislature met."

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[1] See the REVIEW, September, page 409.

The act intended to repeal the P. R. provisions by referring to sections 93 *to* 116. It reads, however, sections 93 *and* 116, neither of which makes reference to P. R.

This means that the voters of Chelsea, Somerville and Gloucester, where petitions had placed Plan E on the November ballot, may have an opportunity of expressing their opinion on the question.

Yonkers Recount Elects Woman Mayor

Mrs. Edith P. Welty, vigorous independent member of the Yonkers city council since first elected by P. R. ten years ago, became mayor of New York's fifth city on September 12. Curtiss Frank, who had been elected mayor by a majority preferential recount of the P. R. council ballots at the regular election two years ago, had resigned for business reasons and Mrs. Welty was chosen for the remainder of his term by another recount of the same ballots. She will have no administrative duties but will be president of the council and political and ceremonial head of the city. The chief administrator is City Manager Donald C. Wagner, former manager of Long Beach, New York.

Before filling the mayoralty vacancy it was necessary to fill Mr. Frank's place as a member of the council. For this purpose just the quota of ballots which elected him in 1947 and the ballots which did not elect any candidate were recounted, the others being still represented by the remaining councilmen.

This recount first sorted all the ballots in question according to their earliest choices for candidates not elected in 1947, and then eliminated the lowest candidates one by one and transferred their ballots to the next available choices marked on them until only two candidates were left. Mayor Frank being a Republican endorsed by the independent City Manager League and Municipal League, it was not surprising that the winner in the final count was another candidate with the same endorsements, Frederick S. Carey, even though Mr. Carey had not fared particularly well with Mr. Frank running in 1947.

Mr. Carey, however, was taken completely by surprise. Discovering that he would have to resign the presidency of the municipal civil service commission if he accepted the unexpected honor for the short balance of the year, he withdrew and the count had to be repeated. The candidate then elected was the runner-up at the 1947 election, also a member of Mr. Frank's party but without his independent endorsements, Charles A. Palmer.

Having chosen the seventh councilman the counting force proceeded to select the mayor by sorting all 54,000 valid council ballots cast at the 1947 election according to their earliest choices among the seven councilmen and then eliminating the lowest councilmen one by one, transferring their ballots to the next choices marked, until all the ballots were sorted according to their preferences between the two highest contenders.

Mrs. Welty, who like Mayor Frank is a Republican and had his independent endorsements but did not have the official backing of her party's organization, led from the first count but was almost overtaken by Vice Mayor John J. Whalen, leader of the Democrats in the council and runner-up for mayor at the regular election two years ago. The last transfer involved 12,000 ballots of a defeated Democratic councilman, Emmett Burke, which naturally went predominently to Mr. Whalen. At the beginning of the transfer Mrs. Welty had a lead of about 5,000, which showed that she was definitely in danger, but she was marked next choice on some 1,600 of the Burke ballots and many of them showed no choice for either her or Mr. Whalen. The final count was Welty 20,587, Whalen 20,310. Mr. Whalen as the runner-up will continue as vice mayor.

The three recounts were conducted in the large Yonkers armory by an experienced force of approximately 30 canvassers under the supervision of Mr. Hallett of this department, who has conducted all but one of the P. R. counts in Yonkers. The counters did their work carefully and expeditiously. The two council recounts were completed in two long days and the mayoralty recount in one long and one short day of counting.

Yonkers voted last fall to abolish P. R. and the next council is about to be elected by wards after partisan primaries by the ordinary plurality method. The mayor will be elected separately from the whole city in the same way. Yonkers citizens are already comparing the prospective council with the present one elected by P. R. and there is talk of trying to bring P. R. back.

One interesting item of comparison is available already. Mrs. Welty, just before she became mayor, was defeated for re-election to the council in the Republican primary in her ward—the usual fate of independents in poorly attended primaries. Under P. R. no primaries are necessary and the real wishes of the larger electorate are accurately reflected in the one final election.

Another Vacancy Filled in Cambridge

The death a few months ago of Robert J. Reardon resulted in a vacancy on the proportionally elected school committee of Cambridge, Massachusetts. A recount of the ballots originally electing Mr. Reardon, in accordance with the P. R. provisions of the Cambridge Plan E charter, resulted in the election of Francis J. McCrehan.

The *Boston Herald* on July 27 reported: "The redistribution, by the election commissioner, took only five hours and involved no extra expense to the city. This was the second time this year that the Plan E system for selecting a successor to the deceased officeholder has been invoked. The saving to the city, by elimination of special elections, has amounted to about $35,000."

Toledo to Vote on P. R. Abandonment

At the election on November 8 Toledo voters will be confronted with the question of discarding proportional representation for election of council under its manager charter. This is the fourth attack on the system—either with or without the manager plan being involved.

The proposed amendment has been placed on the ballot by the city council. Sponsored by the chairman of the Democratic county executive committee, it provides for nomination of eighteen candidates for council at an October primary and election of nine at the regular November election. Both elections would be at large.

P. R. League Meeting

The annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League will be held in St. Paul on November 29 in connection with the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League. Headquarters will be at the Hotel Lowry. The program will be reported in this department for November.

Berkeley Studies New Taxes

Civic Group Urges Change for Balanced Tax System

COMPLETING a study of the city's financial needs and present revenue system, the Berkeley (California) Citizens' Taxation Committee recommends a program for providing adequate revenues to finance current expenditures and allow accumulation of reserves for recurring capital improvements. At the same time it makes recommendations for reducing property tax levies slightly from their postwar high levels.

Among the committee's recommendations are a city amusement tax of 5 per cent, a new business license tax based on net income to replace a present business and professions tax based on the number of employees, and prompt action to secure from the University of California and other state institutions in Berkeley fair and reasonable payments for city services rendered them.

Noting that one of the city's problems is that it must provide services for the large university student body, now numbering nearly 25,000, which mainly has legal residence elsewhere and so does not contribute to the permanent population base used in computing state aid, the committee recommended an amusement tax as an equitable method of reaching this group to at least a limited extent. The tax proposed was one cent for each twenty cents charged for admission.

The city's present tax on business and the professions, enacted during the war when similar taxes were being imposed in areas with federally-owned war production plants, is based on the number of workers. The tax starts at $15 for one individual, descends to a rate of $3 for each of the next nine employees, and $1.50 for each additional employee. Noting the obviously regressive nature of the tax, the committee states that receipts from it have served to lower the city tax rate about ten cents per hundred dollars of assessed valuation, a factor making it mathematically demonstrable that large employers who are also large taxpayers may save substantially under the business tax as compared with the alternative ad valorem levy they would otherwise pay.

A three-man establishment in its own building assessed at $5,000, for example, "saves" $5 in taxes but pays $21 in business license, while a 100-man shop assessed at $250,000 would pay only $177 in license, a saving of $73 on the property tax alternative.

To eliminate the discriminatory feature against the small operator, and to provide a basis for the tax more compatible with ability to pay, the committee recommended substitution for the existing business and professions tax of a business and professions net income tax. The city already levies a retail sales tax, adopted in 1946 and levied on all sales except food, at the rate of one-half of one per cent. The present business and professions licenses yielded about $110,000 in 1947-48 and the retail sales tax $364,000.

No basis is suggested for securing service or other payments from the university and other state agencies in the city, since negotiations with the affected officials and permissive state legislation are necessary before any proposals can be seriously advanced. The report urged as a basis for negotiation that some reasonable charges should at least be paid for fire and police protection, sewage service and other miscellaneous services.

Besides recommending these principal additions to the local revenue system, the committee studied—but made no specific recommendations for city adoption—cigarette and tobacco taxes and sewer service charges.

The city's expenses in 1947-48 were roundly $4,600,000, the committee noted, an increase of $2,400,000 compared with ten years ago. Half the increase has been financed by increasing property taxes, the assessed valuation being raised from just under $90,000,000 to nearly $113,000,000 and the city purpose tax rate increased from $11.75 per $1,000 for 1938-39 to $18.65 for 1947-48.

The committee estimated that with its proposals for a revision in the revenue system, the city rate could probably be reduced to $17.40 per $1,000, and ultimately, perhaps, to a lower amount.

Admitting that major projects may still require the issuance of bonds, the committee recommended nevertheless that "revenue should be kept at a level high enough to permit the city to earmark each year sufficient funds to finance essential capital replacements and improvements."

Index-geared Salary Bonuses Cut

The modest decline in the consumers' price index during the forepart of the year has brought grief to at least a small segment of the populace: public employees in a handful of local governments which have salary or cost-of-living bonus schemes tied in with the movement of the price index.

According to reports, the first jurisdiction to act was Westchester County, New York, where some 2,500 employees immediately started to fight the decrease and sought to make the cost of living bonuses part of the permanent pay schedule. Madison, Wisconsin, is reported also to have given preliminary approval to reductions in pay in accordance with a cost-of-living adjustment scheme.

The only substantial salary reductions reported to have been made on public salaries under a cost-of-living adjustment program are those of St. Paul, Minnesota, which adopted its wage formula in 1922 and reduced city salaries 16 per cent between 1931 and 1933 under the formula. About twenty cities are known to have such schemes today, including Milwaukee and four small Wisconsin cities. Portland, Oregon, Dearborn and Jackson, Michigan, Brookline, Massachusetts, several small California cities, three Minnesota counties, and Phoenix and Tucson, Arizona.

Housing in Lieu Payments to Rise

Cities may receive substantially larger payments in lieu of taxes from local housing authorities under amendments to the federal housing law enacted by the 81st Congress. Where the 80th Congress had outlawed all such payments except where provided in the original agreements, the new amendments authorize retroactive payments to equal the difference between whatever might have been paid in lieu of taxes for the last two years and 5 per cent of the yearly shelter rent from the housing projects. The federal housing agency is authorized to reimburse local authorities for all retroactive payments to the cities.

The new law also provides that payments in lieu of taxes may be made up to 10 per cent of the yearly shelter rent, beginning this year. These payments are permissible in the case of old projects, even where the original agreements may have been for lower amounts, as well as applying to any of the 810,000 units to be built under the new housing law. About 230 cities are estimated to be affected by the more liberal payments now permitted, and it is expected that about $1,300,000 in retroactive payments alone will be distributed to them.

Michigan Townships Can't Pay Citizens' Taxes

Michigan officials have killed the goose that was laying golden eggs for some taxpayers.

A ruling of the state's attorney general has made it illegal for townships to pay county property taxes for citizens, the Municipal Finance Officers Association reports. About a dozen townships had been found relieving their taxpayers' burden by paying their property tax from the township's share of sales taxes from the state.

In ruling the practice illegal, the attorney general noted that taxes are a private debt which must be paid by the individual. Paying them with township funds is a misuse of public funds. In one township which has not discontinued the practice, the question is before the county grand jury.

℞ FOR CALIFORNIA

(Continued from page 432)

ter, lie outside the limelight of adequate public scrutiny. He pursues private programs in obscure fields where the people have the nominal opportunity to express opinion but have no opinions to express.

The old machines did the same thing; the primaries, initiative and other remedies for bossism have left complicated a field that needed simplification if the people were not to be perennially hoodwinked.

The remedies used to combat the old style of bossism can deal adequately with the new type boss.

Governors are conspicuous and above the reach of Samish; give the governor power to appoint the six obscure junior state officers and the State Board of Equalization, which is now elected, one from each of four large districts plus the (elective) controller.

In California and all other states except single house Nebraska, legislators are obscure small fry. Their joint powers are divided into trivial bits. They cannot be put into the limelight of public scrutiny as long as there are so many of them. Capable men are rarely attracted to such service. Nebraska's success should be emulated by California and the other states.

The initiative is badly abused in California. So many questions are submitted that Samish's billboards can misrepresent a question as having something to do with "Mother." The long state constitution includes masses of statutory matter requiring submission of incessant amendments. Current efforts may simplify that battleground.

A statewide uncapturable self-renewing civic committee to assert the general interest against the special interests, to keep and publish records of legislative candidates and to make better use of the opportunities of the improved political battleground could perform a great service in such a confused situation.

Local Groups Endorse Candidates

Seek Election of Councils Pledged to Good Government

IN Worcester, Massachusetts, which will hold its first P. R. election for council and school board in November, the Citizens Plan E Association is preparing to endorse candidates for both bodies. Its board of directors has appointed a candidates' review committee to recommend slates for its approval and endorsement. Headed by Gerald F. O'Neill, the committee is interviewing prospective candidates, giving them a chance to express their convictions on government under the new Plan E charter. Standards have been adopted by the board for the committee's guidance.

At a recent meeting of the association Mr. O'Neill presented a procedure for endorsing candidates as prepared by George McLaughlin, former president of the Cambridge Civic Association and the State Plan E Association:

"Induce well known civic figures to become candidates for council and school committee and assure these candidates of the support of the association.

"Interview all candidates for office publicly. In this manner many candidates will eliminate themselves by publicly declaring themselves unfit for office by their answers to these questions:

"What do you believe you may contribute to the city in the next two years?

"Plus questions of local importance and the thinking of candidates on these issues.

"Endorsement need not pledge candidate on any specific question."

Elections by proportional representation will take place for the first time in three Massachusetts cities in addition to Worcester—Medford, Revere and Quincy. The Medford Plan E Civic Association has been interviewing candidates for the council and school board to select a slate for its endorsement. The Quincy Civic Association also plans to endorse candidates.

In Cambridge, where Plan E has been in effect since 1942, Donald Spencer, president of the Cambridge Civic Association, has asked candidates desiring the backing of that group to apply for interviews. In the proportional representation election of 1947, five of the nine candidates elected to the council had the association's endorsement.

The Cincinnati City Charter Committee has announced its "Silver Jubilee" ticket for councilmanic elections in November. Nominees, with a brief account of their backgrounds, are listed in the July issue of *The Charter News Letter.* Leonard M. Sive, chairman of the nominating committee, said, "It is significant that the City Charter Committee this year, as it celebrates its 25th anniversary, should present one of the strongest, ablest and best balanced slates of candidates in its entire history."

Citizens' Searchlight of Grand Rapids, a newcomer in the field of civic endeavor—organized in January—rated candidates prior to the February primaries and April election. The Very Reverend H. Ralph Higgins, a member of the group's central committee, reports on the methods used:

"We have, of course, only been in existence a short time, but in the two elections so far covered we have operated as follows: The committee on candidates (about 25 persons) meets and each member is handed a rating scale for each candidate to be considered. The chairman then reads the answers given by the candidate to each question on the candidate's questionnaire. On the basis of this material, plus any additional information forthcoming from members of the committee on candidates, each member of the committee awards the number of points he thinks proper.

"The section covering personality data receives the special attention of the committee on interviews, which reports to the committee on candidates at the proper moment; the number of points is then set down by each member of the committee on candidates in the same way as the other material. When a given candidate is completely covered the secretary calls on each member of the committee to state the total number of points awarded and marks the percentage on a blackboard. When each member of the committee has reported his percentage award the total number of points is divided by the number of committee members doing the evaluating and the candidate is awarded the median percentage."

Another group which reports on candidates is the Citizens League of Detroit, whose September *Civic Searchlight* is devoted to "factual information in regard to candidates and, in some cases, ratings as viewed by the league's committee on candidates." "For 37 years," says the *Searchlight*, "the league has served its members not as a political committee but as a fact-finding agency. In most cases the voter himself must decide what candidates to support. We often endorse candidates who have no hope even of nomination, and refuse approval to some who are sure of election."

The Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) and the Allegheny County League of Women Voters issued their joint *Voters' Directory* for use at the September primaries. This is one directory which does not endorse or rate candidates. It lists those for state, city and county offices with biographies.

The Searchlight of the Citizens Union of New York City, published in September, makes recommendations on candidates for city council in four districts where there are local primary contests and a clear choice among the candidates.

Manager Plan Makes Spot News

"Mayor Samuel has convinced us that Philadelphia needs a city manager," says the Committee of Seventy in its *Civic Affairs*. "The mayor has admitted the incompetency and inefficiency of the administration in requesting that an authority be appointed to take over some of his responsibilities. The mayor is slowly recognizing the need for a city manager as a means of separating the business affairs of the city from machine politics. In the best interests of the community the mayor and city council should GIVE THE HOME RULE CHARTER COMMISSION A CHANCE." . . .

To demonstrate the need for a proposed council-manager charter for Poughkeepsie, New York, Harold S. Ahrens and Charles P. Wiweke, secretary and a director of the Tax and Rentpayers' Association, drove to city hall in an ancient horse-drawn buggy. Signs calling attention to the city's

1896 charter hung on the sides of the vehicle. . . .

At a meeting of the Gloucester, Massachusetts, Home Owners' League the manager of Saugus reported on the accomplishments of the manager plan in his town. When the manager entered office, he reported, he found a debt of $19,000. By the end of the first year not only was this debt paid off but there was a surplus of $19,000 in the treasury. Furthermore, the tax rate was reduced by $1. . . .

The Citizens Plan E Association of Worcester, Massachusetts, has mailed a hundred thousand booklets, *The New Look for Worcester,* to local citizens. The pamphlet describes the council-manager plan to go into effect in January, party affiliations under it, the use of the P. R. ballot, possibilities for lower taxes, etc. A unique feature of the mailing was that the pamphlets bore no addresses. The association paid $1,000 postage and Uncle Sam's messengers placed a leaflet in every mail box and letter slot.

An enthusiastic luncheon meeting of the Lowell League of Women Voters heard Mrs. Eric P. Clarke, active in the Cambridge Civic Association and the Cambridge League of Women Voters, discuss Plan E—council manager plan with P. R.—describing its success in her city. Lowell also is operating under Plan E. . . .

The Providence League of Women Voters has prepared a 35-page pamphlet on the city's government. Its preparation was undertaken to provide basic information on the existing city government as the background for an extended study of the possibility of applying the council-manager form to the city.

Council-manager government is one of several subjects being studied by the Civic Research Committee of Memphis, Tennessee, reports Mrs. Lawrence Coe. In addition to that on the manager plan, the new organization has a number of standing committees including those on city-county integration, permanent registration, voting machines, constitutional rights and education. . . .

Two Massachusetts daily newspapers, in cities where Plan E is about to go into effect, have commented editorially on local citizen activity. The Quincy *Patriot-Ledger,* in its editorial "Plan E Benefits," says: "We think one of the most valuable features of Plan E has been the revival of interest in city government. If Plan E does nothing more in Quincy than this it will have been a great success."

The Worcester *Gazette* comments: "The Citizens Plan E Association has been continually and increasingly active. Its program is ambitious—no less than to approach personally all of the city's voters by one means or another, to educate them on Plan E and to urge them to vote for good candidates. . . . It behooves Worcester to give the CEA encouragement in its task of helping to make a better government for the city. . . If it does succeed, Worcester will have a first class city council to get Plan E off to a good start."

Replying to a question of one of its readers, *Tax Talk,* monthly publication of the Massachusetts Taxpayers Association, states that "an unprecedented number of towns" in that state "have established committees to study the manager form." Listed are Amherst, Agawam, Arlington, Chelmsford, Concord, Dedham, Hingham, Ipswich, Lexington, Marblehead, Pepperell, Reading, Stoneham, Swampscott, Templeton, Waterford, Wellesley, West Springfield, Weymouth, Williamstown, Wilmington and Winchester.

Constitutional Revision Concerns Women Voters

With constitutional revision a crying need in many states, leagues of women voters all over the country are rallying their forces for the battle.

In Tennessee, where the question of a limited constitutional convention will appear on the November ballot, the state league has appointed a special committee to conduct its campaign with Mrs. Tom Ragland as chairman. The committee plans to work through the ten local leagues in the state. Each will do a thorough educational job, planning radio broadcasts, discussion groups, supplying speakers and newspaper material.

Constitutional revision appears on the "current agenda 1949-1950" of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota which states that "the league will work for a new state constitution or for constitutional revision in the interest of greater efficiency and economy in government." *The Articulate Voter* organ of the Minnesota league, reports on a bill before the 1949 Minnesota legislature, providing for a constitutional convention, which failed to pass. Efforts will be continued during the next two years.

The League of Women Voters of Illinois has long had constitutional revision as one of its active projects. It worked for a bill before the 1949 legislature which, it reports, failed by five votes. The league will cooperate with other groups in bringing the need of constitutional revision to the attention of the voters when the so-called "gateway referendum"—which provides for liberalizing the amending clause of the present constitution—is voted on in November 1950.

The Indiana Woman Voter published an address by Professor Pressly Sikes of Indiana University, "Does Indiana Need a New State Constitution." Professor Sikes pointed to constitutional revision as "a job for the League of Women Voters."

The League of Women Voters of Rhode Island is making a study of constitutional revision for that state.

Community Conferences

The New York State Citizens' Council's Fifth Annual Institute of Community Leadership, September 14-17, at Cazenovia Junior College, was titled "Communities in Action, A Workshop on Community Organization." Do we need a citizens' council in our town? How can we solve the problems our community faces? Do we measure up as world citizens? were some of the problems discussed. Talk-it-over sessions with demonstrations highlighted the program.

The New Jersey State and South Jersey Regional Institute on the Community, under the auspices of the New Jersey Citizens' Conference, met at the Glassboro State Teachers' College in August. Its theme was "New Jersey's Common Stake in the Local and State Community." Case studies of several communities—large and small—were presented. A series of concurrent round tables discussed the community in relation to the citizen, the school, housing, young adults, etc.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Mrs. Ralph B. Morris has been elected president of the League of Women Voters of New York City. From 1938 to 1944 Mrs. Morris was executive secretary of the state league. She has been active also—labor chairman, vice president—in the city league. Mrs. Walter Neale, retiring city president, reported at the annual meeting in May on the great increase in membership and budget during her six years in office.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Sources of Light from and for Governments

University Bureaus, Planning Commissions, Other Agencies

WOODROW WILSON, in his second annual message as governor of New Jersey, spoke of farm demonstration and similar activities as providing "light from the government" which he distinguished from "help from the government." Since 1913 governments have been giving more and more help but they have also generated more and more light as Wilson understood it.

In an increasing number of states an important source of light is the bureau of public administration of the state university. For the last several years bureau directors and political scientists have been holding discussions to evaluate and sharpen their objectives and procedures. The first of a series of case studies, *Research, Education and Regionalism* (234 pages) has now been published by and about the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama.

According to the authors, Rowland Egger and Weldon Cooper, this and subsequent volumes will "attempt some appraisal of the nature and direction of their development, to relate their work to the expansion both of research in the social sciences and of the service programs of the universities, and to discover whether any significant benchmarks had been established from which university officials might be enabled more confidently to plan future efforts in applied government research." This first report on what is admittedly one of the outstanding bureaus sets a high standard for those to follow.

One source of light unknown in Woodrow Wilson's day is the state planning commission or planning and development agency. The story of one state planning commission is told by Eleanor Keeble Guess in *The First Fifteen Years: A History of the Tennessee State Planning Commission* (102 pages), published by the Division of University Extension for the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Tennessee.

As anyone familiar with the reports and activities of the Tennessee Planning Commission knows, it covers a wide territory. In reports on current questions of public policy it performs a service to the legislature which in many states is provided by the legislative council. In addition to its statewide planning it also advises and assists communities in local planning and development and promotes organized citizen participation in those activities. As a staff agency to the governor, the commission assisted in the 1937 reorganization program.

Some of the light emanating from the bureaus of public administration and state planning and development agencies is, like that of the older farm and home demonstrators, beamed directly to citizens and local communities. But an increasing amount is being beamed to other governmental agencies, supplying the information, objective analysis and foresight needed for sound development and execution of public policies.

As the bodies and physical or material powers of government have grown, it has become more and more important that they be adequately equipped with brains and something analogous to a central nervous system for the communication of intelligence from one part to another. Although one is inclined to suspect that the bodies have grown faster than the brains, there is some evidence that the worst lag is in the development of a system of intercommunication by which various governments and parts of governments can be kept aware of the sources of light and guidance available in other parts of the system.

A pioneer attempt to supply this lack is the series of handbooks financed partly by the General Education Board and issued during the last few years on aids available to governments in each of seven states in or bordering the Tennessee Valley region.[1] The latest of these, *Aids to Kentucky Governments: A Directory* (146 pages), by Vera Briscoe, research associate of the university's Bureau of Business Research, has just been issued by the University of Kentucky. This directory is accompanied by an illuminating 38-page monograph by Miss Briscoe, *Aids Toward Better Public Service.*

As Miss Briscoe observes, the increasing magnitude and complexity of modern government has created a situation in which "a major factor in improving public services is increasing the availability and use of technical knowledge." She reports that interviews showed that many state, county and municipal officials were unaware of the need for, or the sources of, outside help in doing their jobs. If Miss Briscoe's manual and directory are given adequate circulation in Kentucky, future interviews should produce more encouraging responses.

Perhaps it should be noted in passing that the Kentucky directory, like others in the series, covers not only state agencies but also federal and private national and state sources of information, including the National Municipal League.

Bureau Notes

The Governmental Research Institute, Inc., of Lincoln, Nebraska, (formerly the Local Committee of 1000) lists as its "indirect objectives": a city-county building, council-manager form of government, planning commission and civic center, better housing, improvement of county government, better system of taxation, economy and efficiency in all government.

The background and origin of the Dade County Research Foundation and the Syracuse Bureau of Governmental Research are outlined in articles in the July-August 1949 issue of the *GRA Reporter.*

The Bureau of Governmental Research and Services of the University of Washington has issued a report of its activities from June 1, 1948, to May 31, 1949.

From Kalamazoo the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Community Research has issued its *Fourth Annual Report* (July 1949). The institute has as its primary objective "research into the causes and effects of unemployment and . . . methods of insuring against unemployment." Among its list of publications are *Housing Needs in Greater Kalamazoo,* December 1948, and *Industrial Land Supply, Kalamazoo City and Township,* May 1949.

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Strictly Personal

Jack A. Rhodes, director of research of the Oklahoma State Legislative Council, has been awarded a Fulbright Fellowship for study at Cambridge University. He plans to study lawmaking procedures in Parliament and technical services provided British legislators. Don E. Bowen, of the political science department of the University of Oklahoma, has obtained a year's leave of absence to replace Mr. Rhodes on the council staff.

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[1] See also the REVIEW, June 1949, page 308.

Irving H. Beck has been appointed managing director of the Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research. Former research supervisor of the Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, he succeeds George Nichols who has joined the staff of the Citizens Public Expenditure Survey in Albany.

* * *

A Word to the Wise

A surprisingly large number of pamphlets and bulletins fail to list the date of publication and/or the city and state. We are then left to guess at this information when listing these publications, and when we encounter them in our files years later we are completely baffled.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Authorities

The "Authority" in Pennsylvania, Pro and Con. By Tina V. Weintraub and James D. Patterson. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1949. 50 pp.

Budgets

Background for 1949 Municipal Budgets. (Tables showing budgets and expenditures for various municipal and county purposes.) Helena, Montana Taxpayers' Association, *Montana Taxpayer,* June 1949. 5 pp.

Board of Education Budget 1949-50. Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bureau Notes,* June 30, 1949. 2 pp.

Buffalo School Budget, 1949-50. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* July 21, 28, 1949. 4 pp. each.

GRA Regional Meeting Discusses Property Tax and Budgets. ("Most budgets at all levels of government are in reality accounting documents which give voluminous details of salary, materials and contract appropriations but which do not disclose, even to careful research, the intended work programs and objectives which must lie behind any budget. . . . There can be no intelligent audit of programs accomplished and work units performed in terms of costs.") New York, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* July-August 1949. 1 p.

An Improved State Budgetary System Urgent. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* June 25, 1949. 3 pp.

City-County Consolidation and Cooperation

Buffalo and Erie County. ("Cooperation of city and county more important than separation of city and county.") Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* June 30, 1949. 4 pp.

Inter-relationship Between the County and Various Municipalities. (Lists county departments which serve other areas.) Los Angeles, County Chief Administrative Office, Division of Administrative Research, 1949. variously paged.

San Francisco Consolidated City and County Government Organization Chart. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1949. 1 p.

County Government

Three Tables of 1947 County Costs (County Home Operations, Poor Outside County Homes and Collections for Care of Wards). Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *Iowa Taxpayer,* August 1949. 4 pp.

Debt

City Debt and the Five-Year Capital Improvement Program. Hartford, Governmental Research Institute, *Taxpayers' Business,* August 1949. 2 pp. charts.

The Folly of Constant Borrowing. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* June 14, 1949. 4 pp. table.

Newly Authorized State Bonds Exceed Total for 47-year Period. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *Taxpayers News,* June-July 1949. 2 pp.

The Proposed 36 Million Dollar Bond Issue. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, *Your Report on Government,* July 1949. 4 pp.

Education

The Legislature and the Pittsburgh Schools. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* July 1949. 5 pp.

Poughkeepsie City Schools: A Survey Report on the School Plant and Facilities. Poughkeepsie, New York, Area Development Association, 1949. 48 pp.

Public Education: A Rich Field for Research. By Alvin A. Burger. New York, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* July-August 1949. 2 pp.

St. Louis School Enrollment Problems. St Louis, Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government,* June 7, 1949. 2 pp.

State Aid to Local School Systems. ("Examines briefly some problems, principles and patterns of state aid to local school systems, with particular reference to the school foundation program and equalization aid, especially as related to the California experience.") By Daniel K. Freudenthal. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 37 pp. $1.

Teachers' Group Asks $769,601 Pay Adjustment. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* June 8, 1949. 2 pp. chart.

This is How Public Schools Are Financed in New Mexico. Sante Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, 1949. variously paged. tables.

What's Right with Nevada Education? ("Some answers for those who say Nevada spends too little for its schools.") Reno, Nevada Taxpayers Association, *Nevada Tax Review,* July 1949. 5 pp. tables.

Unequal Equalizations: The New Formula for State Aid to Schools. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* June 1949. 9 pp. tables.

Efficiency

Modern Methods. ("Providence is believed to be the first governmental jurisdiction anywhere to install a comprehensive general accounting and budgetary control system fully operated by punch-card tabulating machines.") Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* June 1949. 1 p.

Elections and Voting

Municipal Elections in Washington State: An Analysis of Chapter 161, Laws of 1949. Seattle, Association of Washington Cities, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* June 1949. 4 pp.

Housing

The National Housing Act of 1949. (Summary of the act and the economic and social basis of public housing.) Lincoln, Nebraska, Governmental Research Institute, *Bulletin,* August 1949. 4 pp.

Industrial Development

Suggestions for Appraising the Industrial Potential of the Smaller Community. (Facts about city planning and other public services are among those needed in appraising industrial potential.) Madison, University of Wisconsin, University Extension Division, 1949. 13 pp.

Intergovernmental Relations

Federal Grants to Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, July 1949. 4 pp.

Unfinished Business. (Canadian Federal Government, Provincial-Federal

Relations). Toronto, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* July 6, 1949. 5 pp.

Law Reform

Challenge to the Law. By George C. Hull. (Fifteen articles and a program for law reform reprinted from the *Journal-Bulletin.*) Providence, *Journal-Bulletin,* 1949. 51 pp.

Licenses

Business License Ordinances Based on Gross Revenues Selected from Washington Cities. (Sample ordinances and forms.) Seattle, Association of Washington Cities, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* July 1, 1949. 33 pp.

Municipal Government

Report on a Financial and Administrative Survey of the City of Cape May, New Jersey. By New Jersey Taxpayers Association, Inc., Cape May, Taxpayers Association, 1949. 118 pp.

Natural Resources

Administering Mississippi's Wealth. By Robert Baker Highsaw. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 20 pp.

Control of Ground Water. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, May 1948. 26 pp.

Forest Resources and Industries of the Portland Area. Portland, City Club, *Bulletin,* May 6, 1949. 16 pp.

Utah State Land Board. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, June 1949. 4 pp.

Water Resources Problems in California. By Margaret Rohrer and Kenneth Decker. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 47 pp. $1.25.

Public Welfare

Child Abandonment Should Be a Federal Offense. Oklahoma City, Public Expenditures Council, *Your Report on Government,* June 1949. 4 pp.

Health and Welfare Campaigns in the Portland Area. (Concludes "One annual federated drive for operating funds for all health, welfare and character building agencies would be to the best interests of the city, county and state.") Portland, City Club, *Bulletin,* July 29, 1949. 11 pp.

Public Welfare Problems in New Mexico. By Helen H. Ellis. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Department of Government, Division of Research, 1949. 35 pp. 50 cents.

Report of the Joint Senate and House Committee on the State Mental Hospitals of Maryland. Annapolis, State of Maryland, 1949. 57 pp.

Public Works

Progress on Public Improvements in 1947 and 1948. By James D. Patterson. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1949. 12 pp.

Taxation and Finance

County Operating Costs Up 15.34%. (Total and combined operating costs for all Iowa counties for 1946 and 1947.) Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *Iowa Taxpayer,* July 4, 1949. 4 pp.

Debts—Taxes—Assessments. (An annual study covering six major Chicago governing bodies.) Chicago, Civic Federation, June 1949. 24 pp.

The Results of a Counter-Revolution. ("The League Analyzes the New Version of the Home Rule Tax Law.") Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* May 1949. 7 pp.

The Rising Cost of Maryland State Government. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* June 23, 1949. 4 pp. tables.

Spending by California Cities. By Hugh H. Brown. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* August 1949. 3 pp. tables.

Utah State Government Financial Summary for the 1948-49 and 1950-51 Bienniums. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1949. 4 pp.

Books in Review

The Municipal Year Book 1949. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley, Orin F. Nolting and Frederick C. Peitzsch. Chicago 37, The International City Managers' Association, 1949. x, 582 pp. $10.

Designed to be of practical use to public officials, citizens interested in their municipal government and research bureaus alike, this book presents remarkably up-to-date information on all the important activities and problems of our municipalities.

Citizen organizations concerned with their municipal form of government will find a concise review of the number and types of cities using the various forms of government and a listing of 1948 changes. Many organizations will be interested in the new section on annexations, including comments on trends, types of areas acquired, reasons for and against and methods of selling people on the merits of annexation. A new section on crime and delinquency, written especially for the *Year Book* by J. Edgar Hoover, reviews the 1948 *Uniform Crime Reports,* a publication deserving wider attention. Planning, zoning and recreation receive equally competent treatment.

Municipal officials in their day-to-day running of the government will find inspiration, moral support or perhaps warning in the vast array of comparative information compiled. For police and fire departments there are statistics which cover such items as hours of work, equipment and the general level of salaries in recent years by size of city. A new section on traffic safety activities, curb loading zones in business districts, off-street parking facilities, as well as information on parking lots and parking meters, brings together considerable data on action being taken to avoid traffic strangulation in our population centers.

Research bureaus and taxpayer groups probably already know the *Year Book* as an excellent place to find such figures as comparative wages for a number of typical city jobs and the number of employees in municipalities, large and small. Added to this, they will find this year a new, up-to-date section on municipal non-property tax revenues.

It will be noted that despite the completeness of most of the tabulations, a number of municipalities do not report information to the *Year Book.* Only in a few instances does this limit its use as an excellent reference volume. Still, in some geographic and economic classifications it is troublesome. Perhaps some civic organizations could be helpful in getting their public officials to cooperate more fully with the editors where they find the data for their own municipality is incomplete or not up to date.

Although the idea is sound that the problems facing municipalities are so essentially similar that much can be gained by pooling information on activities, the reader must bear in mind that comparative statistics are seldom truly comparative and almost never are they conclusive. The editors have prepared an excellent warning discussion on the use of their statistics (see "How to Use the Year Book," pages 8-12) and accurate use of many of the tables depends on a careful reading of the explanation of the material in the text.

The Municipal Year Book 1949—the sixteenth in this annual series—is to be highly recommended as the most comprehensive, eminently practical reference work in its field.

HOMER E. SCACE

New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce

St. Louis Voting Behavior Study. By Edward B. Olds and David W. Salmon. St. Louis, Missouri, St. Louis Chapter of the American Statistical Association, 1948. 22 pp., 24 maps. $20.

This is a remarkable study of city politics, and it seems a pity that its high price will keep it from having the wide circulation and study it deserves. Dr. Olds, a statistician, and Dr. Salmon, a political scientist, joined their skills to analyze, as has never been done before, the relationships between economic status, social stability, racial or ethnic characteristics, and the way that voters in St. Louis supported party candidates and issues in various elections, 1940 to 1948.

The statistical methods, too elaborate to describe here, depended essentially on correlations. They seem to this reviewer to be valid.

Some conclusions tend to give statistical support to widely held views of political behavior which have not hitherto rested upon much more than casual observation; for instance: "The non-voting and non-registering population tends to come from the lower income strata, from areas which contain old apartment and rooming houses with low rents, and from districts in which racial minorities are segregated." In other words, members of the League of Women Voters will register and vote, and so will men of the same economic and social status. It is among the poor that those people who want to see more voter participation must do their work.

But this study also brings out the fact that a reform measure, such as the new Missouri constitution, received least support in the Negro precincts; whereas it received most support in those precincts which showed a high percentage of home ownership. And this phenomenon cannot in this instance be explained by the activities of political parties. Since Negro precincts also gave the least support to a slum clearance bond issue it may be inferred that the Negroes did not have the proposals sufficiently explained to them. Where they did understand how a measure, such as an anti-race discrimination charter amendment, affected them they supported it overwhelmingly.

The authors notice that, while persons in "areas of low rent, low home ownership, and old homes tend to vote Democratic," other factors beside economic position determine party affiliation, among them race, religion, country of origin and family tradition. There were precincts in St. Louis high on the economic scale which went Democratic in the elections studied, and there were also consistently Republican precincts low on the economic scale. The statistics seem to show that there is "little relationship between Democratic or Republican voting and voting on local measures. . . . It would appear that voters [on local questions] are likely to go their own way uninfluenced by permanent political organizations." The area which most consistently supported what may loosely be called good government measures was not, as one might suppose, the section of home owners, but was instead an area of "apartment house dwellers who pay medium to high rentals."

Possibly the correlations found for St. Louis would not hold for other cities, but at any rate this is a study that no person interested in reform movements, in city politics or in state government can ignore.

Dayton D. McKean
Dartmouth College

Income Tax Administration. Symposium of Tax Institute, December 1948. New York City, Tax Institute, 1949. xxii, 449 pp. $6.

This is one of the most significant unofficial volumes in the literature of tax administration. This is the case even though, perhaps *because,* the area covered concerns only selected issues and the subject matter included is not necessarily more important than what is excluded.

After partially duplicating Foreword and Preface, the first part concerns goals in tax administration, conceived broadly as including criteria of justice in taxation. The next four parts concern selected aspects of federal income tax administration. Part VI considers some broad issues of state administration; Part VII, some phases of local administration; and Part IX, particular problems of international applications of income tax administration. Part VIII is the presidential address dealing with the taxpayers' stake in good tax administration.

The bibliography, which is confined largely to those particular phases of income tax administration with which the papers are concerned, is a good one even though it is highly selective.

In well over half the volume dealing with federal income taxation, the omissions of subject matter are illustrative of the limitations of coverage throughout. The authors present no general discussion of administrative planning and organization, no systematic comment on methods of direction or of verification of the actions of subordinates, no over-all examination of form design or of the system of rulings, no full-dress study of the personnel and training problems, no consideration of balancing emphasis as among various aspects of operation (e.g., stress on compliance as compared with audits), and nothing on accounting for tax collections.

True, some of these matters are mentioned incident to other discussions; but most of them are omitted entirely. Although numerous aspects of administrative policy are considered in particular connections, there is no attempt to crystallize a general outline or appraisal.

On the other hand, there *is* consideration of treasury, congressional and judicial responsibility for making our most important revenue measure work. There is a meaningful consideration of bureau-taxpayer relationships. And there is an extended examination of administrative problems incident to handling numerous substantive issues of federal income taxation.

In all probability most readers of the REVIEW will find the examination of state and local administration more helpful than federal, both as to selection of subject matter and as to significance for their problems, even though the level and the amount of fruitful effort expended in those areas are no greater than in respect of federal and international problems.

The papers concerned with local administration, in particular, go a long way toward providing—from the point of view of an observer, of a governmental participant, and of a "problem-child" taxpayer—a check-list of the issues a local income tax administration must confront. Moreover, the authors present or suggest at least one definite solution of the problems examined—though some of the solutions are at the tax policy, rather than the administrative, level.

The Tax Institute is to be congratulated on having hit the bull's eye again!

JAMES W. MARTIN, *Director*
Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

The President and the Presidency. By Louis Brownlow. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1949. 137 pp.

In the course of his career, Mr. Brownlow has known and dealt with every president since McKinley, sometimes rather extensively. He discerns that Theodore Roosevelt built the office into a far more massive institution than it had been before and describes its growth and present state with an insight that is enriched by many "close-ups" selected from his own numerous working contacts with the incumbents. A well informed and readable appraisal!

R. S. C.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Building Inspection

Survey of Building Inspection Services, City of Milwaukee, 1949. Milwaukee, 1949. 94 pp.

Courts

Horse and Buggy Justice. Trenton, New Jersey, National Committee on Traffic Law Enforcement, 1949. 9 pp.

Directories

Twenty-second Annual Directory of Michigan Municipal Officials, 1949-50. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1949. 70 pp. $3.

Education

Business Management in School District 189 (East St. Louis, Illinois): A Survey. East St. Louis, St. Clair County Taxpayers' Association, 1949. 130 pp.

The Forty-Eight State School Systems. Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1949. 245 pp. $4.

Trends in City-School Organization 1938 to 1948. Washington, National Education Association, 1949. 40 pp.

Housing

Reference and Source Materials on Housing and Housing Needs, Economic and Social Costs of Good and Bad Housing, Who Pays for Public Housing. Washington, Public Housing Administration, 1949. 41 pp.

Human Relations

Human Relations in Public Administration. By Alfred De Grazia. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1949. 52 pp. $1.50.

International Affairs

A New American Policy in China. By Luther Gulick. Washington, National Planning Association, 1949. 35 pp. 50 cents.

World Government. Edited by Ernest Minor Patterson. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *Annals,* July 1949. 114 pp.

Inventories

Inventory Procedure: Detailed Instructions for the Control of Municipal Personal Property Through the Use of a Perpetual Inventory. Long Beach, California, Office of City Manager, 1949. 28 pp.

Labor and Industry

Industrial Resources of Tennessee: Labor (Volume 4.) Revised edition. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1949. 25 pp. illus. tables. $1.

Motor Vehicles

20 Years of Motor Vehicle Inspection: The Pennsylvania Program. New York, Association of Casualty and Surety Companies, July 1949. 6 pp.

Municipal Government

Know Your City: Los Angeles Year Book, 1948. Los Angeles, Information Center, 1948. 124 pp.

Personnel

The Canadian Bureaucracy: A Study of Canadian Civil Servants and Other Public Employees 1939-1947. By

Taylor Cole. Durham, Duke University Press, 1949. 292 pp. $5.

Cincinnati Civil Service 1948. Cincinnati, Civil Service Commission and Department of Personnel, 1949. 18 pp. tables.

City Employment in 1948. Washington, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1949. 38 pp. tables, graphs.

The Public Service and University Education. Joseph E. McLean, editor. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1949. 246 pp. $3.75.

The Rising Trend of Government Employment. By Solomon Fabricant. New York, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1949. 30 pp. 50 cents.

Your Job and Opportunities with the City of Fort Worth. Fort Worth, Personnel Office, 1949. 64 pp.

Public Administration

Policy and Administration. By Paul H. Appleby. University, University of Alabama Press, 1949. xii, 174 pp. $2.50.

Public Administration and Extension Work. A Series of Eight Talks. By Rowland Egger. Washington, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1949. 120 pp.

Recreation

After the Whistle Blows. By Jack Petrill. New York, William Frederick Press, 1949. 351 pp. $10.

Recreation Year Book. New York, National Recreation Association, June 1949. 172 pp. $1.

Refuse Collection

Refuse Collection and Disposal: A Bibliography 1940-1948. By Leo Weaver, Washington, Federal Security Agency, Public Health Service, 1949. 66 pp.

Salaries

Salary and Wage Data: Michigan Cities of More than 10,000 Population, 1948-1949. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1949. Variously paged. $1.25.

State Government

The Book of the States—Supplement II, July 1949. Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1949. 154 pp. $2.

Taxation and Finance

Administrative Importance of State Corporate Income and Sales Taxes. New York, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* May 1949. 12 pp. 25 cents.

City of Hartford, Department of Finance Report. Hartford, the Department, 1949. 28 pp.

Comparison of State Revenue Systems. By William M. Lester. Atlanta, Georgia Tax Revision Committee, 1949. 227 pp. maps, charts.

Federal Aid to State and Local Governments. Washington, Bureau of the Budget, Fiscal Division, 1949. 13 pp. tables.

The Finance Commission of the City of Boston. Report to the Legislature for the Year ending December 31, 1948. Boston, the Commission, 1949. 34 pp.

Governmental Revenue in 1948. Washington, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1949. 12 pp.

1949 Conference Issue. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* August 1949. 50 cents.

Summary of State Government Finances in 1948. Washington, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1949. 18 pp.

Tax Delinquency

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the Review by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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Publication Office: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
Editorial and Business Office: 299 Broadway, New York, 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXVIII, No. 10 **Total Number 393**

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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The League's Business

Twin Cities Conference Program Preview

ALMOST 100 people have accepted invitations to speak in sessions of the Twin Cities National Conference on Government to be held in St. Paul Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, November 28, 29, and 30.

Governor Luther W. Youngdahl of Minnesota will welcome the conference to the state at the opening luncheon, Monday, November 28. President Charles Edison will respond and preview the conference. As reported last month, Jack Kroll, director of the Political Action Committee, CIO, and Ed. P. Phillips, president of the Phillips Machinery Company, Richmond, will give the keynote speeches on the common stake of labor and industry in good government.

The luncheon will be followed by an afternoon session on "What Our Town Needs" presided over by Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati. Mayor William F. Devin of Seattle will talk on the need for home rule. Mayor Jack White of San Antonio (still suffering the commission form of government) will talk on the need for a new charter, and Professor Dayton D. McKean of Dartmouth College will discuss the need for honest politicians.

Monday evening, Mayor Charles P. Farnsley of Louisville, S. A. Galatas, president of the Laundry Workers' Union, Local 238, Kansas City, and L. P. Cookingham, city manager of Kansas City, will show how efficient city government can be humanized and kept close to the people.

Those who attend the Tuesday luncheon will hear Frank C. Moore, comptroller of the State of New York and author of the famous Moore plan for strengthening and stabilizing municipal finances, talk on "Solid Money for Cities," and City Manager John B. Atkinson of Cambridge will explain how efficient management has been able to supply more and better services while keeping taxes down in Cambridge.

The Tuesday afternoon session will be devoted to a discussion of some "tough problems": Frank Bane, executive director, Council of State Governments, on "Little Hoover Commissions" for reorganization of state administration; Spencer Miller, Jr., New Jersey state highway commissioner, on constitutional revision; and James L. Beebe, lawyer and civic leader of Los Angeles, on "Democracy Gone Wild" or the misuse of the initiative in California.

The high point of the conference will be the annual dinner Tuesday evening, at which League President Charles Edison will deliver an address on "A Time of Peril." In addition, three of the other outstanding conference speakers will deliver snappy seven-minute talks on topics of special importance.

The conference will close with a joint luncheon Wednesday noon, November 30, with the Minnesota Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration. Roscoe C. Martin, chairman of the Department of Political Science at Syracuse University and president of the American Society for Public Administration, will make an address on "Responsibility."

In addition to these general sessions, there will be the following group sessions:

Monday morning—"University Services to State and Local Governments," Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse University, presiding; "The Political Challenge of Municipal Public Relations," Martin R. Haley, director, Municipal Publicity Board, St. Paul, presiding; "Proposed Model Direct Primary Law," Joseph P. Harris, University of California, presiding.

Tuesday morning—"Changing State Governments," W. Brooke Graves, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, presiding; "Opening the Road to Home Rule," Arthur W. Bromage, University of Michigan, presiding; "Fitting Government to the Area," William Anderson, University of Minnesota, presiding; "Education for All-Round Citizenship," John J. Mahoney, director, Civic Education Project, presiding; "P. R.—The Key to Democracy," (annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League) Albert D. Cash, mayor of Cincinnati and president of the P. R. League, presiding.

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Editorial Comment

Constitutional Tyranny

MOST state constitutions are serious obstacles to responsible and effective state and local governments. The inadequacy of these governments in the face of modern needs forces the growth of the power and prestige of the federal government at the expense of the states. This is one reason for the current interest in modernizing constitutions, evident in nearly half the states.

One might expect, in view of the growing sense of the need to strengthen our system at the grass roots, that most of these states would call constitutional conventions as a matter of course.

But there are hurdles in the way of this direct American response to the need for action. They are the state constitutions themselves. Last November 302,250 Michigan voters said "yes" to a proposal to call a constitutional convention; 164,241 voted "no." Despite the 138,009 majority for a convention, none will be held because the Michigan constitution of 1908 requires that a majority of the people participating in a general election must vote "yes" in order to have a convention.

This year a proposal to submit the convention question to the people of Illinois was lost in the legislature because the governor and the citizen proponents of the measure could not quite muster the votes of two-thirds of the members of both houses required by the virtually unamendable constitution of 1870. Even if the legislature had submitted the question in Illinois, the people would have had to surmount the same hurdle of a majority of those voting *at the general election* that deprived Michigan of a convention.

In a substantial majority of the states these and other provisions written into existing constitutions from 37 to 100 or more years ago put future revisions at the mercy of privileged minorities or of the politically indifferent and inert who never seriously concern themselves about constitutional issues.

It is obvious folly to make the future of our system hang on the non-voting of the "know nothings" and "care nothings" among us, as in one-third of the states, where a person who doesn't bother to vote on the question is counted as if he had voted "no."

It is even more obvious folly, as in Illinois and eighteen other states, to give just over one third of one house of the legislature a perpetual veto on the people's right to vote on the question. The folly is accentuated by the unrepresentativeness of the state legislatures which enables agents of much less than one third of the people to bar the calling of a convention by any regular *constitutional* procedure.

Even in New Jersey, where no extraordinary majority was required either to submit or to adopt a convention proposal, the people were denied a convention for three-quarters of a century by eleven state senators representing as little as 15 per cent of the people. When the legislature finally passed a convention bill, it required the people in voting *for* the convention to approve an attached prohibition against any change in legislative representation. Thus, the price of the generally admirable New Jersey constitution of 1947 was an agreement to leave the veto on future constitutional and legislative progress in eleven senators representing a few people and extensive pine barrens and wooded hills.

It is reported that the new state of Israel, which is blessed with some pretty wise leadership, is considering getting along without a written constitution. There is considerable merit in this idea in view of the way in which some of our constitutions have been transformed from charters of liberties into fire traps or prisons for democracy. For a constitution that does not make adequate provision for its own modernization, or give the majority of the people whose liberties it is supposed to shelter the means to correct abuses resulting from the lapse of time, is a menace to the very security and order it was designed to protect.

In principle, constitutional provisions that deny the people the same access to their basic laws enjoyed by the founders who wrote them are themselves profoundly ***unconstitutional***. That is, they are in conflict with the basic principles and assumptions underlying our system and are therefore subversive in the truest sense of that much abused word.

What is to be done? The first step, obviously, is to recognize such un-American provisions in our state constitutions for what they are. The second is to carry on a vigorous campaign of education to make even those who have fancied that they benefit from them see the terrible risks involved in minority control of state constitutions. The third is to eliminate the strait-jacket provisions in existing constitutions and accept George Washington's modest but hopeful view that since political wisdom is not confined to a single time it is not necessary or proper for one generation to dictate to the next.

City Politics: Free Style

Contrary to the textbooks, not all large cities are 'tight political hierarchies' headed by political boss.

By ROBERT L. MORLAN*

THE STUDENT of municipal politics in the United States today is being given an extremely one-sided picture of political organization and party activity, at least in so far as existing literature is concerned. Most of the writing on this subject seems to assume that, excepting only those cities under 100,000 population, the pattern is essentially that expounded so entertainingly by the immortal *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* a half century ago.

The picture almost invariably presented is one of tight political hierarchies extending from a boss and the city or county central committee through ward executives, precinct leaders and multitudinous block workers, all welded into a highly efficient 365-day-a-year machine by the magic of patronage, and controlling votes largely through the familiar process of rendering personal service to the voters.

This is not to deny that extremely effective machines continue to flourish in some American cities but rather to challenge the traditional assumption that this is the way it is done everywhere. Operations of bosses and machines have often been sensational and hence have tended to attract the attention of those investigating the facts of local political life. Interesting and useful studies of bossism have resulted from these researches, but the focusing of attention in that direction has meant the virtual ignoring of cities with less spectacular politics.

Authors of general works on municipal government and politics have found their sources of material almost entirely limited to studies of highly organized cities—and have doubtless also been anxious to include in their texts as much colorful matter as possible. As a result, the politically loosely organized city has received either no attention or has been summarily passed off with a statement that in some small cities party organization is less comprehensive.

There is, in fact, a tremendous variation in the comprehensiveness of party organization and in the extent of party activities in city wards. Machine strength is, of course, normally centered in the poorer wards, while in the more prosperous wards party workers rarely engage in much more than a bit of preelection activity. The minority party frequently maintains little if any organization in wards which are overwhelmingly of the opposite political faith, but it is also true that even the dominant party is often poorly organized in certain wards. The significant fact too commonly overlooked, however, is that there are some large cities as well as many smaller ones in which *neither* party has a strong organization in *any* ward.

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*Dr. Morlan, assistant professor of government at the University of Redlands, Redlands, California, was until recently an instructor in political science at the University of Minnesota. He was a ward chairman for the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party, Minnesota affiliate of the national Democratic party, as well as a member of a county central committee and county executive committee and was a delegate to the party's county and state conventions in 1948.

It is time to re-examine our traditional concepts of city political organization, to get away from the universalities in which most of the writing in this field has dealt, and to recognize the fact that even in large municipalities political organization and activity vary all the way from highly concentrated control to loose and haphazard operation.

An Unorganized City

Minneapolis, with a population of over half a million and a long history of volatile politics, is an excellent example of a major city loosely organized politically. Its situation may not be widespread, but it is significant as a striking deviation from a presumed norm, and one may speculate that it is not alone.[1]

It is often difficult for persons familiar with the politics of highly organized cities to believe that political activity in Minneapolis can actually be as "free and easy" as it is. The truth is that any interested person can step immediately into political work, that the average party ward meeting is for all practical purposes open to anyone, that in no ward is there a party organization adequately covering every precinct the year around, that many officers of both parties at the city, ward and precinct levels are practically neophytes in politics, and that the party organizations as such play minor roles in the selection and control of candidates and have almost negligible influence with city officials.

The ease with which a political amateur with a sense of direction may succeed in Minneapolis politics is strikingly illustrated by the career of former Mayor, now U. S. Senator, Hubert H. Humphrey. As a young college political science instructor with a "gift of gab," he was expounding his views on local politics one night in a typical campus bull session when someone brought him up short: "Humphrey, why don't you practice what you're always preaching about political participation, and see what you can do in this next city election?"

The upshot was that Hubert Humphrey, with hastily collected and almost wholly amateur support, little money and organization, not only survived the nonpartisan primary in 1943 but also lost to the incumbent mayor in the final election by only 5,000 out of 115,000 votes. Gathering liberal and labor support in the interim, but still operating to a large degree with what was in effect his own organization, he came back to win in 1945 by the largest plurality any mayor has ever secured. In 1947 he swept every ward and the following year went on to defeat Senator Joseph H. Ball by a three to two margin. Never did he have behind him a tight ward and precinct organization even approximating the traditional type.

Part of the reason for this wide

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[1] The situation in the other of the "Twin Cities," St. Paul, is essentially similar.

open situation is found in the fact that Minneapolis—as do all local units in Minnesota—elects its officials on a nonpartisan ballot although this of course does not mean that the parties take no part in municipal politics. Party organizations would exist for state and national affairs at any rate and, since essentially the same persons are interested in politics at all levels, it is hardly to be expected that they will remain aloof in municipal campaigns.

Pressure Group Government

Campaigns are managed by volunteer committees for individual candidates, but the parties make endorsements instead of nominations, and in most cases they quite openly support their choices. Nevertheless, since the parties do not manage the campaigns of individual candidates and do not finance them except in the form of minor contributions, nonpartisanship in local elections is definitely a factor. It has resulted in government by pressure groups—labor unions, business associations, etc.—rather than by parties at the city level.

A further cause of party weakness is the almost complete absence of local patronage in the sense of jobs for loyal workers. The city merit system, although it has some shortcomings, covers almost all municipal employment and has been little abused in recent years.

Patronage in the sense of special favors in the expectation of future support is extensive, but it is centered almost entirely in the hands of the 26 aldermen and party officials as a rule have practically nothing to do with it. The aldermen, therefore, to that extent play the role which is normally played by party ward and precinct executives. Being relatively independent, they have tended to build up personal blocs of support with little thought for the parties whose support they receive. They consider themselves more dependent upon the support of powerful pressure groups and party organization has suffered as a consequence.

Political leaders say that a strong party organization not only lives upon patronage but cannot exist without it. Experience in Minneapolis lends credence to the argument. Persons with a sincere interest in politics and reasonably strong party convictions can be stirred by a cause long enough to work for brief periods before election, but they cannot be expected to devote themselves constantly to political activity unless the party has some control over them—or unless they are possessed of a Messianic zeal like that of the Communists.

Frank Kent, in his well known but occasionally inaccurate book, *The Great Game of Politics,* says categorically that eight out of ten ward executives are on the public payroll at good salaries. In Minneapolis, of the 26 ward chairmen serving the two major parties, only one is a city employee, and his is a position under the merit system for which he is in no way indebted to the party. Nor is it true that these officials are to any extent in businesses which stand to profit from political pull. Precinct executives in strongly organized cities often hold minor political jobs, yet in Minneapolis scarcely a handful who are public employees can be found.

One of the leading college textbooks on city government opens its discussion of party organization with a statement concerning the hierarchy of political organization, "at the base of which is the precinct committeeman or committee in each of the 130,000 precincts in the United States."[2] This statement is misleading, since it indicates that precinct committeemen actually exist in each of those precincts. Obviously there is nowhere near the full quota.

In Minneapolis alone, except perhaps in the weeks just preceding an important election, roughly 100 of the 634 possible precinct captaincies will be unfilled and not over half the remainder are filled by active party workers who can be depended upon at all times.

Precinct Captains

The precinct executive, we are told, is a person who holds that position because he can control more votes than can any competitor, and who stays in power only so long as he can "deliver the goods." In the highly organized city the precinct executive must presumably devote a major portion of his time to politics. He must have information about virtually every voter in his precinct, know many of them personally and be able to swing enough votes to carry at least his party's primary. Traditionally he has been able to control votes largely by means of giving personal service in the form of jobs, assistance to those in trouble with the police, relief for the poor, etc. Kent insists that the precinct executive functions in this manner in nine-tenths of the precincts in every city.

As many of these services are becoming institutionalized, being handled at least in part by government employment bureaus and social welfare agencies, for example, the role of the precinct executive has become more and more that of a go-between and a cutter of red tape. But in the unorganized city even this type of service is largely unknown. Minneapolis precinct captains lack the necessary political pull to do the job, even if they have the inclination. Few put any time on politics except in pre-election periods, when they distribute campaign literature from door to door, perhaps make a few phone calls on election day to remind persons to vote and assist in providing transportation to the polls. On rare occasions a few of the more earnest ones may do some doorbell ringing.

The average precinct captain has no personal political following and is unlikely to possess even such an elementary tool as a list of the registered voters of his precinct. He is not in the least concerned over the danger of a competitor developing sufficient strength to take over his job, for the job in most cases means nothing to him and he would be happy to be relieved of it.

"Every ward executive," says Frank Kent, "holds his position because he has the strength to hold it and for no other reason." He is, presumably, a little king in his ward. It is he who sits in the inner councils of the central party organization. It is he who wields influence at city hall, who appoints—or controls the election of—precinct executives and supervises their political activity. He has earned his position by hard work and fighting his way to the top.

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[2] Charles M. Kneier, *City Government in the United States,* 1947, page 508.

The average ward executive in Minneapolis will hardly fit these specifications. Lawyers, labor leaders, business men, housewives—they devote only a relatively small portion of their time to politics and as a rule have but limited control over their ward organizations. As for influence at the city hall, they would be in vastly stronger positions as officers of the central labor union or the chamber of commerce. Not only do they have almost nothing to say in the selection of precinct executives but they can also do little more than request their cooperation once in office. That chairman is fortunate who is able to secure the attendance of over 50 per cent of his precinct captains at a meeting of the ward central committee.

Few Ward Contests

Nor have these ward executives for the most part fought their way to the top. In many cases they had no opposition and have simply been asked to serve—in some instances there are minor skirmishes. The only real battles over these positions come when there is a struggle for control of the state or county organization. After all, the ward chairman gets nothing from his job except the satisfaction of serving the party cause, although it has occasionally been used as a stepping stone toward running for elective office. Certainly he is probably one of the most politically active persons in his ward but he is only rarely a political power.

Compared to the length of service required for a person to become a ward executive in a tightly organized city, many Minneapolis ward chairmen are virtually beginners in politics. The turnover is rapid and over half the current chairmen are new to the office within the past two years, while the oldest in point of service has been a chairman for twelve years.

The writer came to Minneapolis in the spring of 1946, in a few months became a precinct captain, and in the spring of 1948 was elected ward chairman for the majority party in one of the most active and most evenly divided wards in terms of party votes. The same year he was elected a delegate to both the county and state conventions of the party—altogether a totally inconceivable series of events for a well organized city.

In the highly organized city, meetings of a ward organization are essentially closed affairs, attended only by ward and precinct officers and a few other trusted workers.

Meetings of the ward organizations of both parties in Minneapolis are open to the public. Any interested person may attend and vote on all matters, helping to elect officials or delegates and to determine party policy. To be sure, an unknown person may be questioned about his party allegiance, and known members of an opposing party would not be permitted to participate, but the individual's word on the matter is usually accepted. At most he can merely be required to state either that he voted for a majority of the party's candidates at the last election or that he intends to do so at the next.

The practice in Minneapolis is to send meeting notices to all persons in the ward who have indicated reasonably active interest. Attendance is normally low and the ward and precinct officers are likely to constitute a sizable bloc. The fact is of little significance, however, since they are rarely if ever united upon any specific course of action in advance. A highly controversial issue may and often does bring out larger crowds, when all are given a chance to be heard and to participate in decisions. Groups with pre-arranged slates or programs of action are, of course, to be expected when anything of importance is at stake, but rarely is such a group made up of ward and precinct officers.

Caucuses Routine Affairs

Biennial ward and precinct caucuses, the vehicle in Minnesota for election of local party officers and selection of delegates to county and state conventions, are subject to the same conditions as are regular ward meetings. Adherence to the party concerned is checked more rigidly, although legally the individual's statement is all that is required. At a time of intense factional strife these caucuses may be heavily attended, as was the case within the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party in 1948 when as many as six hundred persons jammed certain ward caucuses in Minneapolis. Normally, however, they are routine affairs, with few brisk contests.

The writer in the spring of 1948 was an observer at the precinct and ward caucuses of the Republican party in a ward where the vote is fairly evenly divided between the parties. All were held in a school gymnasium, with the ward caucus being convened after the precinct caucuses had completed their business. Out of 28 precincts there were eleven in which no one appeared for the precinct caucus. One person could have come and elected himself both precinct captain and delegate to the county convention — this happened in two other precincts. Moreover, a person with five followers could have controlled any precinct caucus, and this is not the exception but the rule.

Perhaps this loosely organized state of politics in Minneapolis is unique, or perhaps we have too long accepted the situation in a few tightly organized cities as being universal. Surely we have been too ready to accept without adequate investigation the statement that all cities are organized politically in such and such a manner. There are a great variety of local conditions existing within the pattern of certain fairly common structural arrangements. It is time to recognize the fact that there is, in larger cities as well as smaller ones, an unorganized as well as an organized style of municipal politics.

Choosing Judges in Missouri

State's plan makes possible selection of judiciary on merit alone, with tenure based on satisfactory service.

By **LAURANCE M. HYDE***

THERE are three important problems of judicial selection and tenure: How to select a man competent to be a judge? How to keep him on the bench if he does become a good judge? How to get rid of him if he does not? A good judge must have three essential qualities — personal integrity, judicial temperament and adequate legal training. The Missouri plan, which has been a part of the state's constitution since 1940, is intended to make possible the recognition of these judicial qualities in selection and to make tenure depend upon satisfactory service.

In 1940 Missouri changed from a political party primary and election system to a nonpartisan system for its judiciary. Its judges are prohibited from holding any office in a political party or organization and from making any contribution thereto or taking part in any campaign.

This was accomplished by a constitutional amendment, submitted to the voters on initiative petition, sponsored by the Missouri Bar Association. It applies to the Missouri Supreme Court with seven judges, the three Courts of Appeals with three judges each, and the Circuit Courts (trial courts) of the two largest cities. There are eighteen circuit judges in St. Louis and ten in Kansas City. It also applies to the probate judges of St. Louis and Kansas City and to the Court of Criminal Correction in St. Louis. Voters of all other circuits may adopt it in a local option election if they so desire.

Three distinct steps are provided for selection of judges:

1. Candidates for judges are nominated by nonpartisan, non-salaried commissions composed of both laymen and lawyers.

2. A judge is appointed by the governor from a list of three candidates nominated by the appropriate nonpartisan commission for the particular office to be filled.

3. After a brief trial period of at least twelve months, the judge must be approved by the people in order to remain in the office to which he was appointed.

The selection commission for the appellate courts — Supreme Court and three Courts of Appeals — is composed of the chief justice of the Supreme Court as chairman, three lawyers and three laymen. Members other than the chief justice have six-year terms, staggered so that one term expires at the end of each year. These members are not eligible to succeed themselves.

Lay members are appointed by the governor, one every two years, each from a different Court of Appeals district. Lawyer members are elected, one every two years, by the members of the bar of the Court of Appeals district which they represent. Ballots for the election of lawyer members are mailed by the clerk of each Court of Appeals, and returned to him to be canvassed by the judges or lawyers appointed by them.

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*Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Missouri, Justice Hyde is chairman of the Conference of Chief Justices of the 48 states. This article is based on his address before the New York Citizens Committee on the Courts.

The selection commissions for the city trial courts have five members—the presiding judge of the Court of Appeals of the district in which the city is located, as chairman, two laymen appointed by the governor and two lawyers elected by the bar. They also have six-year terms which are staggered. Members of these commissions are limited to one term and no governor can appoint all the lay members because the governor has a four-year term and cannot succeed himself. Members cannot hold public office nor any official position in a political party.

The people vote at the general election which follows a year of service by an appointed judge upon the question of whether or not this judge shall have a full regular term—trial courts, six years; appellate courts, twelve years. Thereafter, a judge given a full term must submit his declaration of desire for another, before the expiration of his term, and be voted on again by the people. Likewise, to get another term, all judges in office at the time the amendment was adopted were required to be voted on by the people when their terms expired.

At all such elections the judge's names are placed on separate judicial ballots, without party designation, the only question submitted being: "Shall Judge ......, of the ...... Court, be retained in office? Yes. No." The judge has no opponent and runs against no political party or national political policy but only on his record of service on the bench. Unless that record is corrupt or obviously inefficient, there is every reason to expect that he will receive a favorable vote. Nevertheless, the voters may dispense with the services of a judge whom they believe has proven himself dispensable. They have already done so in one instance.

Operation of the Plan

It is believed this plan utilizes the best features of both the appointive and elective systems but provides safeguards lacking in either. It is more democratic than the usual appointive system because it gives a better opportunity for consideration of the views of the bar and the people and provides for an executive appointment with confirmation by popular vote rather than only that of one house of the legislature.

The provision for confirmation by the entire electorate is in itself an excellent preventive of poor appointments; and the fact that appointments must be from a previously selected list removes the opportunity to appoint personal or political favorites of either the governor or senators.

The selected list is made by a commission which has no other function and upon which the bench and bar and the layman are represented; full publicity is given when a vacancy exists and suggestions from the bar and the public are invited. The commission is well adapted to receive and consider impartially both the views of the public and the appraisal of the legal profession as to the ability of those under consideration. Furthermore, the spotlight of publicity is kept on the operations of the commission by a vigilant press.

The fact that at regular periods, after original confirmation by the electorate, the people may vote to retain or retire a judge is a great incentive to all judges to make a good record. It provides an easier way than impeachment to terminate the service of one who does not. Moreover, since tenure depends solely upon the test of satisfactory service, no campaigning is required and no time is lost from judicial work in election years. Judges know that their tenure is secure if they do good work, and may count on making the judiciary their life career with practically the same assurance as under the federal "good behavior" standard.

This is the ninth year of the operation of the plan. Six appellate court judges have been appointed under it, two to the Supreme Court, two to the Springfield Court of Appeals and two to the Kansas City Court of Appeals. There have also been six circuit court judges—three in Jackson County (Kansas City) and three in St. Louis—and the probate judge of Jackson County appointed under the plan. In the nine instances in which the people have voted on these appointments, they have ratified them overwhelmingly. The other four appointments, made during 1948 and 1949, will be voted on in November 1950.

The newspapers of Kansas City and St. Louis have criticized none of the appointments. On the contrary, they have commended not only the appointments but also the high quality of all those named by the selection commissions on the lists submitted to the governors.

No Party Politics

The four elections under the plan have demonstrated its nonpartisan feature. Issues between political parties are no longer decisive of tenure of the judges who are under the plan. In the first election in 1942, the state went Republican but two Supreme Court judges, both Democrats, were retained by a two to one vote. St. Louis went Republican but retained by a two to one vote six circuit judges who were Democrats and at the same time confirmed for a full term the first circuit judge, a Republican, appointed under the plan.

In the 1944 election the state went Democratic as did both Kansas City and St. Louis. Nevertheless, two Supreme Court judges, one a Republican and one a Democrat, received substantially the same favorable vote for retention of about three to one. Two Court of Appeals judges, one a Republican and one a Democrat, were retained. In Kansas City a Republican probate judge received fewer "no" votes than any of the six circuit judges who were Democrats, also retained.

The 1946 and 1948 elections show similar results. In 1946 St. Louis went Republican but retained ten circuit judges, all Democrats, seven of them by a four to one vote. In 1948 the state went Democratic as

(Continued on page 503)

Better Schooling, Less Cost

Arkansas on way to achieving greater efficiency as well as higher standards when voters cut districts two thirds.

By E. MAXWELL BENTON*

FOR the past few years there has been considerable agitation in Congress for federal aid to education. Proponents of federal aid contend that many states are unable to provide adequate educational facilities and, in their opinion, the only solution is a plan of federal grants to states.

The United States Senate has in the last two sessions of Congress passed bills authorizing an annual appropriation of $300,000,000 for distribution among the states on a variable grant basis. So far, however, the House Education and Labor Committee has bottled up all such legislation.

Under the Senate bill's formula, states scheduled to secure the largest allotments of federal funds are the so-called poorer states—those in which annual income payments are relatively low.

Although lack of adequate funds is a major reason for the existence of unsuitable educational facilities in many sections, a contributing factor is defective educational organization and administration. Many local school units are too small for efficient and economical operation of a school system. The cost of education is far out of proportion to its quality.

Larger administrative areas, on the other hand, permit establishment of large school plants which in turn reduce the unit costs of education. Furthermore, a broader tax base resulting from an increase in the geographical area of a school district tends to provide more nearly equal financial support for all schools.

Arkansas, as one of the low income states, would receive one of the largest allotments of federal funds under the aid bill passed by the United States Senate. And the state's educators have looked longingly towards this possible bonanza from Washington. But the state is not waiting for the federal government to solve its school problems. Positive action has been taken to reduce the number of school districts by adoption of an initiated act by the electorate in 1948. This act has laid the foundation for a more efficiently operated system in Arkansas.

Effective June 1, 1949, the school district reorganization act created a new district in each county, comprising the territory of all those districts with fewer than 350 children between the ages of six and eighteen years. Professional educators generally favor administrative units with school populations of not less than 1,200. There are also those who believe that Arkansas could adopt profitably the county unit plan.

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Sponsors of the reorganization act felt, however, that elimination of all districts with a school enumeration of less than 350 had a better chance of enactment by the electorate. After all, four-fifths of Arkansas' 1,589 districts each had less than 350 children of school age in 1948. And 184 of these small districts operated high schools, none of which could meet North Central Association requirements.

Districts Too Small

A more graphic picture may be shown by noting conditions in one Arkansas county in 1948. There were then twenty school districts in this particular county—all but three have been eliminated as a result of the reorganization act. Each of the twenty districts was under the supervision of a locally elected school board, and each voted its own local tax levy. Only five had an assessed valuation over $100,000. Eleven districts each received less than $500 in local taxes in 1948. Not one of these eleven districts could have supported a school of any kind without state aid.

Another district in the county with an assessed valuation of $171,000, which produced $2,273 in local taxes in 1948, maintained a high school for ten pupils at a cost of $184.10 per pupil in average daily attendance. Current expenditures per child in average daily attendance in all white high schools in Arkansas averaged $123.60 in 1948. Needless to say, the comparatively high unit cost in this district did not provide increased educational opportunities for its children. The school was unaccredited.

Prior to adoption of the school district reorganization act, similar situations existed in a good share of the state's 75 counties. Most school districts were too small to provide a full twelve-year program. The State Department of Education reported that in 1947 more than 65,000 of the 411,000 children enrolled in Arkansas schools lived in districts too small to support any kind of high school, and 128,000 resided in districts too small to provide an accredited high school.

If a nearby district maintained a high school, those living in districts without such facilities might attend under these conditions: (1) the board of education in the district where the high school was located had to give its consent; (2) tuition had to be paid; and (3) transportation had to be provided.

In 1946 a reorganization measure similar to that enacted in 1948 was narrowly defeated largely because the voters in many rural areas were led to believe that adoption of the act would automatically close down all small schools. In the 1948 campaign, therefore, it was especially emphasized that administrative districts and not attendance areas were being reorganized.

An administrative district is the territory governed by a single board of directors; an attendance area, the territory served by a particular school. For example, a municipality may comprise a single administrative school unit. Electors of the district vote for one board to govern the school system. However, the city may well have numerous attendance areas, that is, schools.

The reorganization act adopted by Arkansas voters in 1948 abolished no schools. Rather it abolished district boundary lines and created a new district composed of the territory of those districts having less than 350 children of school age on March 1, 1949. Whether or not existing schools are to be discontinued or new schools located is left to the determination of locally elected boards.

Elimination by Annexation

School districts were given until March 1—more than three months after adoption of the reorganization act—to annex or consolidate with high school districts of their own choice in accordance with existing state laws. Many small districts took advantage of this provision by annexing themselves to large nearby ones following mutual agreements between the school boards of the affected areas. School authorities feel certain that some annexations were made without careful study as to the best location of school facilities.

According to the State Department of Education, 531 separate school units were eliminated between the end of the 1948 school year and March 1, 1949. When the reorganization act took effect three months later another 635 districts were eliminated, namely, those with an enumeration of less than 350. Therefore, between June 1, 1948, and June 1, 1949, the number of school districts was cut from 1,589 to 423—a reduction of 1,166. Four Arkansas counties which in 1948 had 84, 77, 52 and 51 districts, respectively, now have nine, three, four and four districts.

The reorganization act compels the elected board of the new district and the county board of education to provide twelve years of free schooling for every child within the county. Elementary schools are supposed to be located as near to the homes of children as possible which means that many small schools cannot be eliminated. However, numerous one-room elementary schools which have been operating with less than ten children will be closed this year.

All of Arkansas' school districts supposedly will be able to support accredited high schools. At least all children in Arkansas will as a result of reorganization have access to a free high school education. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the state still has too many small high schools. It is not logical to assume, therefore, that Arkansas' school problem has been solved by the reorganization act.

One of the immediate problems facing school authorities is that of providing transportation to school centers. Arkansas is essentially a rural state. Many areas are sparsely settled. Economically operated schools, especially high schools, are possible only if consolidated schools are established. Otherwise enrollments are too small and the cost of teachers, buildings, libraries and laboratory equipment becomes prohibitive.

Consolidated schools mean, in many instances, added transportation costs since money has to be provided for the purchase and operation of school busses. Transportation costs are, for the most part, borne by the state, funds being allocated to districts which guarantee transportation for every child living more than two miles from school.

Obviously, existing buildings are not large enough to house increased enrollments in all districts. New buildings will need to be constructed, or additions made to old structures. This is, of course, a long range problem particularly when it is realized that poor roads and geographical barriers, such as mountains and streams in certain sections of the state, present obstacles in the way of affecting immediate consolidations.

Economies Can Be Made

Although transportation costs are likely to increase, important economies may be effected as a result of the reorganization program:

1. By providing for a more efficient and economical administration through elimination of duplicate boards and records;
2. By eliminating expensively operated schools, especially high schools; and
3. By providing for the purchase of supplies and equipment on a more efficient basis.

Economies will not, of course, automatically result from reorganization. Careful planning and continuous supervision is necessary to assure a better expenditure of the school dollar. And despite economies which may be realized from the reorganization program, Arkansas is due to spend more money for public education in the next few years.

Since 1940, public school expenditures have increased from approximately $14,000,000 to more than $40,000,000. State grants to school districts are at an all-time high with the state furnishing approximately 70 per cent of all revenue receipts of local school districts and additional funds are now available on the local level as a result of the recent removal of the constitutional limit on school millage levies.

Money alone is not going to raise school standards. As a matter of fact, undue emphasis is frequently placed on per capita expenditures in comparing school facilities. At a time when the costs of education have increased enormously, every effort should be exerted to justify such increases. Adoption of the district reorganization act has made possible a more efficient expenditure of school funds in Arkansas and, as a result, an important step has been taken to secure a better education for the state's school children.

When Services Get Too Big

California metropolitan areas try various types of district authorities in lieu of real consolidation.

By JOHN C. BOLLENS*

TWO MAJOR types of California's most numerous and least known local governmental unit, the special purpose district, are becoming increasingly important in the state's urban areas. For lack of better terminology they may be called quasi-municipal and metropolitan districts. The chief distinction between them is the smaller size and volume of activities of the former.

Most quasi-municipal districts are small in area, their boundaries usually approximating those of the unincorporated community which they serve. Some include several large unincorporated territories and a few are county-wide. Although they are scattered throughout the state, they are most numerous in suburban areas. The five counties of Los Angeles, Sacramento, Orange, San Mateo and Contra Costa, all of which have large suburban and fringe developments, contain 644, or 35 per cent, of the state's quasi-municipal districts.[1]

The services they provide most frequently to unincorporated areas pertain to fire protection, lighting, cemeteries, sewer maintenance, water and sanitation. Taken together, these six services account for 1,249 separate special units, almost 70 per cent of all quasi-municipal districts. Other district activities include mosquito abatement, public health work, hospital and airport construction and police protection. In most instances each district furnishes only one service.

Any of six reasons may motivate the creation of quasi-municipal units. First is the strongly felt need for a particular service—fixed city and county boundaries are frequently not coextensive with specific needs. Second, property owners may fear that incorporation or annexation will mean heavier taxes than those levied by a special district. Third, solution of the problem through a municipal government may be impractical because of the small size and resources of the area. Fourth, if only a few services are needed, it may be felt that incorporation is unnecessary and uneconomical. Fifth, there may be a desire for local control emanating from a distrust of the county or city administration or a belief that independence will eliminate politics and guarantee that the function will receive the emphasis and expenditure desired. Sixth, when existing local governments are unable to finance new or enlarged functions because of tax or debt limitations or inadequate resources, special districts have sometimes been organized to escape restrictions or broaden the base of financing.

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[1] A complete listing of the types and number of special districts in California is contained in *Special Districts in California Local Government,* Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1949.

Most quasi-municipal districts are governed by specially created bodies, either independently elected or appointed by the county board of supervisors. Some are governed directly by the county board of supervisors. The board has legal budgetary control over a majority of the districts which it does not directly govern. However, the extent to which this control is used to influence district operations is not known. There is practically no state supervision of district activities.

Setup of Districts

District organization procedure follows the usual steps of petition by residents, review of the petition by the county board of supervisors, and an election in the area. This procedure is sometimes modified to allow initiation by a city or county governing body in place of the petition, or approval of one or more local governing bodies instead of election. Annexation of new territory requires the consent of the district governing body and usually approval by residents of the area involved.

Quasi-municipal districts which require small initial financial outlays, such as fire protection, police protection, cemetery maintenance, lighting and mosquito abatement, have the two great needs of efficient, economical operation and improved standards. Sewage, sanitation, public utility, water supply, airport construction and hospital construction districts require large original financial expenditures. Their chief problems, in addition to the need for efficient operation, are financing and planning of physical plants.

A number of special districts providing municipal services in urban areas may be called metropolitan districts because of the size of their operations and the fact that their services transcend numerous local governmental boundaries. There is no precise distinction between metropolitan districts and quasi-municipal districts, although the former are usually much larger and contain one or more cities and possibly unincorporated territory. The more important metropolitan districts are sanitation, municipal utility, water, bridge and and highway, regional park, port and harbor, and airport districts.

Metropolitan districts are found chiefly in and near large metropolitan areas, where there is need for cooperation by several cities in order to serve a common need. A typical situation which resulted in establishment of a district of this kind is exemplified by the history of the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California.[2] Eleven cities in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, all cognizant of the acute need for an adequate water supply to augment their dwindling resources, determined to seek a joint solution. The water district was established in 1928 to secure water from the

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[2] See *History and First Annual Report,* the District, Los Angeles, 1939, pages 26-51.

Colorado River and transport it to the Los Angeles area. The district now provides water for cities and public water agencies in a three-county area running from Los Angeles to San Diego.[3]

Requirements for the formation of metropolitan districts are usually less stringent than for quasi-municipal, school and agricultural districts, the three other main types of special districts. Also, more discretion and power in the initiation and organization of several of these districts is given to the cities and counties which are to be included.

A county sanitation district may be established by a simple resolution of the county board of supervisors, unless there is a protest from 2 per cent of the voters, in which case an election must be held. Formation of a metropolitan water district is initiated by resolution of any city council, and is established by election in all municipalities whose councils have approved the resolution.

Formation of a municipal utility district may be started by resolutions of one half the public agencies which are proposed to be included. A metropolitan fire protection district may be originated by any city council or county board of supervisors, and approved by the governing bodies of other interested cities or counties.

In a number of cases the governing board of these districts is chosen in such a way as to represent the governing bodies of the member agencies. The county sanitation district, for example, is governed by a board composed of city and county officials distributed on a modified population basis. Directors of the metropolitan water district are appointed by the executive officers of the participating agencies. The governing board of a bridge and highway district is appointed by the boards of supervisors of participating counties. In other instances, particularly in the case of districts coterminous with the county, the county board of supervisors governs. Municipal utility districts and regional park districts are supervised by elected directors.

A number of metropolitan districts, such as revenue producing utility districts and those operating in more than one county, are completely independent of county controls. Their boards have the full powers necessary for budgeting, assessment and tax collection. There is little direct state supervision or control of these districts, other than permissive control over dam construction, bridge construction and sanitary system installation.

District Financing

All these districts have the power to levy a general property tax, but there is much variation in the extent to which this source is used. The Metropolitan Water District of Southern California receives more than 90 per cent of its income from the property tax and the Los Angeles County Flood Control District depends solely upon this. The East Bay

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[3] Members of the district are Anaheim, Beverly Hills, Burbank, Compton, Coastal Municipal Water District, Fullerton, Glendale, Long Beach, Los Angeles, San Diego County Water Authority, Pasadena, San Marino, Santa Ana, Santa Monica and Torrance.

Municipal Utility District, Sacramento Municipal Utility District and Golden Gate Bridge and Highway District rely primarily upon service charges and toll fees.

Because of their large resources, most metropolitan districts are able to float bond issues as easily as cities. They have ratings of A and Aa in *Moody's Manual of Investments,* indicating that the factors giving them financial security are considered high or adequate.

The principal merits of metropolitan districts are: (1) furnishing a type of governmental organization whose territory coincides with the area needing its service; (2) providing an agency through which unified, area-wide planning can be carried out; (3) pooling the resources of the smaller governments; and (4) acquiring the economies of large operations.

Their possible disadvantages are: (1) impairing the effectiveness and regional nature of district operations if certain areas decide not to join; (2) increasing the number of elected officials, thus removing from the existing governments certain powers and responsibilities; and (3) adding new independently elected local governing bodies to the unwieldy array existing in most metropolitan regions.

Recommendations Made

These last two difficulties could possibly be mitigated by providing in all instances for representation of existing local governments on the district board of directors. County supervisors or city councilmen could sit on the district board, as in the county sanitation district, or they could appoint representatives, as in the metropolitan water district.

At least five official and semi-official organizations which have studied California local government have made recommendations about quasi-municipal districts. Three of them urge the county as a likely agency for governing intra-county special districts or handling their functions.[4] Possibilities suggested by the other two studies are: (1) political consolidation of districts with each other or with municipalities, and (2) close cooperation among the local governments in a county area.[5] Two of the analyses urging county control qualify their recommendations. The Los Angeles County report calls for reorganization of the county government prior to its assumption of special district functions.[6] The statewide committee investigation specifies alternate types of districts, one governed by the county, the other by local boards, with the choice between them depending on the local situation. It also recommends establishment of a state division of local governmental service endowed with supervisory and advisory functions.

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[4] California Commission on County Home Rule, *Final Report,* 1931, page 9; Los Angeles County Committee on Governmental Simplification, *Report,* 1935, page 8; Interim Committee of Twenty-Five of the California Conference on Government and Taxation, *Final Report of Committee on State Organization,* 1941, page 82.

[5] Los Angeles City Bureau of Budget and Efficiency, *A Study of Local Government in the Metropolitan Area within the County of Los Angeles,* 1935, pages 280-281; and Santa Clara County Council on Intergovernmental Relations, *Better Intergovernmental Relations,* San Jose, 1947, page 48.

[6] This study was issued three years before the creation of the office of county chief administrative officer in 1938.

Although single purpose quasi-municipal districts of limited jurisdiction are frequently tried as an early expedient, the choice in attaining satisfactory government in the smaller urban areas of California may really be between incorporation and annexation.

The primary reason why unincorporated areas should turn to incorporation or annexation instead of quasi-municipal districts is neither unsatisfactory popular control nor fragmentary municipal services. It is the need for regulation and control of land use, subdivision development and design, and building standards. Only a few unincorporated areas fortunate enough to be located in a county which has taken action, and no special districts, satisfy this need in California. Conversely, when an area does incorporate or annex, then zoning, building standards and equitable subdivision requirements are possible because they are all part of the city's ordinance power.

The Way Out?

The time has probably come in California urban development when population density should be the standard for requiring by court order that an area either incorporate or annex.[7] State legislative action is required to establish this criterion. Such a population density plan would eliminate the excessive use of special districts in rapidly growing, heavily urbanized localities.

This proposal still leaves the choice between the two major methods of acquiring municipal services to the local residents. Furthermore, it directly reflects the conviction that when a place becomes urban it should assume urban responsibilities. Unincorporated urban areas are simply required to act comprehensively and affirmatively when a certain status is reached and to realize that such action involves either annexation or incorporation.

An analysis of several major studies of metropolitan government reveals two distinct attitudes toward the metropolitan district or authority. It is recognized that such agencies may be of real value in providing some metropolitan service when no other overall agency exists for that purpose. The district or authority is also generally viewed as a temporary expedient, however, and not as a final solution to metropolitan problems.[8]

The more recent remarks of three writers familiar with government in metropolitan areas concur that "special districts increase the confusion of independent and semi-independent governmental units which make up the present-day chaos of metropolitan government," "the district plan cannot be expected to solve the metropolitan problem as a whole," and "obviously the number of such authorities would become too great if a separate one were created for each activity."[9]

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[7] For a discussion of the use of court orders in Virginia annexation proceedings, see Raymond B. Pinchbeck, "City-County Separation in Virginia," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1940, pages 467-472.

[8] National Municipal League. Committee on Metropolitan Government, *The Government of Metropolitan Areas in the United States,* 1930, pages 337, 341.

These statements refer primarily to metropolitan districts organized to provide a single service. Since a chief criticism is directed toward the failure of districts to provide effective governmental integration, it is possible that multi-purpose districts, authorized to furnish several services on an area-wide basis, would avoid this censure.

In this connection the results of the Boston Contest of 1944, a competition for the most effective governmental structure of the Boston metropolitan area, are relevant. The three prize winning plans, developed by teams of experts and interested citizens, each called for some form of metropolitan area-wide multi-purpose administrative authority.[10]

A similar suggestion, urging creation of metropolitan districts governed by officials of cities and counties included within the district's territorial limits, as the most feasible means of attacking metropolitan area problems, has also been proposed for the San Francisco Bay region.[11]

CHOOSING JUDGES IN MISSOURI

(Continued from page 493)

did Kansas City and St. Louis. Yet of the two judges retained in Kansas City—both by a five to one vote—one was a Republican. In St. Louis, of the six circuit judges voted on, one Republican and five Democrats, only two of the Democrats received the favorable vote of almost four to one by which the Republican was retained, the other three receiving a favorable vote of about three to one.

Missouri's experience has demonstrated the plan's effectiveness in bringing about a gradual and continuing improvement of the judiciary. It has taken the courts out of politics. Political parties have respected it and have made no effort to influence elections under it. Judicial qualities have been substituted for party affiliations as the principal basis for selecting and retaining judges. Court dockets have been brought up to date, delays lessened and expense of litigation reduced because judges spend no time campaigning for reelection but are free for court work.

All this has increased the confidence of the people in the courts and raised the prestige of the judiciary. The people believe in the plan because they have three times voted overwhelmingly in favor of it. We believe it is the best plan of selection and tenure for state courts that has yet been devised.

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[9] Victor Jones, *Metropolitan Government*, the University of Chicago Press, 1942, pages 98-99; Thomas H. Reed, "The Metropolitan Problem — 1941," National Municipal League, *City Growing Pains*, 1941, page 14; and Charles M. Kneier, *City Government in the United States*, Harper & Brothers, 1947, page 363.

[10] Boston University, *The Boston Contest of 1944*, 1945, pages 8-10, 31-33, 89-90.

[11] John C. Bollens, "They All Want to Stay Out," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1948, pages 313-314. For fuller details, see *The Problem of Government in the San Francisco Bay Region*, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1948.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Army Selects Manager Town as Model

Features Teaneck, New Jersey, in Film for Showing Abroad

TEANECK, NEW JERSEY, a township that has had the council-manager form of government since 1930, was selected by the civil affairs division of the U. S. Army as a model community to serve as the subject of a photographic exhibit in the government's re-education and orientation program in occupied countries.

The exhibit comprises 30 photographs with captions and text and is designed to demonstrate how a small municipal government in this country is organized and how it functions. The subject matter includes the town council in session, Manager Paul Volcker and his office, the health, public works, police, fire, buildings and recreation departments, the magistrate's court, the work of the township treasurer, the tax assessor, the tax collector, and the town clerk, construction of a sewer project, children's safety patrol, public library, a veterans' housing project, the public schools and a meeting of the Parent-Teachers Association board. Army authorities explained that they were motivated by the township's "fine municipal spirit and the high quality of its governmental service."

The township manager said of the event: "All people of Teaneck feel pride and satisfaction in this national recognition. I have always found Teaneck people highly intelligent and proud of their town. They are ready to fight at the drop of a hat over any live issue."

Council Manager Plan Developments

By an overwhelming margin of three to one the voters of **Concord, New Hampshire,** (23,171) adopted the council-manager plan on October 10. Two questions were on the ballot. The vote on the first was 4,225 in favor of scrapping the city's 40-year-old charter and 1,672 for retaining it. The second question offered the voters a choice between a council-manager charter and one providing the strong mayor plan. The manager plan won by 4,071 to 1,335, carrying every ward. Concord becomes the fifteenth state capital to adopt the manager plan.

The town of **Cape Elizabeth, Maine,** voted September 15 to employ a town manager, effective March 6, 1950.

The town of **Saco, Maine,** voted on October 3 against adoption of the council-manager plan. Two questions were presented to the voters. On one ballot the manager plan was defeated 943 to 846. On the second ballot three choices were given: the manager plan, which received 769 votes; retention of the present charter with certain amendments, 345 votes; while 609 voted against either change.

At a special referendum in **Westbrook, Maine,** October 10, the existing mayor-council plan was retained, receiving a vote of 2,441, while a council-manager plan proposal received 1,660 votes. A plan similar to the existing one, somewhat amended, received 198 votes.

Dover, New Hampshire, voted 3,422 to 1,646 on October 4 to retain the manager plan. Each of the five wards gave a majority for the manager plan, whereas two years ago when the plan was adopted one ward was against it. At that time the city as a whole voted

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three to two for the plan; this time the vote was better than two to one.

Keene, New Hampshire, will vote November 8 on the question of retaining the manager plan—having rejected a stronger manager charter at the election on September 13.

In **Barre, Vermont,** a nine-member commission "to study the feasibility of city manager type government for Barre" has been appointed at the request of the city council, and is engaged in a study of the question.

Council-manager plan elections to be held in **Massachusetts** include **Haverhill, North Adams** and **Springfield** as to Plan D, and the towns of **Arlington, Ipswich** and **Stoneham** as to the town manager form. Plan E elections for **Chelsea, Gloucester** and **Somerville** are still uncertain, because of the doubtful status of proportional representation in Massachusetts.

Petitions have been circulated in **Lowell, Massachusetts,** calling for a vote in November 1950 on replacement of Plan E (manager with P. R.) by Plan C (commission plan).

Sponsors of the council-manager campaign in **Danville, Virginia,** two years ago are again active. A mass meeting for public discussion of the manager plan was held on October 3, at which a committee was authorized to conduct a campaign, and petitions for a referendum are now being circulated. The plan lost by only 65 votes out of 3,229 in 1947.

In **Beckley, West Virginia,** where a council-manager proposal was defeated three years ago, the Republican candidate for mayor this year has reiterated his support of the manager plan. A suggestion was made in the city council to hold another election on the manager question soon.

Voters of **La Grange, Georgia,** in an advisory election on September 14, endorsed the council-manager plan by a vote of 547 to 339. The plan must be submitted to the state legislature and, on its approval, come before the voters again.

A campaign is under way in **Mound, Minnesota** for adoption of the manager plan.

The League of Women voters of **Iowa City, Iowa,** is campaigning for the council-manager plan, with the help of other citizens.

Movements for council-manager government have made notable progress in **Beatrice, Grand Island** and **Kearney, Nebraska,** and elections on the question are expected in the near future. The Chamber of Commerce of **Minden** has been studying the plan.

Lindsay, Oklahoma, voted on September 27 to retain its council-manager charter, 670 to 229.

The manager plan is under consideration in **Yukon, Oklahoma,** and **Springville, Utah.**

In accordance with petitions recently filed with it, the city council of **San Antonio, Texas,** has set January 24 for a referendum on adoption of the council-manager plan.

The directors of the **Florence, Colorado,** Chamber of Commerce have authorized the manager of the chamber to make a study of the manager plan.

A special election on adoption of the council-manager plan will be held in **Santa Paula, California,** on December 6.

Berkeley Consolidates City Functions

The number of departments administered by the city manager of Berkeley, California, has been reduced from nineteen to ten, as part of a reorganization plan recently approved by the city council.

A new consolidated finance department now includes functions formerly performed by the independent departments of assessor, clerk, purchasing and budget, and treasurer. The public works department has added the work of the former building inspection and electrical departments. A newly created service department consolidates the present departmental functions of building maintenance, equipment maintenance and refuse collection. The health department absorbed the former community welfare office. One department, the veterans affairs center, was discontinued.

Training for Officials in Philadelphia Area

Encouraged by the response from local governmental officials in the Philadelphia metropolitan area to the 1948-49 training program of fifteen conferences, the Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania, will conduct a similar series during the eight months beginning in October. Almost 800 public officials, representing 109 municipalities in southeastern Pennsylvania and southern New Jersey, attended the previous series, which dealt with local finances, personnel administration, problems of highway construction and maintenance, sewage, refuse, public health and institutional management, public recreation, building codes, police administration, planning, zoning, subdivision control and housing.

Each conference is divided into three sessions: functional objectives, examples of administrative practice and practical compromise of differing viewpoints (problems for discussion). One prominent objective is to help elected councilmen and commissioners appreciate the technical problems involved, so that they may determine policy questions to the best interest of their communities.

Police Emphasize Public Relations

A recent survey by the city of Los Angeles discloses that five out of six police chiefs in 90 of the nation's big cities consider public relations activities essential. Police departments in a third of the group have regular public relations units. In 88.8 per cent of the cities, police are given training in public relations.

Regular news releases on crime prevention are issued by more than 41 per cent of the cities replying to the questionnaire while another 28.8 per cent do this occasionally. Nearly all departments furnish speakers. A large majority of cities have juvenile or youth groups sponsored by the police and many police officers devote private time to these activities.

Cities Ask U. S. Aid in Crime Control

Help by the federal government in combating organized criminals and their real or attempted influence in local government has been sought by the American Municipal Association through its executive director, Carl Chatters. The request was made to Attorney General J. H. McGrath, following widely publicized charges by Mayors Bowron of Los Angeles, Morrison of New Orleans and Lee of Portland, Oregon, that nation-wide syndicates of criminals are attempting to control politics in their cities. Mr. Chatters stated:

"In some cases the mayors are threatened with recall, and in other cases it appears there is active political pressure prior to election. In any case the matter is too great to be handled by local officials alone, since the organized criminal element operates on a national scale across state boundaries."

Safety Program for Public Employees

A special feature of the annual Safety Congress of the National Safety Council, held in Chicago in October, was a program on public employee safety problems. City managers, mayors, department heads and other officials concerned with protecting public employees were invited to participate in a panel discussion on methods of promoting safety work in that field.

According to the Civil Service Assembly *Newsletter,* "the advantage of a good safety program is well demonstrated by the one used in Alameda, California. The city has decidedly reduced its accident rate by setting up an accident investigation and prevention committee which makes a careful study of every accident involving a city employee, both in personal injury and property damage cases. When cases are closed, the city attorney supplies the department head concerned with information concerning the manner in which it was settled."

AMA to Meet in Cleveland

The 1949 conference of the American Municipal Association will be held in Cleveland, November 30 to December 2. Featured topics are relations between governments; street and highway finance; employment, unemployment and economic stability; and municipal finance policies.

Legislative Research Units Now in 23 States

Three more state legislatures have acted in 1949 to provide themselves with research bodies to aid in the solution of legislative problems.

The Council of State Governments reports that Florida, South Carolina and Texas established legislative councils for this purpose this year. Since Kansas initiated the idea in 1933, the total number of states with such agencies has risen to 23.

States with such councils are Arkansas, Alabama, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington and Wisconsin.

Their composition varies in size from three in South Carolina to 27 in Kansas. With few exceptions most of the councils are now entirely legislative in membership. With only one exception all the councils received increased appropriations during the 1948 or 1949 legislative sessions.

The functions of many of the councils have expanded in recent years. In Kansas a legislative fiscal officer was added in 1947. During the same year Maryland added a Fiscal Research Bureau in the Department of Legislative Reference and authorized an assistant director of research for the Legislative Council itself. A legislative auditor was added this year to the staff of the Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau. In Nebraska the legislature recently made provision for a full-time assistant director in the fields of records, accounting and budgetary procedures of administrative agencies.

Reports of activities in recent sessions indicate that the work of the longer established agencies continues to be well received. Those more recently established, which could not be expected to show corresponding results in a short period of time, have won sufficient recognition in the 1949 sessions to guarantee continuation and financial support.

Three States Study Institutional Cooperation

Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont are conducting a joint study of methods to get more for their money in state institutional services, the American Public Welfare Association reports. It is believed that the talks may lead to plans for new institutions to be run jointly by the three states for patients from all three.

Initially, studies of facilities for alcoholics, defective delinquents and sexual pyschopaths will be undertaken. If it is found that cooperative action is advisable, such plans will be taken up with governors and legislatures of the three states.

Maryland Commission to Study Air Pollution

Governor Lane of Maryland has appointed a commission to examine the problem of obnoxious and poisonous fumes in the state's large factory areas. As provided by the 1949 legislature the commission is to submit its report to the governor and the legislature in advance of the 1950 session.

Proposed Amendments to Texas Constitution

Electoral and legislative methods are among the subjects of ten proposed amendments to the constitution of Texas, to be voted on at a special election on November 8.[1]

Abolition of the poll tax as a qualification for voting is the purpose of a proposed amendment to Section 2, Article VI. Annual registration is specified, however, and the legislature is empowered to prescribe a registration fee.

Service of women on juries is provided by an amendment proposed for Section 19 of Article XVI; exemption from jury duty because of sex is prohibited.

Annual meetings of the legislature are provided by a proposed amendment to Section 5, Article III. The sessions in even-numbered years are to consider only proposals to amend the constitution and to make appropriations for regular salaries and expenses, and other measures if permitted by four-fifths of each house. Legislators' salaries are set at $3,600 per year.

Maryland Loyalty Law Held Unconstitutional

An act of the 1949 Maryland legislature requiring loyalty oaths from all public employees and providing fines and imprisonment for membership in "subversive" organizations has been outlawed by the trial court. The court declared it to be in violation of basic freedoms guaranteed by the first and fourteenth amendments to the federal constitution, and of due process under the fifth amendment. It is characterized as "an unlawful bill of attainder," and "too general for a penal statute." Appeal to the upper federal courts is planned.

Water Pollution Board Urges Uniform Laws

The recently organized Water Pollution Control Advisory Board adopted recommendations that include the preparation of the essentials of a uniform statute that could be adopted in part or in whole by states interested in strengthening their water pollution control activities. In calling attention to this need the board observed that "uniform legislation is essential to the success of a nation-wide water pollution control program."

Changes in U. S. Civil Service Setup

The United States Civil Service Commission is now operating under the reorganized administrative structure that was presented to Congress by President Truman. The former president, Harry B. Mitchell, is now chairman, with administrative responsibility for day-to-day operation, while Commissioners

(Continued on page 512)

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[1] See also page 511, this issue.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Women Voters Propose Manager for St. Louis Co.

Seek Efficiency 'to Receive More Services for Tax Dollar'

A PROPOSAL to apply the manager plan to St. Louis County, Missouri, as the basis of its proposed home rule charter, has been submitted to the county's charter commission by the League of Women Voters.

In offering the proposal, Mrs. Stephen Gribble, chairman of the league's committee on county government, said: "We believe that government should be economical, efficient and responsible. So we think that the most important service you can render in drafting a charter is to change the form of county government from the present rural county setup to a more modern, less complex form that will enable citizens of the county to receive more services for their tax dollars."

The league proposal includes a board of supervisors of from seven to nine members elected partly from districts and partly at large. Its members would constitute the policy-making body and would appoint a full-time county manager. The manager would appoint department heads subject to the board's approval and administer the county government. The proposal also includes numerous other improvements — an independent audit by a certified public accountant, centralized purchasing, the merit system, as well as the initiative, referendum and recall.

A proposal to the commission by the Wellston Chamber of Commerce, that 71 incorporated communities in the county consolidate such functions as fire and police protection, traffic control, road and street work, and "as many others as lend themselves to consolidation," met the opposition of Wellston's Mayor Owen E. Thompson.

Board of Seven Recommended for King County, Washington

A subcommittee of the 32-member King County, Washington, Charter Advisory Commission recently recommended a seven-man board of county commissioners, the continued election of the assessor and auditor, appointment of the clerk and treasurer, and abolition of the office of constable.

The board of county commissioners of seven with staggered terms, nominated and elected by districts and with a majority coming from outside the city of Seattle, would replace the present board of three.

The subcommittee recommended also establishment of the office of county budget director, appointed by the county commissioners, to help frame annual budgets and perform pre-audit duties.

The abolition of the office of constable would be accompanied by the transfer of these duties to the office of sheriff.

It recommended also:

1. That the appointment of clerk of courts be either by majority concurrence by superior court judges or appointment by the county commissioners from a list submitted by judges—and with definite term of office;

2. That the question of abolition of county coroner, with his duties allocated between prosecuting attorney and sheriff, be referred to the charter commission for final decision;

3. That the question as to a charter provision for better integration of

county law enforcement activities with those of city and state be referred to the full commission;

4. That the question of assigning civil process-serving, now being performed by sheriff, to clerk of courts be referred to the full commission;

5. That the office of county treasurer be appointive by the county commissioners, with bookkeeping duties now performed by county auditor transferred to the treasurer;

6. That the office of county auditor be continued elective with auditor performing post-audit functions. He would also remain in charge of elections;

7. That the county assessor continue to be elected; and

8. That there be established the position of county recorder to be appointed by county commissioners.

Virginia County Rejects Executive Plan

By an overwhelming margin of 921 to 397, the voters of Prince William County, Virginia, rejected on September 20 the executive form of county government. The plan secured a favorable vote in only two of the county's seventeen precincts. It was charged that opponents used deliberate misrepresentation as their chief weapon.

Maryland Plans County Development

Several projects undertaken recently by Maryland state and county officials mark distinct progress in the development of natural resources and the planning of orderly growth. To assist in over-all planning, the State Planning Commission has issued a study on county population trends. It reveals substantial growth in all counties.

One rural county more than doubled its population since 1940 as a result of establishment of a naval air station within its boundaries. Montgomery and Prince George's Counties, adjacent to Washington, D. C., almost doubled their populations, and Baltimore County, virtually surrounding Baltimore City, increased approximately 30 per cent.

The zoning commissioner of Howard County, suburban to Baltimore, has issued his first annual report in which he discusses industrial development and comprehensive planning for the county. A Howard County Special Planning Commission recommended a survey of schools which was subsequently accepted by the county board.

In Dorchester County, the county commissioners participated in the selection of a committee of sixteen to formulate a plan "to meet the need for additional development along industrial lines." The State Planning Commission will participate in this survey.

Early this year the state commission published *A Plan for the Development of Anne Arundel County*,[1] which recommended that after the present backlog of major construction has been completed the county attempt to finance further capital improvements on a pay-as-you-go basis. There are also some 22 additional recommendations including creation of a department of finance, a department of public works with the county manager as director, and of a planning commission and a fire department. It recommended also the strengthening of the purchasing system. Shortly after publication of the report, the county manager recommended a similar reorganization program which was adopted by the county commissioners and is now in effect.[2]

A committee appointed by the commissioners of Wicomico County and the

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[1] January 1949, 148 pages.

[2] See the REVIEW, September 1949, page 406.

Salisbury city council are negotiating for the return of the city and county owned airport from the lessee in order to enable the city and county to engage in direct operation.

Texas Votes on County Improvement

Among the ten proposed constitutional amendments being voted upon in the Texas referendum election on November 8,[1] three have for their purpose the improvement of county and local government. One provides that the legislature shall have authority to provide for the organization of county-city health units and their operation.

Another amendment authorizes the legislature to provide for the creation of merit systems for county employees in counties of 75,000 population or more. Any system so authorized and established must be approved by a vote of the people and apply to appointive offices only. It is thus applicable to only a dozen counties at present.

A third proposal gives the legislature authority to provide for a statewide system of retirement and disability pensions for appointive officers and employees of counties, but provides that participation by counties shall be voluntary and shall first be authorized by referendum vote.

County Zoning Progress in North Carolina

The Durham County, North Carolina, zoning commission, in cooperation with the Durham city planning board, is conducting a land use survey of the perimeter area outside the city. The survey will constitute the basis for a county zoning ordinance.

Much of the work is being done by University of North Carolina students, who will survey approximately 55 square miles of territory consisting of land immediately surrounding the city and that along the main roads of the county. The project is being directed jointly by the city and county on a cooperative basis, but the board of county commissioners is financing it and will exercise final veto power.

Forsyth County, in 1947, was the first to begin zoning operations when the General Assembly authorized the county and the city of Winston-Salem to engage either in separate or joint planning activity.[1] Durham is the second county to be granted this authority for all territory outside municipal corporations.

The 1949 legislature also extended to Craven and Carteret Counties the power to establish a joint zoning commission to adopt regulations for Cherry Point Air Station, which overlaps both counties.

Alice and Jim Wells Discuss Health Consolidation

The Jim Wells County (Texas) Commissioners Court recently held public hearings on the question of establishing a city-county health unit jointly with the city of Alice.

Atlanta and Fulton County Still Talk Consolidation

The Local Government Commission recently held hearings to obtain special proposals for improved government in Atlanta and the Fulton County area, including consolidation of functions, annexation, one government and other plans.

The Central Atlanta Improvement Association, in its testimony, endorsed a plan for an extensive annexation program, consolidation of many city and county functions within city boundaries to be governed by a mayor and small city council and coordination of city and county governments by establishment of a county commission of eleven, nine of whom would be the mayor and city councilmen.

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[1] See also page 508, this issue.

[1] See the Review, January 1949, page 49.

J. P. Court Reforms Suggested

The State Junior Bar of Texas has recommended the following changes in the justice of peace and traffic courts:

1. Creation of the office of coroner in more populous counties to relieve justices of the peace of inquest duties.

2. Abolition of the fee system of pay for justices of the peace and traffic court judges wherever possible.

3. Giving county commissioners courts authority to determine the number of justices of peace required in each county—at present the state law calls for not less than four and not more than eight precincts in a county. A justice is elected in each precinct.

4. That serious study be given to abolition of the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the justices of the peace, transferring this to additional county clerks.

5. Improvement of physical facilities of courts handling traffic cases.

6. Promotion of conferences of justices of the peace and traffic court judges to discuss mutual problems and to further consistency as to fines and penalties and interpretations of traffic laws.

7. Promotion of the use of traffic schools for violators.

8. Discouragement of the practice of traffic ticket fixing.

Reorganization Pays Off in Jasper County

The recorder's office of Jasper County, Missouri, is reaping the benefits of modern technology. Between 1946 and 1949 the staff was cut in half by adoption of the photocopy process for the reproduction of records. Business of the office has decreased approximately 25 per cent since the postwar peak in 1946, but the office is going to show a larger "profit" than in any year since the war as a result of adoption of the labor saving device.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 508)

Frances Perkins and James M. Mitchell exercise joint responsibility with him in policy formation and the conduct of hearings. An executive director is also established.

The commission proposes that the various federal agencies provide systematic training in administration for their professional, scientific and technical employees who show aptitude for administration. Shifting of capable administrators among various fields is also to be encouraged in the effort to develop executive talent.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Norway and Austria Elect Parliaments

Results Back Present Moderate Governments

NATIONAL elections have been held under P. R. systems in Norway and Austria this fall.

The Norwegian election, held October 10, resulted in the Labor party increasing its bare majority in the Storting (parliament) to a comfortable preponderance by a gain of nine seats, while the Communist party lost all its previous strength of eleven seats. Approximately 71 per cent of those eligible to vote participated in the election.

Norway uses a party list system of P. R. which is limited in operation by a constitutional provision that two thirds of the Parliament must be elected from rural districts and one third from the cities. This, as the table below shows, throws off nation-wide proportionality to a slight extent.

In the Austrian election on October 9 both of the two major parties lost a number of seats and a new right-wing organization became the third largest party, while the Communists remained as a minor factor with a slight gain.

Both elections presage continuance in office of the present government. The Austrian government of Chancellor Leopold Figl has the backing of both major parties—the People's and Socialist—which together still possess a substantial majority. The elections are summarized below.

Transferable Vote Used for Sudan Assembly Officials

The Sudan Legislative Assembly has adopted standing orders which provide for the election of its speaker, deputy speaker and leader by means of the single transferable vote. The method of election amounts to the application of the Hare system of P. R. to

AUSTRIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, OCTOBER 9, 1949

Party	Votes	Percentage of Votes	Seats	Percentage of Seats	Seats 1945
People's	1,844,850	44.3	77	46.6	85
Socialist	1,621,275	38.9	67	40.6	76
Pan-German Ass'n of Independents	489,132	11.5	16	9.7	0
Communist	212,651	5.1	5	3.0	4

NORWEGIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, OCTOBER 10, 1949

Party	Votes	Percentage of Votes	Seats	Percentage of Seats
Labor	800,792	45.8	85	56.7
Conservative	277,913	15.9	23	15.3
Liberal	216,581	12.4	21	14.0
Agrarian	85,008	4.9	12	8.0
Christian People's	146,413	8.4	9	6.0
Joint Right Winglist	106,959	6.1	0	0
Communist	101,666	5.8	0	0
Community	12,914	0.7	0	0
	1,748,246	100.0	150	100.0

the election of a single officer, insuring a majority choice with one ballot when there are three or more candidates. In 1948 there was no occasion to use the system, however, since there were only one or two nominations for each of the offices.

British P. R. Society Reviews Elections

The annual report for 1948-49 of the Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain,[1] presented at its annual meeting in London on June 30, reviews elections in many countries.

The report notes the tendency of local elections in Great Britain, which have been largely nonpartisan in the past, to become straight party contests. An intrusion of national party alignments into some university elections, on a much smaller scale, is also noted. Both developments raise the question of the representative character of the election system used.

The report reviews in some detail elections of the London county council and the Glasgow city council held last spring. In both the Labor party obtained less votes than its chief rival party, but in London it obtained as many seats as its rival, leaving the lone Liberal member to hold the balance. In Glasgow it obtained a majority of the seats, with approximately 45 per cent of the votes.

The report estimates that if P. R. had been used in the existing three-member constituencies, the Progressive party would have obtained three more than a majority of the seats in the Glasgow city council. Fortunately for the majority of the voters, two traditional non-elected council members, the dean of guild and the deacon convenor, used their votes to secure the election of a Progressive lord provost. This reversal of the political balance annoyed Labor members, whose reaction was to refuse all chairmanships.

The report reaches the conclusion that "all the bad feeling which has been stirred up would have been avoided if only the method of election had been fair and less importance had been attached to 'control' of the council."

Northern Ireland

The report also analyzes the political situation in Northern Ireland, where P. R. was abolished in 1929. Evidently religious differences are a greater factor there than in neighboring Eire, where P. R. is in force and where a firm coalition government, according to the report, "has provided the first practical proof that the single transferable vote really does away with that evil of coalitions under the British system— the necessity for bargains between parties in the constituencies."

The report sums up the situation:

> The minority feels itself in so hopeless a position that in the 1949 election for the Northern Ireland Parliament no less than 20 seats out of the total of 52 were uncontested. All the Unionist M.P.s are Protestants and all the Nationalists Roman Catholics—religious differences are thus emphasized. The issue of union is made the sole question on which the people may vote; no Unionist will vote for a Nationalist, whom he considers to be an enemy of the state, or *vice versa*; each supports his own candidate, no matter what that candidate's views may be on (say) industrial policy or the social services.
>
> Hence we get the absurd position

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[1] *The Sure Foundation for Strong Stable Government—P. R.*, P. R. Society, 82 Victoria Street, London, S. W. 1, 1949. 52 pp. 6 d.

> of a Northern Ireland election becoming a referendum on a question to which the answer is already known and furnishing no guide at all to the kind of administration the country wishes its Unionist government to provide.
>
> Under P. R., of course, voters would be able to choose among candidates of different complexions within their own party, and the normal differences of internal politics would begin to cut across the barrier which now seems so all important.

The report also refers to the P. R. elections in two Irish counties, Dublin and Kerry, discussed in this department last February. It compares the participation in these elections with that in corresponding elections under the British system:

> Of special interest to us is the size of the poll. Dublin's 46.6 per cent was deplored by the press as "low", and the 61 per cent in Kerry was considered still "not good enough." When we remember that in London, with two great party machines working at full pressure, it was thought quite a triumph to get out 40.6 per cent of the electorate, it seems clear that the knowledge that one's vote will count really does make people more inclined to use it.

Malta Vacancy

The filling of a vacancy on the governing body in Malta under unusual circumstances is described. In Malta, as in Tasmania and some American cities, vacancies are filled by re-examination of the original ballot papers which elected the late member. In this particular case the choice devolved upon a candidate who at the time of the original election belonged to the same party as the vacating member but who had changed his party affiliation in the meanwhile. He was nevertheless seated. The report remarks:

> It should, of course, be noted that the position is no worse than it would have been if Mr. Cauchi had been returned at the general election and then had changed his party — instances of this kind have occurred in Britain and we have no remedy. . . . It might be thought worth while . . . that the new nomination paper needed for each of the general election candidates who were willing to stand again should be signed by, say, at least three quarters of the original nominators. If the candidate changed his party and the nominators did not, they would refuse their consent; if, on the other hand, the nominators followed the candidate in his conversion, it would seem probable that most of his other supporters would do so too, and would therefore be quite content to have their votes used for that candidate.

In reviewing the election in Israel last spring the report comments on the form of P. R. used:

> The method used was party list P. R. applied to the whole country as one constituency. Though this was probably a good way of dealing with the first election, it can hardly give satisfaction as a permanent institution—it is more impersonal even than the French method, for when a party list has to cover 120 seats it is clearly impracticable even to state the names of all the candidates on the ballot paper, let alone give the voters a choice among them. We believe that a more personal system will be demanded, and we hope it will be

the single transferable vote. We are encouraged in this hope by individual enquiries we have had since that election.

P. R.—Key to Democracy Theme of Annual Meeting

As announced in this department for October, the Proportional Representation League will hold its annual meeting at the Hotel Lowry, St. Paul, Tuesday morning, November 29, in connection with the Annual Conference on Government of the National Municipal League. (See page 482 for conference program).

Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati, president of the P. R. League, will preside. Hon. Joseph C. Vesely, former mayor of Hopkins, Minnesota, will describe the first use of P. R. in his city and state; Ronald E. Gregg, executive secretary of the Municipal League of Toledo, will report on the status of P. R. in that city; and Mayor Cash will tell of the important part P. R. has played in bringing good government to Cincinnati. The first use of P. R. in four Massachusetts cities will also be reported (speaker to be announced) and a film talk, "P. R.—People's Rule," prepared by the Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester and the Cambridge Civic Association, for use in explaining P. R., will be shown.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from page 482)

Wednesday morning—"Getting New Constitution," Franc L. McCleur, of Lindenwood College, presiding; "The Efficient City," John S. Linen, vice president, Chase National Bank, presiding; "Successful Civic Campaigning," L. E. Marlowe, former president, Richmond Citizens Association, presiding; "Management of the Smaller Community," Warren C. Hyde, city manager, Albert Lea, Minnesota, presiding; "Proposed Model State Medical Examiner Law," Richard Ford, Department of Legal Medicine, Harvard Medical School, presiding.

The National Association of Civic Secretaries will hold supplementary sessions, at which any interested citizen will be welcome, Sunday night, November 27, and Monday morning, November 28. The subject for discussion Sunday will be how to preserve good government. Hayes A. Richardson, director of welfare, Kansas City, and W. D. Bryant, executive director, Community Studies, Kansas City, will lead off with a discussion of Kansas City's problem of maintaining good government in the face of the determined effort of the machine politicians to take over. Members of the association will direct their discussion to questions raised in these talks. Monday morning the topics will be rating and endorsing candidates and the ever present problem of money for civic work.

Conference headquarters and all sessions will be at the Hotel Lowry. Persons needing reservations should write as soon as possible, being sure to say they are attending the National Conference on Government. Tickets for the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday luncheons and the Tuesday night dinner may be obtained in advance by sending order and remittance to the National Municipal League, 299 Broadway, New York 7. Luncheon tickets are $1.75 and dinner tickets $3.00, gratuity included.

Preliminary programs may be obtained from the League on request. The final program, which will be available at the conference, will include the names of additional discussion participants in the group sessions.

The annual meeting of the members of the National Municipal League will be held at 4:30, Monday afternoon, November 28.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Will Scarcities Force Economies?

Southwest Study Indicates Savings by Re-use of Water

SCARCITIES are usually associated with higher costs, but a recent study of a specialized phase of the water problem in the southwest suggests that urgent needs may in time force us to expedients which will actually save money. The particular problem, it is true, affects only a limited area of the nation—although already millions of persons are concerned—but its implications may prove to be widespread.

Most people living in areas of abundant rainfall have little realization of the vital importance of an adequate water supply. In semi-arid sections of the nation the situation is vastly different, as residents of the southwest and western desert areas are well aware. In these areas the availability of water is recognized as a limiting factor as to both population and industry. Pertinency is given this consideration by the fact that one of the areas for which the water supply is most rigidly limited is also the one which has grown most rapidly since 1940—Southern California, especially metropolitan Los Angeles.

Virtually all the modern growth of the Los Angeles area has been based on importation of water from the outside. It has been decades since water flowed in the local streams except during rainy periods. Before World War I the city turned to the High Sierras and in 1913 completed the famed Los Angeles Aqueduct to the Owens River valley 240 miles to the northeast.

By the 1920s it was evident that this supply would not long suffice and that additional water was needed by adjacent cities and the remainder of Los Angeles County. The Metropolitan Water District of Southern California was formed to import water from the Colorado River, impounded in Boulder Canyon behind what is now designated as Hoover Dam. The 242 mile Colorado River Aqueduct was completed in 1941. Colorado River water is not yet being used to available capacity, but it is already supplementing local supplies in Los Angeles, Orange and San Diego Counties and, as local supplies are further drawn down during the dry cycle which began several years ago, it will be used in increasing quantities.

Samuel B. Morris, chief engineer of the Los Angeles city department of water and power, has estimated that the Owens and Colorado River waters, together with local supplies, would support a population in these and two adjoining southern California counties of about eight million people and permit the irrigation of several hundred thousand acres. Population above that limit would necessitate increasing abandonment of irrigation, the often mentioned twelve million limit being contingent on virtual abandonment of irrigation in the five southern counties.

Early in 1948 the board of supervisors of Los Angeles County requested its county engineer, the chief engineer of the Los Angeles County Flood Control District and the chief engineer of the joint administrative office of the Los Angeles County Sanitation Districts, to study the possibility of reclaiming water from sewage. The engineers submitted their report last spring.[1]

The persons concerned in the study all have extensive experience with various phases of the water problem. The chief engineer for the county sanitation districts, of which there are more than a dozen operating jointly a vast trunk sewer and disposal system serving most of the populated area outside the city of Los Angeles, is A. M. Rawn, an outstanding sanitation engineer who served as chairman for the study. Representing the flood control district, which also operates large spreading grounds to divert flood waters to the underground storage, is Colonel H. E. Hedger. The county engineer, C. E. Arnold, also has extensive contact with water and related problems since the county supervisors are ex-officio the governing body for a variety of special districts concerned with water facilities.

The engineers found that reclamation of water from sewage is both practical and economically feasible. The practical aspects of such reclamation have of course long been recognized by sanitary engineers; indeed, one treatment plant in the area, that of the small city of Covina, has long produced effluent of a quality suitable for unrestricted use which has actually been used both for irrigation and for recharging wells. The engineers recommended, however, that reclamation be handled as a separate process, apart from sewage treatment and disposal. This would simplify both operations.

More interesting was the finding that reclamation of sewage would be economically feasible. At present over 100,000,000 gallons of waste water are discharged daily from the sanitation districts' joint treatment plant into the ocean. By the end of the century the discharge is expected to approximate 300,000,000 gallons daily. The engineers described tentatively three plants which would permit reclamation of 70,000,000 gallons daily of the present waste water. After reclamation this could be spread over receptive areas and returned to the underground, from which it would be recovered by pumping. Other smaller plant sites were also found to be feasible, but the three larger suffice to illustrate the economics of the situation.

A yardstick for measuring costs comparatively exists in the already established facilities in the area. Presently, surplus raw water from the Colorado River has been offered by the Metropolitan Water District at $15 per acre foot (an acre foot is the quantity of water needed to cover an area of one acre to a depth of one foot). The engineers estimated that, over a 50-year period, the average costs, including bond interest and repayments, would range in the three proposed plants from $14.20 to $19.05 per acre foot of water reclaimed, the lower average being for the largest plant, of 50,000,000 gallons daily capacity, while the higher is for water to be spread in an area where the only alternate water available is softened Colorado River water for which the quoted price has been $20 per acre foot.

While the unit costs of reclaimed water may be described as fully competitive with imported water, the capital cost of securing it may be described as comparatively inexpensive. The engineers' estimates of the construction costs of the reclamation plants, pumping stations, spreading ponds, etc., for the three plants capable of reclaiming 70,000,000 gallons daily add up to just over $12,000,000, the equivalent of approximately $16,000,000 per 100,000,000 gallons daily in capacity.

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[1] *Report upon the Reclamation of Water from Sewage and Industrial Wastes in Los Angeles County, California.* Board of Engineers, Los Angeles, April 1949.

In contrast, the Los Angeles Aqueduct cost approximately $90,000,000. Its capacity is about 290,000,000 gallons daily, so that the capital cost was approximately $31,000,000 per 100,000,000 gallons daily. The Colorado River Aqueduct, constructed during the depression years of the 1930s to an initial capacity of 500,000,000 gallons daily, cost roundly $200,000,000, or approximately $40,000,000 per 100,000,000 gallons daily.

There are, of course, few areas in the nation where the supply of water is so rigidly limited as in the southwest, or where rapidly increasing populations provide the immutable pressure to take all practical steps to alleviate the situation. Further, topographical and soil conditions in many localities would not permit use of the same reclamation process proposed for the Los Angeles area by Mr. Rawn and his associates.

Nonetheless, it is significant that in this instance, where scarcity of a vital commodity forced the exploration of unusual methods of meeting the problem, it was found that a substantial measure of relief could be secured at a practical cost.

In what other areas of local government may we eventually be driven by scarcities of one kind or another to expedients which will prove more economical than the traditional methods used when abundance prevails?

Cambridge Manager Confounds Critics

Cambridge embarrassed the governments of Boston and other neighboring cities by its spectacular unbroken progression of lowered taxes since adoption of the council-manager plan in 1941 until last year when its rate went up a little. The jeers from hostile editors and politicos resounded over the state.

City Manager Atkinson issued in September this year a statement showing resumption of the downward trend of Cambridge tax rates and demonstrating:

1. The 1949 rate of $39.80 is ten cents less than that of 1948 and $6.50 less than that of 1941, Cambridge's last year under the old plan.
2. All the seven adjoining communities have raised their rates since 1941 in a range from $6.40 to $17.20 (Boston).
3. Cambridge is the only city in the state with a 1949 tax rate lower than 1941.
4. The rate provides $500,000 for contemplated salary and wage increases to municipal employees who, since 1942, have been reputedly the highest paid in the state.

Further details on unchanged valuations, diminished floating debt and overlays, etc., close off possible surmises as to some explanation other than good management.

R. S. C.

No Let-up in Local Borrowing

No sign of a let-up in the large volume of state-local financing of capital improvements was evident as 1949 entered its final quarter October 1. Sale of new bonds was continuing at an extraordinarily high level, and voter approval of new borrowing indicated continued large-scale capital financing for some time to come.

State-local sales of new bonds in September amounted to more than $326,000,000, according to the compilations of *The Daily Bond Buyer*, compared with $119,000,000 in September 1948, and the previous postwar September peak of $275,000,000 in 1947. In

(Continued on page 528)

Seattle League Educates Youngsters

Schools Committee Works with High School Pupils

THROUGH its public schools committee, the Seattle Municipal League is doing an outstanding piece of work in educating high school pupils in the principles of democracy and, more particularly, in the know-how of their city and county government.

The league has established a special student subscription rate for its *Seattle Municipal News* which is below printing costs. A trial use of the *News* as a civics textbook in the contemporary problems class at Cleveland High School was made last spring. The teacher, Miss Lou Ella Hart, said that students found the *News* an excellent source of information and that its use would be continued. "One of the best features about the *News*," she commented, "is that it gives a full but concise discussion of the most important local issues."

Emlyn D. Jones, director of social studies of the school system, was so pleased with the interest shown in the *News* by students that it is now used in all Seattle high schools.

Says the *News*, in a recent issue, "If young Seattle can, through the *News*, gain a better understanding of local government, its problems and each citizen's responsibilities, the league will be succeeding in its most important purpose."

Another project of the league's school committee was a test of the knowledge of some 2,184 United States history students regarding their local government and a quiz to determine the students' attitude toward it.

First part of the test was a series of 72 questions, some of them true or false problems, some multiple-choice, etc., dealing with such matters as the term of the mayor, how he is chosen, his powers, employees under civil service.

One high school was outstanding in its correct answers, with a median score of 38 as against the "all city" score of 31. Superintendent of Schools Samuel E. Fleming, in commenting on the results of the test, said that "The Seattle school district was happy to cooperate in carrying out this project for it gives us valuable information as to what we need to stress in our teaching of local government."

The attitude survey was prepared and analyzed by the psychology department of the University of Washington, and given, as was Part I of the test, through the cooperation of the school board. To quote the *News*:

"The questionnaire's results showed that the more than 2000 high school seniors participating think their local government is pretty good, that city government does represent the will of the people, that the work of most departments is good.

"However, they're not convinced that the police department is 'run honestly in the interests of all citizens,' nor that local government provides all the services it should. . . .

"Of all the questions asked, the favorable responses of the students was two and a half times the number of unfavorable responses. The same questionnaire was answered by a group of Seattle business executives. Their responses showed them equally favorable toward local government.

"However, a group of office employees responding to the questionnaire indicated a less favorable attitude. Only 60 per cent of the replies of this group were favorable while 40 per cent were unfavorable."

School News Here and Abroad

"'City officials for a day,' high school students of Baker (Oregon) passed an honest-to-goodness ordinance which has regular city officials in a quandary to enforce," says *Western City*. "As is the custom in many cities, the students took over the government of the city for a day, but unlike the custom in other cities the kids in Baker did not limit their activities to posing for pictures behind the desks of city fathers. They adopted an ordinance designed to promote safety on certain streets by requiring parallel parking. Businessmen located on the affected streets have protested vigorously the enforcement of the ordinance. City officials probably wish the students were still in office."

The Withers Public Library of Bloomington, Illinois, is making a special effort to have on hand the materials needed by school children assigned topics by social science and government teachers. The library has available a list of civic organizations. It has built up notebooks on current officials of the city, county and state, using newspaper clippings and other sources of information. It keeps on hand such pamphlets as the *McLean County Handbook*, issued by the Bloomington branch of the American Association of University Women, the Central Division of the Council for Social Studies and the McLean County League of Women Voters, which contains data on townships, city and county government and the organization of political parties. Also available are government textbooks, pamphlets of the National Municipal League and periodicals devoted to government.

"A School Studies Its Village—Local Government Lends Life to Lessons," (*Progress*, a bulletin of public relations of the National Association of Local Officials, London, Spring 1949) describes the experiment of an English school in teaching local government. As told by Headmaster R. W. Bunday of Storrington County Secondary School, the school made the teaching of local government a part of practically all its studies—mathematics, science, history, etc. "We believe," says the author, "that the children have gained useful knowledge and experience in the day-to-day civic affairs affecting themselves and their families; they have been brought into first-hand contact with those responsible for the public services; a sense of citizenship and civic responsibility has been born."

The summer number of *Progress* describes the project of the Queenswood Preparatory School. Here pupils held an election with class rooms for wards. Chosen were a school mayor, mayoress, deputy mayor and mayoress, and committees on finance, health, milk, savings and sports. Robes of office, replicas of official robes, were acquired through a "bring and buy" sale. Previous to the first meeting of the council the school officials attended a real city council meeting to witness its procedure.

Studying the Community

"The Secret of Community Betterment," by H. Clay Tate, editor of the Bloomington (Illinois) *Pantagraph*, appears in *Colorado Municipalities* for June. Mr. Tate describes an experiment by his paper and the University of Illinois "to encourage more abundant living in the small rural towns that dot the prairie of Illinois." The area in which the experiment was conducted was that within a 50-mile radius of Bloomington. As a result several communities have set up community councils made up of representatives from every organization and interest group; have named "an executive committee to serve as the driving force in each community," and named three action committees to specialize in (1) industries, business and personal service; (2) social facilities and services; (3) civic affairs and public activities.

The Civic Advisory Council of Toronto has published *Report on a Community Study of West Toronto* (sixteen pages, mimeographed) which seeks to find the attitudes of residents toward their neighborhood, social and recreational life, religion, liquor, etc. The long series of questions was prepared with the aid of the Gallop Poll. Staff and students of the University of Toronto volunteered some 4,725 hours of time to conduct the survey.

Local Action for Community Development has been published by the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce in cooperation with the Pennsylvania Department of Commerce. It is described as "a practical manual for people interested in making better use of local resources." It is well illustrated with interesting cartoons and winds up with the cogent comment —spread over two pages—that "it takes action now to build for tomorrow."

An all-over picture of the government of South Bend, Indiana, is presented in *Civic Cinema,* prepared by the South Bend Civic Planning Association. Mimeographed on multi-colored paper are such data as a chart of the city, salaries paid city officials and employees, city expenses and budget, and a roster of officials and their duties.

* * *

Scholarship Award

The first scholarship of the William P. Lovett Memorial Fund has been awarded to Donald Smallwood of Detroit who is majoring in government at Wayne University. The fund was established in 1948 in honor of Mr. Lovett, secretary of the Detroit Citizens League for 30 years, who died in 1947. The fund is administered through the Student Aid Foundation of Michigan which selects the beneficiaries.

* * *

Election Activity Continues

Five hundred Voters Service Centers were the pre-election aim of the League of Women Voters of New York City—five hundred places where voters could find out how to go about the task of voting. By a chain of telephone calls, every member was asked to aid at these centers, to speak on election matters, to distribute *Facts for Voters.* During registration week in October telephone centers were established, numbers for which were advertised in the press and otherwise, voters booths were placed at strategic outdoor spots throughout the city, and centers were established in apartment houses, offices, etc., where individual members supplied election information. All workers received full instructions on how to answer questions and an eight-page digest of the provisions of the election law. *Facts for Voters* discussed the pros and cons of eleven issues to be decided at the polls.

The national board of the League of Women Voters is sponsoring a series of thirteen regional conferences on Voters Service for October and November. Each local league may send four delegates to the conference in its region.

The City Club of Portland, Oregon, authorized its section chairman of legislation and elections, Allan Hart, to organize the numerous committees needed to expedite preparation of reports on election measures. Men with no more than "an allowable bias" with respect to any particular question were asked to indicate their willingness to serve.

The Cincinnati City Charter Committee reports that "Cincinnatians everywhere are expressing pleasure over the high quality of this year's charter council ticket." Response to the charter platform, reports the committee in its *Charter News Letter,* has been equally good. The platform covers the master plan for Cincinnati, housing, smoke abatement, transit improvements, reduction of gas and electric rates, the merit system in the city's service, etc.

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New Publications

Across from City Hall—"a monthly digest of civic affairs as seen from the Citizens Union window across from City Hall Park"—represents a new format for the *Citizens Union News* (New York City). It will be issued monthly except July and August. Editor of the sheet is Eleanor C. Tanzer, assistant secretary of the Citizens Union. Sprightly pen and ink cartoons, opposite the news notes they illustrate, are sprinkled through its four pages.

The Sling Shot—"The bulletin of the little people" is issued by the Yonkers (New York) Citizen Union.

* * *

New Organization

According to the *Seattle Municipal News,* the newly organized Municipal League of Spokane has been patterned along the lines of the very successful Seattle Municipal League. At a recent meeting of the new organization, Herbert Hamblen, Spokane attorney, in introducing Speaker Donald Stocking, chairman of the Seattle league's Town Criers Committee, commented that the new group "is not a taxpayers' economy league. . . . We do not mind paying for government but we want something good for our money."

* * *

Workshop

The New York State Citizens' Council cooperated this summer in a "Workshop in Community Action," held at the School of Education of New York University. The program was "designed to train representatives of citizen-serving fields—education, government, business and industry, labor, agriculture and social welfare."

* * *

Strictly Personal

The City Club of Milwaukee has named John Visser, former chairman of its house committee, as its new president, succeeding Robert Kohler. A brief summary of the club's work for the year, as presented by retiring President Kohler, is published in the July *City Club News.*

Robert K. Sawyer, executive director of the Greater Philadelphia Movement, formerly director of the Philadelphia Municipal Research Bureau, addressed the annual meeting of the Civic Federation of Chicago on October 17. His subject was "Philadelphia's Metropolitan Area Tax."

The Westchester County (New York) Women's Bar Association honored Hon. Edith P. Welty, mayor of Yonkers, and County Supervisor Frances Marlatt of Mount Vernon at its annual luncheon. Supreme Court Justice Frank H. Coyne commended Mayor Welty on her "marked service and her splendid work" as Yonkers city councilman. He predicted that Miss Marlatt will meet with the "same measure of success."

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

State Constitutions Subject of Studies

Bureaus Examine Methods of Constitutional Revision

BECAUSE of the current interest in modernizing state constitutions a number of university bureaus have made background studies which are enriching the practical literature in the field.

The Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas has issued the first of a contemplated series concerning the Texas constitution: John P. Keith, *Methods of Constitutional Revision,* including bibliography and lists of joint legislative interim constitutional committees 1947-1949, unofficial constitutional committees 1947-1949, and constitutional commissions and conventions 1941-1949.

The bulletin, based on a review of the available literature, discusses four methods of constitutional change open to Texas: (1) amendment on the initiative of the legislature, (2) legislature acting as a convention, (3) commission, (4) convention. It includes a discussion of research and citizen participation.

The keynote is sounded in the introduction which points out that since "government institutions must be continually adapted to change . . . the first responsibility of the citizen of a democracy is to see that the forms of his institutions are adapted to meet changing situations and in doing so to see that the principles of democracy remain inviolate."

The Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, University of Washington, has issued a 21-page bulletin, *The Background of Constitutional Revision in the State of Washington,* by Ernest Howard Campbell, assistant director of the bureau. It discusses the methods of constitutional revision available to Washington and outlines proposals that have been made for revision of various parts of the constitution. It includes a selected bibliography.

The bulletin demonstrates the difficulty of getting a convention in Washington where a two-thirds vote of the elected members of both houses of the legislature and a majority of the people voting at a general election are required to call a convention.

Kentucky's constitution and government is the subject of a 64-page pamphlet by John E. Reeves, published by the Department of University Extension, Bureau of Government Research of the University of Kentucky. This pamphlet, which sells for 50 cents, is a "preliminary study" intended for university classes in state government and for use in clubs and study groups. It includes a discussion of methods of constitutional revision and points out that the need for revision of the Kentucky constitution, which is a "long restrictive document" difficult to amend, has long been recognized.

The Oklahoma State Legislative Council, with the help of members of the faculty of the University of Oklahoma, continues to issue its excellent constitutional studies. Number 16, *Judicial Personnel,* by Don L. Bowen, now on leave from the Department of Government of the university to serve on the staff of the Legislative Council, is a 77-page report covering legal qualifications, selection, compensation, tenure and removal of judges. The Missouri nonpartisan court plan is briefly presented with citations to the literature on its operation.

Bureau Notes

The 1949 Governmental Research Association's award for the most noteworthy piece of research by a member of the organization went to the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research for *The Authority in Pennsylvania: Pro and Con*, by Tina V. Weintraub and James D. Patterson.

Strictly Personal

Charlton F. Chute, executive director of the Philadelphia Committee of the Pennsylvania Economy League, has been appointed consultant to the Philadelphia Charter Commission. The Charter Commission has appointed Paul A. Wolkin of the American Law Institute at the University of Pennsylvania as draftsman.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Administration

Administrative Management Program. First Annual Report to Hon. William O'Dwyer, Mayor. (Brief summaries of 22 major studies completed and 23 under way). New York City, Division of Analysis, Bureau of the Budget. 1948. Variously paged.

Assessment

A Guidebook of the County Tax Assessor. By Huey Blair Howerton. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration 1949. 47 pp.

Improved Assessment of Property in Lincoln. Lincoln, Nebraska, Governmental Research Institute, Inc., *Bulletin*, September 1949. 4 pp.

Budgets

Program Budgeting. Fall River, Massachusetts, Taxpayers Association, August 1949. 2 pp.

State Executive Budget Totals Record 197.3 Million Dollars. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer*, August 1949. 8 pp.

Council-Manager Plan

The Proposed Manager Charter. (Comparison of provisions of present and proposed charters with organization charts.) New Haven, Connecticut, Taxpayers Research Council, Inc., *Council Comment*, September 7, 1949. 4 pp. charts.

County Government

County Reorganization. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment*, August 25, 1949. 3 pp.

Governmental Organization of Onondaga County—A Citizens' Guide to County Organization and Activities. **Optional Forms of County Government in New York**—A Summary of Major Provisions of Optional County Government Laws. **Onondaga County Finances 1940-1949**—A Review of Recent Trends in Taxation, Expenditures and Debt. Syracuse, New York, Governmental Research Bureau, 1949. 29, 10 and 12 pp. respectively.

Crime

Relief from Criminal Convictions. (Remedies now available in Illinois and possible new remedies for hard cases.) Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, November 1948. 33 pp.

Federal Reorganization

The Hoover Commission Report on Personnel Management (A summary). By James R. Watson. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, *Public Personnel Review*, July 1949. 7 pp.

Hoover Commission Reports Now Before Congress. (A summary of the Commission reports). Denver, Colorado Public Expenditure Council, *Colorado Taxpayer*, July 1949. 8 pp.

Performance Budgeting for the Federal Government. By A. E. Buck. New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Review*, July 1949. 6 pp.

Why Your Federal Government Needs Reorganizing. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, August 1949. 2 pp.

Fire

Organization of Fire Department. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* August 4, 1949. 4 pp.

Food Regulation

Self-Service Frozen Meat Distribution. By Subcommittee of Health and Public Assistance Committee. Seattle, Municipal League, 1949. 7 pp.

Home Rule

Home Rule for Kansas. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* September 15, 1949. 4 pp.

Hospitals

Receiving Hospital Department: An Administrative Survey. (Volume I, Administration and Organization; Volume II, Emergency Hospital Service, Emergency Ambulance Service; Volume III, Care of Prisoners, Care of Firemen and Police Officers, Medical Services Other Departments; Volume IV, Summary and Conclusions.) Los Angeles, Bureau of Budget and Efficiency, 1949. 69, 66, 65, and 85 pp. respectively. Tables, maps.

Initiative and Referendum

Twelve State Propositions on November Ballot. Cost of City Propositions on the November Ballot. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, August 22 and September 21, 1949. 1 p. each.

Land Use

Industrial Land Supply. Kalamazoo City and Township. By Samuel V. Bennett and Thomas W. Froom. Kalamazoo, Michigan, W. E. Upjohn Institute for Community Research, 1949. 18 pp. map.

Legislation

Report on the 1949 Regular Session of the California Legislature. Los Angeles, Chamber of Commerce, State and Local Government Department, September 1949. 29 pp.

Legislatures

1949 Interim Committees of the California Legislature. (Purposes, members and appropriations of 70 committees, total appropriations of $1,420,900.) Los Angeles, Chamber of Commerce, State and Local Government Department, August 1949. 32 pp.

Living Costs

Living Costs: Some Relationships. Baltimore and Other Cities Major Components. College Park, University of Maryland, College of Business and Public Administration, Bureau of Business and Economic Research. 1949. 8 pp.

Municipal Government

Taunton Municipal Organization. Taunton, Massachusetts, Association of Commerce, *Research Brevities,* August 29, 1949. 2 pp. charts.

Parking

Parking of Motor Vehicles in Cities (With Illustrative Ordinances.) By Joshua H. Vogel and Norbert F. Knecht. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with the Association of Washington Cities, April 1949. 80 pp.

Police

Buffalo Police Department. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* August 11, 1949. 4 pp.

Police Organization for Aid to Children. By Jane E. Rinck. New York, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* July-August 1949. 4 pp. table.

Special Districts

Special Districts in California Local Government.[1] (Agricultural school, quasi-municipal, metropolitan.) By Stanley Scott and John C. Bollens. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 38 pp. $1.00.

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[1] See also page 498, this issue.

Taxation and Finance

Canada's Approach to the Problem of Overlapping Taxes. By A. E. Buck. New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Review,* September 1949. 4 pp.

The Cities Make Financial Progress. A Report on the First Year's Effect of Act 481. (In 25 third-class cities.) Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, *Newsletter,* August 1949. 12 pp.

Cooperative Administration of Property Taxes in Los Angeles County. By J. E. Swanson, W. R. Bigger and W. W. Crouch. Los Angeles, University of California, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1949. 63 pp.

Elementary School Costs. By Maxine M. McSweyn. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* July 1949. 6 pp. tables.

Financial Record of the 1949 Minnesota State Legislature. St. Paul, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, July 1949. 21 pp.

Governmental Costs and Taxes in 150 Vermont Towns. By Sheldon W. Williams. Burlington, Vermont Agricultural Experiment Station, 1948. 27 pp.

Governmental Taxing Units in the State of Washington. (A chart of the 1817 governmental taxing units, excluding the state government, shows there are seventeen kinds of taxing districts exclusive of counties, cities, townships and school districts and includes such districts as cemetery, diking and drainage, public hospital and weed.) Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1949. 1 p.

High School Costs Per A. D. A. By Maxine M. McSweyn. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* August 1949. 6 pp. tables.

Higher Budget, Lower Tax Rate. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* September 6, 1949. 1 p.

Highlights of the Survey of Joplin's City Finances. Carthage, Missouri, Jasper County Tax Economy Association, 1949. 7 pp.

Highway Users Taxes $50,000,000 a Year. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* July 1949. 8 pp.

An Introduction to Municipal Finance: A Survey of Second Class Cities in Kansas. By Jack F. McKay. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, 1949. 42 pp.

New Tax Laws of Pennsylvania—1949. (An analysis of state taxes and local tax laws.) Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, 1949. 22 pp.

Pay As You Go Financing of Capital Improvements. New Sources of Revenue for Capital Improvements. Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* September 29 and October 7, 1949. 3 and 4 pp. respectively.

Pennsylvania Tax Chart. 1949 edition. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, 1949. 6 pp.

Property Tax in Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1949. 4 pp.

Real Estate Tax Sales Continue Upward Trend. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* May 1949. 5 pp. tables.

Receipts of California Cities, 1946-47 and 1947-48. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* July 1949. 9 pp.

A Report on Taxation. (Includes numerous charts comparing Kentucky with other states, conclusions and recommendations.) By James W. Martin. Louisville, Committee for Kentucky, 1949. 29 pp. Illus.

The States' Scramble for Taxes: A Tax Foundation Survey. New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Outlook,* August 1949. 5 pp.

Steps Toward Economy. Buffalo,

Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* July 14, 1949. 4 pp.

A Suggestion for Doing Something About Taxes. (Instructions and forms for the payment of taxes under protest and the entry of suits in the Lake County Court.) Waukegan, Illinois, Lake County Civic League, June 30, 1949. 4 pp. and forms.

Surpluses Without Purpose. (A plea for planned use of state surpluses.) By Gordon P. Smith. New York, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* March-April 1949. 3 pp.

Taxpayers' Guide. (Reprint of guide issued by the Erie County Treasurer.) Lackawanna, New York, Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* June 1949. 6 pp.

Tax Trends in California. By Richard M. Zettel. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* August 1949. 7 pp.

Total Operating and Per Person Costs of Iowa Cities and Towns of Less than 5,000 Population for the Fiscal Year Ending March 31, 1948, with Per Person Cost for Previous Year. Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *Iowa Taxpayer,* June 6, 1949. 4 pp.

Tort Liability

Tort Liability is an Administrative Problem. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, *Borough Bulletin,* July 1949. 3 pp.

Traffic and Parking

Downtown Parking Problems. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* July 7, 1949. 1 p.

Parking Problem Has Become a Billion-Dollar Blight on Nation's Business. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* July 7, 1949. 2 pp.

Training

Personnel Record. Student Administrative Analysts. (Records of 60 former interns.) Los Angeles, County Bureau of Administrative Research, 1948. 60 pp.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 519)

September 1940, sales had approximated $78,000,000. For the first nine months, 1949 sales were $2,236,000,000, compared with $2,361,000,000 for the corresponding 1948 period and $2,026,000,000 in the first nine months of 1947. Nine-month sales had fallen from $1,033,000,000 in 1940 to a wartime low of $403,000,000 in 1943.

State and local voters approved during September $121,000,000 of new bonds, nearly five times the volume in the month a year earlier and better than twice September 1947 authorizations. For the first nine months, voter approvals aggregated $718,000,000 compared with $474,000,000 in the 1948 period, $635,000,000 in the first nine months of 1947, and $839,000,000 during the first nine months of 1946, the first year when postwar improvement programs were being widely submitted.

Devaluation of the British pound on September 18, it may be noted, had a minor effect on the municipal bond market. *The Bond Buyer's* index of yield on twenty representative municipal bonds rose only from 2.13 per cent for September 15 to 2.17 per cent for September 22. By the month's end the index stood at 2.16 per cent, approximately mid-way between the year's high and low points of 2.10 per cent and 2.21 per cent respectively. In the first week of October 1948, the index had been 2.43 per cent.

Florida Enacts Sales Tax

A special session of the Florida legislature, called to provide additional revenues to meet an anticipated deficit, has enacted a 3 per cent sales tax, estimated to raise $36,000,000 annually. The measure includes an addition of one cent per pack to the cigarette tax already in effect (making the tax five cents per pack) to provide an estimated $9,500,000 for appropriation to cities.

Books in Review

Kentucky on the March. By Harry W. Schacter. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949. 200 pp. $3.

This is the story of the Committee for Kentucky, told with fine enthusiasm by its chairman. The committee got started in 1943. It has undertaken to jerk Kentucky out of old ruts by securing the concerted support of all appropriate existing organizations for making Kentucky citizens aware of the state's backwardness in education, health, agriculture and economics, and beating down the resistance of taxpayers to adequate expenditures on a par per capita with those of other states.

Inquiry produced an array of shocking comparisons and the committee took pains to see that Kentuckians got the shocks. It built up power enough to produce a respectful and sympathetic legislature and made enlarged expenditures popular. It failed to get a new state constitution in the 1947 referendum but has obtained better salaries for school teachers, more tuberculosis sanitaria and a long list of other objectives together with a change in the "moral climate." The slogan "Wake up Kentucky" has already become obsolete and is now "Kentucky on the March."

The committee expects to wind up its program and disband in 1950 leaving a "Blueprint for a Great Kentucky" exhibiting the whole bill which must be met if Kentucky is to lift itself in the course of years from a position among the states close to the bottom in illiteracy, health, welfare to a self-respecting American standard.

For people outside Kentucky the interest of this happy story is in the methods used to get each forward-looking group to recognize the others and fuse their energies in a joint program of sufficient scope and daring to secure the attention of the citizenry. More objective detail would have increased the volume's importance. Even though the fourteen reports of the committee to date were technical and local, it would have enriched this volume if they had been extensively quoted or exhibited as possible models. Statewide associations are notoriously difficult to organize and sustain, more so than nationwide or local groups. Kentucky found a way that some other states, perhaps, can copy—provided they can find within their borders as inspirational and energetic an evangelist as Mr. Schacter has been! Those who heard him at the National Municipal League meeting in Nashville in 1947 will find this a gratifying and later record of the effort.

R. S. C.

Public Opinion and Propaganda. By Leonard W. Doob. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1948. vii, 600 pp. $3.75.

Propaganda, good and bad, is a vast growth on our modern web of swift communication and nation-wide listening. It represents the application of wholesale and mechanized methods to the discussion of public problems in our vast American community. The author has been up to his neck in it in the Office of War Information and can invoke instances with an admirable facility and comprehensiveness. His chapters on the history and science of polls seems particularly well informed. The author draws no moral from the vast panorama he exhibits.

The hammering of the public mind by urgent idea-mongers sometimes seems like government by clamor, with mass picketing of public offices, including courts in session, as the latest and most banal example of method. The alternative, we submit, is revival of the usages of representative government, so that proponents of fresh thought instead of mailing a million pieces to constituents of congressmen, will go to the congressmen direct, confident of being heard on the merits and willing to abide by an honest decision.

The idea that constituents are in duty bound to breathe on the necks of their representatives every time the latter prepare to vote is unworkable; appeals over their heads to the public are essential in cases where representatives are feathering their own nests or their party nests, but the technique need not be extended to every issue. Witness the city councils in council-manager towns where public-spirited and trusted councilmen often work constructively and unharassed for many terms because the town rightly trusts their intentions, their ability and their judgment. As voters we will temper the stridence of our outcries in response to propaganda if we can vest government in men we know and trust.

Propaganda, or most of it, is the clamor of pressure groups frequently reckless of the general interest in the pursuit of their selfish purposes. We cannot deny them the right to yell but we know how to set up improved and dignified governmental machinery which will be more immune from the influence of mere clamor. Thereby we may hope that clamor will become relatively futile and less worth using. Democracy could do with less!

But Professor Doob has performed an important service in surveying so competently the current state of propagandist practice! R. S. C.

The Political Community—A Study of Anomie. By Sebastian de Grazia. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1948. xx, 258 pp. $4.

The ship of human progress, including the operation of governments, floats on cross-currents of popular belief systems old or new, which constitute erratic variables for the navigators. The expensive word in the subtitle is, it seems, in one dictionary at least—but not ours—and refers to a popular sense of being without clear and trusted guidance or of being confused by conflict between systems of belief.

An acute case is that of the German people just before Hitler set them drilling and released them from the necessity of groping further for collective hopes and convictions of their own. The author lines up the history of our restless modern world in the light of his disclosure of the phenomenon and, after the manner of scientists, chooses and puts into circulation his new name for it. The word may have a long and useful life, too, for whereas anomie may be blissfully absent among a backwater populace with unquestioning faith in its priests and governors, it will whipsaw free-thinking advanced populations, exposed to incessant comparisons with the belief systems of other populations, for many a generation.

A fresh, profound and provocative analysis! The author is assistant professor of social sciences at Chicago University.

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PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXVIII, No. 11 **Total Number 394**

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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Editorial Comment

The Bosses Fall

THERE is new hope in Boston, Philadelphia and Jersey City as a result of last month's election.

For longer than it is comfortable to remember, these places have provided sordid examples of political piracy and the perversion of self-government.

Even though the voting stage was rigged as usual in his favor, with the opposition divided among four other candidates, the voters of Boston succeeded in belatedly booting the notorious James Michael Curley out of the mayor's chair which he boasted he would occupy until he was 125 years old. At the same time they adopted a new basic charter which, by providing a run-off, will prevent future mayoralty candidates from winning with a minority of votes as Curley had done so often previously.

Results in Philadelphia were amazing for a city which for generations has suffered acutely from mistaken party loyalty, regardless of how stinking the party record was. On the heels of startling revelations of thievery, extortion and corruption in public office, both Philadelphia newspapers called on the voters to forget party and rebuke the Republican administration by electing Democrats to the offices of treasurer, controller, coroner and register of deeds, the only offices at stake.

The *Inquirer* invoked the Declaration of Independence, written in Philadelphia in 1776, and urged the people "to redeem their city from misrule by selfish, bloated political bosses." The *Bulletin* put the issue more calmly but squarely that those who "disapprove of tax thefts, macing, corrupt deals and other phases of the prevailing system" had no choice but to vote for the Democrats.

The Democrats were elected, thus providing a financial watchdog from an opposing party. The vote may also be suggestive of the people's desire for something better to the charter commission which currently faces the task of drafting a new charter to submit to the voters.

In Jersey City the situation is more complicated. Republican Governor Driscoll was re-elected because he carried Jersey City, taking even Boss Frank Hague's own ninth ward against Hague's hand-picked puppet candidate. Hague promptly resigned as state leader of the Democratic party. But the cheers for the passing of "the last of the old-style bosses" seem, as usual, somewhat hollow. Fact is, Hague was defeated by normally Democratic votes, just as Philadelphia's Democrats were elected by chronically Republican votes. The staunch Democrats of Jersey City who gave the old man the final boot were unquestionably motivated by the determination to keep the throne from his expiring grasp rather than by any newly acquired understanding of what good government really means.

While there have been many civic victories in all parts of the country during the last several years, it would be a mistake to be lulled into a feeling that the war against political pirates has been won. The rising power

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of the slot machine racket, described in this issue by Dayton McKean, is only one of many influences imperiling our way of life.

This Didn't Happen in Russia

WE scoff, very properly, at Soviet Russia's pretensions to free elections and democracy. But last month in Yonkers, New York, a proposed charter amendment which provided flat $500 raises for policemen and firemen resulted in the kind of thing that could spell the end of liberty.

Members of both forces, in uniform and out, brazenly electioneered for the amendment at the doorways and actually inside the polling places, chanting "Don't forget the boys in blue!", handing out cards, and debating loudly and abusively with citizens who protested that this activity was against the law. The uniformed policemen on duty either ignored the protests or actually joined in the intimidation.

When the same outrage was committed four years ago, there were loud protests from civic leaders. Among the acts reported then were the actual physical invasion of the curtained machine, "assistance" in pulling down the "Yes" lever, men peeking through the hole in a firehouse ceiling through which firemen slide down the brass pole to spy out how each citizen in the voting machines below voted on the amendment.

This year, however, no civic leaders or organizations except the League of Women Voters demanded that the law be enforced or that those who violated it be punished. No official, from the city manager and police commissioner on down, interfered or invoked a penalty.

Next time it is to be hoped that responsible city or county officials will muster enough courage at least to ask the state attorney general and the state police to supervise the election and protect the voters from such arrogant lawlessness by those who are supposed to enforce the law.

Plan of Action for Citizens

Decisive progress to strengthen our home towns, states needed to demonstrate superiority of the democratic way.

By CHARLES EDISON*

WE LIVE in a time of peril. We don't need to look further than the nearest newspaper to remind ourselves of that. We are living with the atom bomb in the midst of a not so cold war between our system and totalitarianism.

I am going to propose a course of action for citizens who are intelligent enough to be frightened. At the outset I think we can all agree on one thing we should not do. We should not jump into bed with a quick prayer asking the good Lord to give President Truman and a handful of men in Washington the wisdom to save us.

That isn't enough. If, as citizens of a democracy, we surrender our power of action to a small group in Washington, we will be confessing bankruptcy and borrowing a page from the totalitarian book. If the Lord answered such a prayer he might very well say, "I shall be glad to give President Truman the help he needs, but just what are you doing to help your country in this time of peril?"

Can we save our country simply by building the greatest pile of armaments in the history of the world? I do not think so. Let us remember that all of the peoples of the world or at least most of the peoples of the world want the same things: a peaceful life, adequate food, clothing and shelter, and a sense of freedom. We are competing with Russia for the sympathies of hundreds of millions who have never had those basic needs satisfied. America was built by millions who came here to find peace, freedom and a decent living. Those things are the heart of the American dream. Unless we can keep that dream alive our navy will be impotent, our planes will be useless, our bombs will be duds.

Of course, we must have the arms and be ready to use them. But still more important, we must put on a completely convincing demonstration of the vitality of our system, from the grass roots up. Aspiring peoples around the world will be more impressed by evidence that democracy really lives in our home towns than by our armed might or our diplomatic finesse.

No war, hot or cold, was ever won without close attention to the home front. In any battle for democracy the home front is right in the home town. If we don't make democracy work where neighbors share concrete problems and can talk about them over their own back fences, we're certainly not going to keep it alive in Washington or make it work on a world scale. Only as a responsible member of a local community which handles its own problems creditably can the individual learn the lessons and develop the civic competence needed to make him a safe member of the larger world community.

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*Mr. Edison, former secretary of the Navy and governor of New Jersey, is president of the National Municipal League. This article is his address before the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, November 29, 1949, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Consequently, the first and greatest responsibility of every American citizen is to make a thorough inspection of his own back yard. One look should be enough to convince any honest man that there is plenty of work to be done in his home town, where he can be most effective.

We Have Failed

The real peril of our times is neglect of local affairs. It is true that most of our cities and towns are better governed than they were in 1894, when the National Municipal League was founded. But we have not gone far enough, fast enough. It is possible to make progress and still be destroyed by failure to keep up with the times. The question for us is not how bad we were in 1894 but how we stack up today in the light of modern problems and requirements.

It is my studied conclusion that we are relatively worse off today than we were half a century ago because we have not strengthened our system to keep pace with new and increasing burdens.

One reason for this failure is that we have not learned how to be human though big. This is an age of big business, big unions, big cities, big budgets, big wars, big booms and big busts. Bigness has been decried as a curse. I prefer to consider it a challenge. It becomes a curse only when we fail to meet the challenge.

Modern industry is based on the more and more minute specialization and subdivision of labor and the combining of the labors of many in the assembly lines of production and distribution. The technique of the assembly line and mass production is essentially mechanical and tends to ignore the element of human personality.

A very significant line of discovery of recent times, however, reasserts the importance of the individual and his immediate physical and human environment to the continuing success of the mass production process. This has led to increasing awareness of the stake that industry and business have in the communities in which both their workers and their customers live.

Actually these conclusions only reenforce the teachings of common sense and common prudence. It should be obvious that any business or industry has always had a tremendous stake in the government, the politics and the character of the communities in which it was located. There are such matters as tax bills, police and fire protection, building and safety regulations, water supply, refuse disposal, public highway and transportation facilities and dozens of other acts and services of local government that affect business. Surely they are worthy of the attention of any businessman, in his business as well as in his civic capacity.

Let me give you one of the reasons why business, as it has grown bigger, has generally failed to give the attention it should to such local matters, or if it has considered them has often done so in an impersonal manner that weakened local responsibility.

A century ago, in almost any American city, the principal stores, the largest factories, the newspapers, the public utilities and the banks were locally owned. The proprietors of these enterprises had roots in the community and, for better or worse, a positive voice in local affairs.

Today the situation is almost reversed. The largest stores and factories, the newspapers, the banks and the public utilities are often the property of great corporations with headquarters in a distant metropolis. These corporations have branch offices whose managers are men of competence and intelligence. But their voices are too seldom raised above a faint whisper on any issue of local government.

Business Should Help

There is an unwritten Hatch act which gags these potentially valuable citizens. Their home offices have told them, perhaps, that it's bad public relations to take sides. But I believe that that policy actually represents the worst kind of community relations. A corporation which denies its employees their rights as citizens is a menace to our American system.

And, by no means incidentally, the gag rule is a menace to the corporation. Two paragraphs from a little pamphlet just published by the National Municipal League explain why. This pamphlet is called *A Break for Business* and it tells, among other things, what good government with the League's council-manager plan means to business.

"Operating states and cities is a huge enterprise," the pamphlet says. "It cost $8,455,000,000 in 1940, $13,001,000,000 in 1947 . . . .

"How much the council-manager plan has saved the 15,000,000 people who enjoy its benefits cannot be measured accurately. On the basis of detailed reports from typical cities, the League conservatively estimates the annual gain for taxpayers at $250,000,000. If the plan were generally adopted the figure could reach $2,000,000,000 a year — with vastly improved public services."

The officers of our big corporations should know that their businesses are damaged when taxes are high; when government is wasteful, inefficient and unable to provide the services that business needs. I hope the day will come when the home offices will send memos to the local managers in places like Jersey City, Boston, Memphis and dozens of other cities saying, in effect, "See if you cannot help some of the local people organize to put across the council-manager plan. Give some time to this, and we'll approve a reasonable contribution of money."

A fantastic hope? Possibly, but it makes excellent sense. According to the figures just quoted, the cost of state and local government is going up, not down. It will keep on going up. The National Municipal League does not advocate cutting taxes to the bone. What we want is good government, providing good services. Business thrives under that kind of government. It is high time the leaders of business interested themselves in getting it.

Of course, I am not suggesting

that our top business leaders are blind to civic responsibilities. Look at the names of the trustees of your hospitals, your principal welfare agencies; check the personnel of fund-raising committees for the Community Chest, the Red Cross and other organizations. Practically every business man of consequence will be found somewhere in the list.

Why is it that these same civic leaders are so rarely seen in any group that is working for fundamental reform of bad local government. I am reminded that when the National Municipal League was born in Philadelphia almost 56 years ago, a delegate from New York told about a friend of his who belonged to Tammany Hall, gave the Democrats $100 every year and quietly voted the Republican ticket. Another delegate got the floor. Men like the Tammany Republican, he said, "would sooner pay $100 per year to be let alone and sacrifice their manhood than they would to stand up and fight for it. These are the men to whom the people of this country may attribute the bad government that we are bothered with all the time."

Do you recognize any of your friends and acquaintances in this story? I have to confess that I do. A man doesn't have to pay $100 to be a victim of political blackmail. It is just as ignoble to pay the blackmailer in the coin of silence as in the coin of the realm. By their silence and inaction too many business men and other respectable citizens actually connive in perpetuating the conditions that are the greatest peril to America.

Make no mistake about the reality of this threat. It is infinitely closer and just as deadly as the Russian bomb. Too many of our cities, large and small, are still submitting shamefully to cynical political machines that are plundering the citizens. Big-time gamblers are calling the tune in city halls and on capitol hills while they finance an underworld that challenges and corrupts law enforcement. Respectable citizens shrug their shoulders.

Is this the way to give our children lessons in the meaning of democracy? Is this the way to make our country strong, to make our country worthy of the faith of peoples abroad?

Problems Unsolved

The record is only slightly better in cities that are not being bled by corrupt machines. We have simply failed to make government keep up with the advances in technology. The automobile, for example, has been with us for half a century and we still don't know what to do with it. It clutters up our downtown streets, cripples the flow of commerce. It enables well-to-do families to move out to the suburbs, and get off the city tax roll, while the taxpayers who stay at home must pay higher taxes to build new highways so the refugees can drive back to work every day. At the same time the refugee loses his political rights in the central city where his major business interests still lie, often at the mercy of political connivers who laugh at him because he is no longer a voter or a potential leader of political revolt.

Despite all our efforts to cope with the automobile, cities are dying of traffic strangulation in the central areas, while retail stores and manufacturing plants as well as prosperous home owners are moving to fringe areas, thus further reducing the financial capacity of the city to meet its needs.

Has the automobile turned out to be the master of man? Can't something be done? I should think so. We know enough about community and regional planning to solve the automobile problem and almost any other. But we have made no real headway because few of our cities enjoy genuine home rule, because our metropolitan areas are subdivided into an average of 114 separate governmental units, and because the ordinary citizen is more inclined to blow the horn of his traffic-stalled car than to rise up in wrath and majesty to demand constructive action. And if he did rise, the effect of his vote and his voice would be limited by the artificial boundaries of the town in which he sleeps—but works only in his garden.

State Government Antiquated

Back of our chaotic local governments stands the state government—the most antiquated, incompetent part of our whole American system. The movement for municipal reform which has brought the modern council-manager plan to nearly a thousand communities has left state governments virtually untouched, despite periodic investigations and reports.

My own state of New Jersey has doubtless made more spectacular progress by revising its 1844 constitution than has any other state in recent years. We now have the country's most modern court system and we trust our governor with most of the power he needs.

But we still have an 18th century legislature in which a majority of the senators represent 15 per cent of the people. I am told that almost every other state legislature also is badly unrepresentative and unresponsive to the needs of the people as a whole.

Why don't we then amend our state constitutions to make state government conform to the facts of urban life in the 20th century? In many states the provisions for revision are so difficult that a small entrenched minority of pine forest senators can bar a constitutional convention. This is constitutional tyranny, frustrating the will of the majority, and—once again—imperiling our democracy.

I believe firmly that the best government is the government that is nearest the people. There is a natural tendency for power to gravitate toward Washington. We must choose, and fairly soon, between centralization and local self-government.

The choice will not be accomplished simply by saying we prefer self-government. And it won't help any to denounce the federal bureaucracy. The only defense, as Jefferson told us more than a century and a quarter ago, is to strengthen our state and local institutions and make them worthy of the responsibilities they ought to bear.

The trouble is that strengthening those institutions is going to require

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some hard decisions and some real sacrifices. Individuals and groups that have profited from outmoded constitutions, or from insulation in a tight little village against the sinful politics of the central city, have got to take a new and longer view of their own and the public welfare. If we cannot make the sacrifices required to achieve modern self-government, we haven't the slightest chance of maintaining freedom and democracy in Washington or extending them to other parts of the world.

And I must remind you again that we cannot make self-government as good as we tell foreign nations it is unless many thousands of good citizens enlist for the duration. The opportunity today is at peak level. From hundreds of cities the League is receiving calls for advice and guidance. Small groups of voters are organizing with few resources except courage and decency to fight for basic reforms. Victories are being won, but many campaigns are being lost for lack of the support that should have been given.

The Old, Old Story

The reluctance of business men to join the fight for sound government is not a new thing. When the National Municipal League last came to Minneapolis, in December 1894, Vice President Charles Richardson of Philadelphia reported that the eastern delegation was smaller than he had hoped. Then he explained:

> Some of you may have had the impression that business was dull in the eastern states, but I think if you could have read the letters which came to us in response to the very numerous invitations we issued you would be amazed to find how all the gentlemen are staggering under a load and pressure of business.
>
> In nearly every case all we could obtain was a pathetic statement of how the writer was almost rushed to death, accompanied by a few words of good will and good wishes, as remarkable for their brevity as they were for their sympathy and faith in our cause.
>
> I think no one could read those letters without feeling the need which we have in this country of men of means and ability who are willing to devote a large portion of their time to something better than the mere making of money.

I am happy to report a marked improvement since 1894. We have a much larger number of busy and important men from the east coast and the west coast with us in the Twin Cities than we did 55 years ago. That is progress. But since the task ahead is infinitely bigger than the work behind us, we need to enroll many more in the east, in the west and in every other part of the land.

We all know of the great acts of statesmanship, courage and self-denial that went into the making of the Republic. I firmly believe that these times call for no lesser acts by the men and women whose achievements have marked them as the natural leaders of the community. Their names, their efforts and their resources must be used to combat the peril that lies in our back yards. We must rekindle the fire of American democracy so that it becomes a beacon light for all the people on earth.

Labor's Stake in Civic Affairs

Political Action Committee director tells why unions fight to make communities better places for a good life.

By **JACK KROLL***

MOST of the years of my life have been spent in what might be called a reform movement.

In our time labor has reformed the thinking of many employers who said they would never have anything to do with labor unions. It has convinced them that they had to reform their labor relations policies and that it was good business for them to do so.

As recently as November 8 the organization I represent—the CIO Political Action Committee — participated actively in the reformation of the city government of Philadelphia and in the reformation of Frank Hague in New Jersey—Boss Hague is a thoroughly reformed character along with Boss Crump of Memphis, Tennessee, and some others I could name.

I would like to discuss briefly why labor is interested in government reform. And when I use the word "reform" I am using it in the broad sense to mean good government. By it, I mean essentially the establishment of government responsive to the will of the people who live under that government — whether it be city, state or national.

Labor is interested in good government for the very simple reason that it feels the effects of bad government more than any group. People who work in the great industrial plants and the small workshops of the nation, together with the farmers who work on the land, make up the great bulk of the American population.

Together the workers and farmers of this country produce everything we have from the complicated automobiles we drive to the bread we eat. Our livelihood and our security depend to a large extent upon what government does. If a city has poor police protection or bad fire protection it is the poor people of the city who feel the lack the most. If garbage collection is bad, if the water and sewage systems are inadequate, if the schools are overcrowded it is the working people and the children of the working people who bear the burden. They do not have the resources to send their children to private schools or install fancy garbage disposal units or buy spring water or hire private watchmen.

We institute governments to do for all of us what none of us can do for himself. And simply because there are so many of us who have to work for a living, we are vitally concerned with the kind of government we have.

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*Mr. Kroll, national director of the Political Action Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, has been a civic leader in his home city, Cincinnati, and still is a member of the board of the City Charter Committee, in addition to his long career in labor union work. This article is his address before the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, November 28, 1949, St. Paul, Minnesota.

That is true on all levels. And that is why our CIO Political Action Committee is active on all levels—in the cities, in the states and in the nation as a whole. And I think it is fair to say that we have made a substantial contribution to good government on all these levels. Let me cite as the most recent instance the election in Philadelphia.

We can all agree that Philadelphia has the reputation of having one of the worst city governments in America. On November 8 there were four city offices up for election—city treasurer, city controller, registrar of wills and coroner. They weren't the top offices, but they were important posts in the city administration.

Labor Educates Citizens

The labor organizations in Philadelphia got busy. They broke down their membership lists by wards and precincts and checked them all for registration. Every member, as well as members of his family, who was not registered was urged to register and qualify for voting.

The unions printed literature telling its members what the issues were, telling them about the tax rate, about the water system, about the antiquated street car system, about all the other problems that confronted the city administration. And they told the people about the rottenness down at city hall. They exposed the scandal and the corruption and the misuse of public office by people who were supposed to be public servants.

They distributed this literature house to house throughout all the wards and precincts in the city. And then on election day they visited all the houses to get out the vote. Informed people have no power unless they express themselves at the polls on election day.

The result in Philadelphia was that the four people labor backed for these city offices were elected by a substantial margin. In addition four labor-backed magistrates were elected and two men, one of them a member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, were elected to the city council.

Get Out and Fight

This illustrates a point I want to make. It's a point I have been making all over the country to our union conventions everywhere. It isn't enough to wish for good city government or even to draw up fancy blueprints for city governments. If you want good government you've got to go out and fight for it. And that's what we're doing.

We're fighting for decent, honest, progressive government down on the ward and precinct level and—with all due respect to the planners—that's where the fight is going to be won.

I think it's a tribute to the political forces of labor that in the November elections there was greater interest than in any similar period in our recent history. More people registered, more people voted, more people took an interest in the outcome. And the outcome was good. The outcome will always be good when people take an interest in their government.

It has always been true, I think, —and it is especially true in the case of the democracies—that when the people neglect their government, corruption and self-interest take over. When people sit home and say "let George do it," George always turns out to be somebody who is interested in his own welfare and not the welfare of the people.

Participation by people in their government is the first essential of good government. Democracy can survive only if people take an interest in it and work on its behalf. We can have magnificent constitutions and city charters and models of government—but they are worthless unless people use them and make them live.

Democracy, it seems to me, is more than just a system of government. It is a spirit of government —the spirit that is willing to grant to other people the same rights and privileges we ask for ourselves.

In my home town of Cincinnati we have a city manager form of government. I have watched it since its inception and I have been intensely interested in its operation.

I am convinced that an essential part of any city manager plan is a small city council, elected on a city-wide basis. The members of the council should be well paid and qualified people and they should be representative of the entire city rather than any one portion of it. Our city manager plan is working well. And it is working well in the more than 900 cities where it is in operation.

As far as proportional representation is concerned, we have found that, by and large, it has given representation to large groups that previously have not had that representation. I am aware that some places have tried this form of voting and discarded it. I think that has been due to the fact that it is hard for people to understand just how it works.

Proportional representation, I think, can work provided the emphasis is on the city or the state as a whole. It would be unfortunate, I think, if group or sectional interests were given undue weight in the selection of public officials.

Labor Can Contribute

Labor is concerned with the selection of good city and state officials. It wants honest, able and enlightened men in office regardless of where they come from. And we think that in the ranks of labor, too, there are such honest and able and enlightened people who would make good public servants. Already, as a matter of fact, more than 700 of our members are holding elected and appointed office today.

We think we have a great deal to contribute to our country, not because we are labor but because we are American citizens. Our political activity is a contribution to our democracy. It has served to awaken large groups of the population to the necessity of participation. And it has educated literally hundreds of thousands of people in the way our government works.

We have made government something real and understandable to our people. We have brought it into their homes and out of the dusty textbooks. In doing that I think we have done a great deal to strengthen our democracy. Our people know what it means and they can fight better for democracy because they know what it means. It has life and substance and reality.

That is why, for example, our last CIO convention in Cleveland adopted a program designed to break down the barriers between government and the people.

Labor's Program

We instructed all our political action affiliates to work for a program that includes direct election of the president and vice president.

We asked for revision of registration laws to remove all the red tape and petty restrictions. We feel that the only purpose of registration laws is the prevention of fraud. When they go beyond that they become a stumbling block.

We want direct and open primaries so that people can choose their own candidates and so that men and women who want to run for office can present their cases to the voters.

We think state legislators and city officials should be better paid so that people who want to make a career of public service will be attracted to these very important jobs and so that working men and farmers can afford to go to state legislatures free of economic pressure.

I was happy to note that in the recent elections two states—California and Kentucky — approved higher pay for their state legislators and state officials. I hadn't expected such quick action on our convention resolutions.

Labor is engaged in political action up to the hilt. We are in political action because the employers put us there and we're going to stay in political action. Every day more and more local unions are launching active campaigns to get their members registered, to inform them on the issues, and to get them to vote on election day.

In more and more communities people are taking an active part in politics and they are changing the complexion of our political life in many of the larger cities. And we are doing all this not because we seek any special favors or special concessions. We are doing it as a matter of good government and good Americanism.

We are not interested in having the police force organize our unions. Neither do we want them to break up our picket lines or shoot our people as they did in Chicago on Memorial Day, 1937. Nor do we want them to invade our union halls as they did in Kansas City, Kansas, just last year.

We are not interested in securing special tax concessions or advantageous rates from the city utilities commissions and we are not seeking to control liquor licenses for partisan political advantage.

Labor unions are dedicated to bettering the lives of our members. We are interested in wages and hours of work and the conditions of work.

And we are interested in something more. We know that we are

(Continued on page 580)

Who Gets the Billion Graft?

Slot machines and other rackets revealed as pursuing policy of corrupting public officials throughout U.S.

By DAYTON D. McKEAN*

THERE is something rotten in American local politics when the officers of the American Municipal Association, speaking for 9,500 American cities, throw up their hands and say that the problem of keeping organized country-wide crime syndicates out of their local politics is too much for the cities themselves to cope with.

On September 21, 1949, Carl H. Chatters, executive secretary of the association, made public a letter he had written for the association to the attorney general of the United States asking federal intervention. "The matter," he wrote, "is too big to be handled by local officials alone; the organized criminal element operates across state boundaries on a national scale."

That organized crime has nationwide, even international, organizations was clearly established by the California Special Crime Study Commission, which discovered that the slot machine manufacturers, distributors and operators were to hold a joint convention at the Hotel Sherman in Chicago on January 17, 18 and 19, 1949. The commission was able to obtain admission to this convention for its investigators, who posed as slot machine operators from California. Also present were slot machine men from every state and from fourteen foreign countries.

It was discovered that the slot machine industry has its trade associations like other businesses. The Coin Machine Institute, or CMI, is apparently a sort of peak association. Its current activities in American state and local politics may perhaps best be explained in the words of the California Crime Commission:

> In advertising its convention to the trade, CMI laid great stress on the fact that the staff of its legal department would be available for personal conferences during the three days of the convention. These consultations, however, were by appointment only and were held with operators individually and in groups from the same areas. Although CMI's advertising invited all "coin men" to these conferences, in practice the attendance was very thoroughly screened with a view to limiting it only to those actively engaged in the racket. These "legal conferences" proved to be real seminars in the corruption of public officers. Matters discussed included the best ways of paying graft to law enforcement officers. Several alternative methods were seriously argued, such as: (1) the payment of a flat sum periodically (2) "cutting in" public officers for a percentage of the operation (3) heavy "campaign con-

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tributions" both before and after election. . . .

From these extraordinarily frank discussions of corruption, the commission's investigators ascertained that *it is the common practice of the slot machine operators throughout the country to pay 10 per cent to 20 per cent of their gross profit for protection and graft,* although the method of payment varies according to local circumstances. If the gross "take" of the national slot machine racket is in the neighborhood of $2,000,000,000 annually, as it probably is, it is evident that 20 per cent of this amount, or *$400,000,000, is being spent annually by the slot machine racketeers for bribery and corruption of public officers,* and that additional large amounts are being spent on a corps of lobbyists and a legal and public relations staff.[1]

Slot Machine Boss

The reputed head of this two- or three-billion dollar business, which is expending between four and six hundred million dollars a year to corrupt state and local officers, is one Frank Costello, who was born in Cosenza, Italy, in 1891.[2] His name keeps appearing in the press in connection with the politics of various cities and states.

As Robert S. Allen put it in his introduction to *Our Sovereign State,* "The underworld tentacles of gambling overlord Frankie Costello are to be found in state government from New York to Florida and from Louisiana to California." He seems to be a maker of Supreme Court justices in New York, and when he puts on—at a night club which he reportedly owns — a $100-a-plate dinner for charity, not only does the head of Tammany Hall appear but also five state Supreme Court judges, three judges of lower courts and one former judge.[3]

In the recent campaign for mayor of New York City, Newbold Morris, Republican-Liberal-Fusion candidate, charged that Costello is the real power in Tammany Hall today. He is supposed to have connections with Charles Binaggio, reputed gambler, who appears to be the rising machine boss of Kansas City, likely to replace Jim Pendergast.[4]

Virgil W. Peterson, formerly of the FBI and now director of the Chicago Crime Commission, has charged that Costello was an ally of the late Huey Long and took over the slot machine racket in Louisiana at Huey's invitation. It has also been charged that Costello backed the revived Long machine in its successful attempt in 1948 to elect Huey's son Russell as United States senator and his brother Earl as governor. Through his henchman, Philip (Dandy Phil) Kastel, Costello is presently seeking to defeat Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison of New Orleans, who has driven the slot machines out.

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[1] State of California, *Second Progress Report of the Special Crime Study Commission on Organized Crime,* Sacramento, March 7, 1949, pages 58-59. Italics in the original. The commission goes on to adduce other evidence that 20 per cent of the gross is the commonest amount paid in graft, and that the national gross may be nearer three than two billions of dollars a year, so the total amount paid in graft may run to $600,000,000 a year.

[2] *New York Times,* October 23, 1949. There is some doubt of what his real name is. It may be Castiglia, Stello, Saveria or Saverio.

[3] Ferdinand Lundberg, "Aurelio: The People's Choice," *Harper's,* January 1944, pages 129-134, and *Newsweek,* February 7, 1949, pages 22-23.

[4] Lester Velie, "New Menace in Missouri," *Collier's,* October 29, 1949, page 86. Binaggio got his political training as an aide to the late Johnny Lazia, who headed the gangster forces in the Pendergast machine.

Huey Long had ambitions to be an interstate boss, and branched out into Arkansas and Mississippi before his death; Frank Costello, with his base in New York and with his control of the national slot machine racket, seems to be rising as another interstate boss, even though in public, while he calls himself "king of the slot machines," he also modestly asserts that he does not have enough influence to kill a parking ticket.

Other Rackets Flourish

If the slot machine industry takes in some two or three billions a year, what about other forms of illegal gambling? The numbers racket is probably about the same size. The United Press, during the summer of 1949, made a survey among some cities where it had correspondents and concluded that the "take is at least $2,000,000,000 annually."[5] If the slot machine operators pay 20 per cent of their gross proceeds in graft, it is only reasonable to assume that the numbers operators must pay as much.[6]

Although the bookmakers, tipsheet publishers, wire service operators and all the rest associated with horserace gambling appear never to have held a national convention comparable to the Chicago slot machine conclave, it seems probable that they do an annual gross business bigger than that of slot machines and numbers together. The amount legally wagered at racetracks varies from year to year from a billion to two billions of dollars, and the estimates of the amounts bet illegally through bookmakers run from five to fifteen billions.

Nobody knows how many bookmakers are operating in the thousands of cities and towns throughout the United States, and no doubt the number changes from time to time, even in the same city, as the police show varying degrees of interest in the bookies' activities. New York City, apparently, has several thousands. On Monday night, October 2, 1949, Newbold Morris spoke on the radio about the tie-up between bookmaking and Tammany. By Wednesday morning he had a list of 1,080 locations which had been voluntarily turned in or telephoned in to his headquarters. How many more thousands an alert and honest police force could produce is anybody's guess. And it is also anybody's guess how many millions of dollars the bookmakers and all of their allies pay in graft, but it is common knowledge that no horseroom or bookie can operate for more than 24 hours without police protection.[7]

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[5] *New York World-Telegram,* July 30, 1949.

[6] A sociologist, William Foote Whyte, has an interesting chapter entitled "The Social Structure of Racketeering" in his *Street Corner Society* (University of Chicago Press, 1943) pages 111-146. He found that in the slum area of Boston which he studied the police patrolmen and plainclothes men were paid five dollars a week for each numbers drop; each sergeant, ten dollars. This rate is probably typical.

[7] In Atlantic City 25 horserooms were proved by the Bureau of Internal Revenue

When Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York was once asked by a reporter whether there was not some permanent method of ridding the city of organized gambling he replied that he knew of none, but he thought the atomic bomb had possibilities. This fatalist or defeatist attitude is common. It is sometimes put in some such form as that people just will gamble—or that gambling is part of human nature—and that therefore its suppression is hopeless.

Whether or not there is anything in this position it seems to be clear from the record of many cities that organized, commercialized gambling can be suppressed by an honest and alert police force. And it seems to be equally clear that where it is not, there is an inevitable expansion of political power on the part of the underworld: it develops its own government, with its own rules, sanctions and officials. At some point it can influence or control the government. When this occurs local democracy is, of course, an illusion; there is none.

Perhaps there is no condition more dangerous to popular government than a widespread attitude that public officials are corrupt and that the action or inaction of government is to be obtained not by right but by purchase. The collapse of the Nationalist government in China seems to have been due in part to its having been riddled with corruption.

Virgil Peterson, of the Chicago Crime Commission, says that the handbook operators in Chicago can produce a minimum of 200,000 votes and virtually unlimited financial support for candidates favorable to them. These are enough votes in most municipal elections in Chicago to form a balance of power.

Although poor forms of state and city government make machine politics natural and easy, and although better forms make popular government less difficult, still no mere form of government will produce honesty and integrity. Kansas City under Pendergast proved that once again. If officials are weak or dishonest, corruption will flow through any form of government.

The Boss Won't Die

Of the delivery of premature funeral orations over the boss and the machine there appears to be no end. Some years ago Walter Davenport labelled Boies Penrose the "last of the great bosses." The *Newark Evening News* ran a series of articles on Frank Hague during the summer of 1949, "The Last of the Bosses," and then the aging boss, using the issue of bingo, came within 80,000 votes in 1,690,000 cast of electing his hand-picked candidate for governor of New Jersey. When a biography of the incomparable Jim Curley of Boston was recently published one reviewer headed his piece "The Last of the Bosses." And of course when Curley lost by a plurality of 13,000 in a total vote of 298,000 the United Press sent out a dispatch beginning with the "last of the bosses" business.

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to have paid the Johnson machine $160 a week each for protection or $208,000 a year. See E. L. Irey and W. J. Slocum, *The Tax Dodgers* (1948) page 247. The Johnson machine is still operating, although under different management.

But if Edward J. Flynn is not the boss of the Bronx, who is? By all accounts New York State has no one big boss — unless it is Costello — but a number of little ones, such as Irwin Steingut in Brooklyn, Livingston Platt and William Bleakley of Westchester County, J. Russell Sprague of Nassau County, W. Kingsland Macy of Suffolk County, and Thomas Broderick of Monroe.[8]

"Politics, Pennsylvania style," says one recent writer, "is tricky, intricate and largely of the boss-ruled variety."[9] Old Joseph Grundy, assisted by the Pew millions, still bosses the Republican machine nominally headed by Senator Edward Martin who once said that he learned his politics at Boies Penrose's knee. The same commentator says that Pennsylvania has "a legislature with a built-in lobby that manipulates the little statesmen like puppets on a string . . . some lulus in graft and corruption, and a web of political machines . . ."[10]

Byrd is boss of Virginia, Talmadge of Georgia, Earl Long of Louisiana, Arthur H. Samish of California, Harold E. Mitchell of Connecticut. The O'Connells rule Albany, Jake Arvey is boss of Chicago, George Parr governs a domain of eighteen counties in southern Texas, and so on. The bosses come in all sizes, from statewide to precinct, and they adjust their methods to their environment; Byrd and Samish, for example, use quite different means to control the legislatures of Virginia and California, but they both control.

Bosses do not always win, of course; Crump and Hague are currently smarting from defeats. Hague has announced—for the second time in his career—his retirement from politics; it is to be hoped that this time he means it. The system, however, continues; the Republican machine in Philadelphia has survived the passing of the Camerons, Quay, Penrose and the Vares, as well as many a series of sordid scandals. The defeat of several Republican candidates in Philadelphia on November 8 may indicate that Philadelphia is not quite as corrupt and contented as it was in Lincoln Steffens' day.

We may hope that some boss now operating is indeed the last, but on the record the safest word to use is not *last* but *latest*.

Citizens Must Act

The system of boss and machine will not be ended either by the cities' crying for federal intervention or solely by the introduction of new forms or devices of government, such as the council-manager plan, the referendum, the direct primary or woman suffrage, helpful as all those things are. If it is to be ended, the end must come through a revival of the democratic spirit in American states and localities. Citizens must want honest government enough to work for it—which means want it enough to elect honest men to office.

Doubtless our public morals are in

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[8] For a more extended account of these and other bosses in New York see Warren Moscow, *Politics in the Empire State* (1948).

[9] Herman A. Lowe, *Our Sovereign State,* Robert S. Allen, editor (1949), page 105.

[10] *Ibid.,* page 97.

The People Can, Must Do It

A fighting mayor calls for prompt action to end state and federal usurpation of powers and duties of cities.

By **WILLIAM F. DEVIN***

DURING the past 175 years great changes have taken place in our nation—changes in transportation and communication, in industry and business, in standards of living. Many of these changes have been beneficial, others have created detriments greater than their benefits. Today in these United States man loves freedom just as much as he did in 1776, but he is more confused about how he can obtain it.

The framers of the constitution placed the foundation of our government upon the solid rock of personal freedom. They patterned their concept of freedom upon the doctrine of the sovereignty and dignity of the individual. They took great pains to see to it that all rights remained in the people save those which were expressly granted by the people to the state. They stood on the principle that governments derived their just powers from the consent of the governed. Despite the changes in industry, economics and the social order which have since occurred, those basic principles still are the vital elements in freedom.

Our form of government is established upon the assumption (which at times seems a violent assumption) that the people are interested in their government. If this assumption be false, then our form of government will not guarantee us freedom. Under the constitution, people can have just and good government if they want it and will work for it. Likewise, they can have bad government if they want it. But if they do not care enough about their government to understand it and work for it, then soon that which they have the right to choose shall be taken away and they will receive what is given to them whether they like it or not.

How does this apply to my city and home rule? Today, 60 per cent of the nation's population lives in cities and towns. No unit of government deals more intimately and frequently with the daily lives of a majority of American citizens than the municipality. Municipal officers are closer to the needs and desires of the people than any other elected officials. We are constantly available to them and they feel free to let us know their desires.

Yet, with these responsibilities and with this direct accountability to the citizens, the city has less power and independence than almost any other political body. The sovereignty of the state is preserved in the federal constitution, the power of the federal government is being increased by leaps and bounds, but the city still remains the creature of the state. The inherent right of local self-government which prevailed in colonial times seems to have disappeared during the 19th century. In its place arose the theory of legislative supremacy. City charters were granted, amended and revoked solely by state lawmakers. The city was considered the child, and too often the stepchild, of the state.

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*Mayor Devin has been chief executive of Seattle, Washington, since 1942. Previously he served his city as justice of the peace and as municipal judge. He is a member of the bar associations of Seattle and the state of Washington. This article is the address which he delivered before the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, November 28, 1949.

Legislatures Control Cities

The basic principle of our government is that the people themselves are the source of all power and that government has only those powers given to it by the people. No power can rise higher than the source. Therefore, the closer the power is to the source, the higher will that power be. Now with that formula, where are the levels of government? First comes municipal, for that is close and responsive to the people; next comes the state; and finally the federal government with only those powers expressly granted to it. Yet there has arisen a false concept of the levels of government. The federal government is often referred to as the highest level. Below that is the state level, and at the bottom is the lowly municipal level.

As a result of this false concept state legislatures all over the nation have assumed responsibility for running cities and towns. They have told cities what they can and cannot do wholly within their own city limits; they have provided services and created obligations for those cities without regard to the desires of the citizens. But when cities have asked for powers to do things which concern only themselves, they have been denied. The state legislatures have taken the position that they know better what is good for cities.

Most state legislatures are controlled by non-urban representatives. By what reason or right should rural representatives determine for a city policies which affect only the citizens of that city?

If I should tell you that in one state 59 per cent of the people produced 75 per cent of the state's income and paid 90 per cent of all the taxes in the state but had only a 25 per cent voice in the government of the state, you would probably reply, "That's impossible under our constitution." Yet taking the 48 states as a whole, this is what is happening. In other words, in effect one third of the people have no representation at all in their state legislatures. The only crime of which they are guilty and for which they have been disenfranchised is that they are unfortunate enough to live in cities and towns.

In the state legislatures problems affecting cities and towns are decided by the rural representatives who comprise 75 per cent of the legislators. Rural representatives can effectively block reapportionment, refuse to authorize local actions, upset local ordinances, preempt local tax sources and destroy home rule. I doubt if there is a single state legislature that has not been guilty of usurping powers which rightfully belong to the cities and towns.

Industrialization of the nation has driven people, production and wealth

[illegible] Library
[illegible] City, Mo.

into the cities. The United States has become an urban nation. In 1790, 95 per cent of the four million population was rural and 5 per cent urban. As the nation grew the bulk of the increase was in urban population, but these new urban millions did not get their fair share of representation, for although state constitutions provided for periodic reapportionments, the predominately rural representatives blocked and continue to block such reapportionment.

The scope of government in colonial days was quite different from what it is today. With the great changes that have taken place in the industrial and machine age, and with the changing concept of our social and economic order, government has been forced to assume many new and different services and functions. Compare the town government of New York or Philadelphia in 1800 with the government of any American city today. In 1800 even the most fundamental functions of police and fire protection were scarcely attempted by the cities, while public health was quite unprovided for and municipal improvements almost unknown. Even in 1810 New York City, having a population of about 100,000, expended but a dollar per capita per year for all municipal purposes.

Today the city provides police, fire and health service, nurses, doctors, streets, street lights, paving, sewers, housing, water, light and power, mass transportation, building inspection, sanitation, milk, meat and restaurant inspection, snow removal, parking, traffic control, pensions, port facilities, air terminals, parks, libraries, schools. Yes, government has expanded and become more complex. But if the people want these services, and are willing to pay for them, why should their officials not have the power to provide them?

If democracy or representative government as we know it means anything, it means that the people have a right to choose how and by whom they will be governed. It means further that if they want to expand their government's functions to include proprietary interests for their welfare and convenience, they likewise have the right to do that as long as it does not violate the basic law of the land—the constitution. When the people are denied those rights, whether it be by a despot who would usurp the throne, or by ruse or deceit, or by usurpation by a minority group, or by whatever means, their representative government to that extent is lost and they no longer can claim a government of, by and for the people.

How May Voters Act?

What then can be done to correct this inequitable apportionment of representation in our legislatures?

This has been done in the state of Washington. In King County where I live the population in 1930 was 30 per cent of the state's total population, but the county had only 17 per cent of the representatives in the legislature. That year an initiative measure was filed demanding reapportionment and in 1931 it became a law. As a result the county's representatives were increased from 17 to 24 so that today the county has 27 per cent of the state's population and 24 per cent of the representatives in the legislature—truly more equitable.

The same action can doubtless be taken in other states. In those states which do not have the initiative, an aroused and informed electorate can accomplish the same results. This requires leadership and work—work by city officials and by civic groups—by the people, if you please, who are the government and the power.

The American Municipal Association and the United States Conference of Mayors are aware of what this rural and state domination of cities means not only to cities but to democracy. These organizations are carrying on the fight for just representation and for home rule in every state of the union. They cannot succeed in this battle, however, without the help of the people in every community. Legislators, representatives and public officials are the servants of the people. But if the people have no interest, or are unwilling to work for good government, those servants may soon become masters and the people the servants. When that day comes democracy is dead.

Home Rule Problem

In Washington there is a constitutional provision granting to cities over 20,000 the right to frame their own charters subject, however, to the constitution and laws of the state. Washington is considered one of the 28 states with constitutional home rule. But in the last session of the legislature the cities through their organization, the Association of Washington Cities, fought for legislation which would permit cities and towns, if they chose, to establish their own civil service systems, provide off-street parking, engage in urban redevelopment and close city offices on Saturdays. Every one of those proposals was denied by the legislature, yet not one of them could be considered a matter of statewide concern.

Why then were they defeated? Because there were well organized and well financed pressure groups at work on the legislators. The fire and police lobby defeated the civil service bill because it didn't want its state civil service law interfered with. That law, incidentally, gives the police and fire chiefs in small towns more political power than the mayor and elected officials. The garage and parking lot operators succeeded in defeating the off-street parking bill because they feared it might hurt their business. The urban redevelopment bill did not even get out of committee. The Saturday closing bill was defeated by rural legislators who didn't want their court houses closed on Saturdays.

Each of these bills was enabling legislation only, and no city or town need adopt it if it chose not to. Still the legislature said: "No, even if your people want it, we won't let you have it." And this is in a so-called constitutional home rule state.

I recognize that cities and towns cannot be permitted to become independent kingdoms. I also recognize the importance of integrated state government and the part that cities must play in that pattern. But I cannot understand why cities, representing a majority of the people who in turn are the source of all political power, should be compelled to go to the legislature with their hats in their hands and plead in suppliant tones, "Please, Mr. Legislators, won't you let us handle our own local affairs as we see fit?"

If we are to have a government of the people, then why should not the people of a local community have the right to make their own rules and regulations by which they wish to be governed and for which they must pay? Legislative usurpation of municipal authority strikes at the very roots of representative government and of good government. It discourages local officials from assuming responsibility for local affairs. State control opens the door to special privilege through the use of powerful and well financed lobbies before the state legislature. Responsibility is greatly diluted in the state legislature in comparison to the city council. It is far easier for a legislator to distribute the blame for poor legislation over the entire state than it is for a mayor or a city councilman to shift the blame in his home town.

Genuine home rule permits cities and towns to adopt the kind of government they want. It provides the power to meet increasing needs for local services—needs which are demanded by the people. And home rule keeps the government close to the people affected.

The trend toward state control, I am satisfied, is more the result of public apathy than it is of deliberate planning. In this changing process from a rural to an urban nation no one was watching or safeguarding the autonomy and freedoms of cities and towns. Even from the standpoint of the state, if legislatures could rid themselves of the multitude of bills, pressures and details which relate only to local problems and are in no way of statewide concern, they would be able to devote more time and effort to the problems of state government, which are their real responsibilities.

The trouble lies in state constitutions and laws and in judicial interpretations of them, many of which were made before we became an urban nation. While business, industry and transportation are winging their way through the air, government is still plodding along in a horse and buggy.

Placing the Blame

Whose fault is that? The blame cannot be placed at any one door. It must be shared. Local officials are partly to blame. They should have seen this picture and called it to the attention of the citizens. Members of civic organizations are partly to blame for not having impressed the legislators from their districts with the seriousness of this problem. The legislators, too, must share the blame, for the people look to them for leadership and direction.

Then there is another group who must share the blame—those businessmen who use the legislative bodies to help their businesses and those who bring pressure and spend money freely to gain special privileges at the expense of the general welfare. This combination of apathy

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News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

13 More Cities Vote for Manager Plan

Massachusetts Leads List with Three New Adoptions

IN the November and other recent elections at least thirteen municipalities voted for the council-manager plan. Four of the newcomers exceed 40,000 population.

Four cities in Massachusetts voted November 8 on manager proposals. **Somerville** (102,177) voted to adopt Plan E (council-manager, proportional representation) and will thus become the seventh Massachusetts city under that plan—unless the courts uphold the dubious attempt of the legislature to deny home rule on the issue of proportional representation.

Haverhill, Massachusetts, (46,752) adopted Plan D (council-manager, election of council at large without proportional representation) by a vote of 11,053 to 6,361. **North Adams** (22,213) did likewise, 5,079 to 3,392. The plan will go into effect in all these cities in January 1952. **Springfield,** voting the same day on Plan D, rejected it by a vote of 27,576 to 23,916.

The city of **Council Bluffs, Iowa,** (41,439) voted at a special election on October 17 to adopt the council-manager plan, 4,119 to 3,132. The plan goes into effect on the first Monday in April 1950. The council will consist of five members elected at large, serving staggered terms of four years. The present council consists of eight aldermen, six elected by wards and two at large.

Poughkeepsie, New York, (40,478) adopted the council-manager plan, with a council to be elected at large, by a vote of 5,150 to 3,482.

Modesto, California, (16,379) adopted a council-manager charter on November 8 by a vote of 3,321 to 2,554.

Middletown, Ohio, (31,220) approved charter revision to include a full-time city manager, with somewhat limited responsibility, effective January 1, 1950.

The state of **Idaho** has its first council-manager city in **Twin Falls** (11,851), where the manager plan was adopted October 18, five to one.

Alice, Texas, (7,792) recently adopted the council-manager plan.

On October 11 **Mooresville, North Carolina,** (6,682) voted 259 to 50 in favor of a charter amendment providing for a city manager to be appointed by the board of commissioners.

Alamosa, Colorado, (5,613) approved a manager ordinance on November 1 by a vote of 685 to 528.

Sanford, North Carolina, (4,960) has adopted a charter provision providing the council-manager plan, effective July 1949.

Mound, Minnesota, (1,189) adopted the manager plan on October 29 by a vote of 165 to 77. According to C. C. Ludwig, executive secretary of the League of Minnesota Municipalities, this is the first case in which a village submitted to the people the alternate plan of village government known as Plan B, made possible by the 1949 village code. The plan will go into effect next January. Two members of the present council of five will carry over; the mayor and two trustees will be chosen at the December election.

The city of **Franklin, New Hampshire,** rejected a proposed council-manager charter at a special election on October 26 by a vote of 1,743 to 619. Under the present mayor-council government, however, there is a manager.

Portsmouth, New Hampshire, voted two to one on November 8 to retain its council-manager plan of government; **Keene** also retained its manager plan, three to two.

At the final meeting of the 1947-1949 town council of **Milford, Connecticut,** retiring Councilman G. H. Woolson recommended changes in Milford's town manager plan to make it more efficient and responsible. He proposed shifting many details from the council to the manager, reduction in the size of the council to nine members, five elected by districts and four at large, more authority and responsibility for the board of education, establishment of a personnel board, and abolition of the police and fire commissions and the representative town meeting.

Mayor Emory Strachen of **Elmira, New York,** in announcing his intention to facilitate operation of the district plan of government recently adopted in Elmira despite his having opposed it, stated his belief that the plan's proponents are really seeking abolition of the council-manager plan.

A preliminary study of a suggestion for adoption of the manager plan in **Waverly, New York,** has been presented to the Waverly Community Council.

A charter commission of fifteen members has been appointed in **Roanoke, Virginia,** to suggest improvements in the council-manager charter of 1918.

A petition calling for an election in **Danville, Virginia,** on the question of adopting the manager plan is reported to have more than sufficient signatures.

A committee of the Junior Board of Trade of **Martinsburg, West Virginia,** has been studying the question of launching a campaign for the manager plan.

The city council of **Greenville, South Carolina,** has unanimously approved appointment of a special committee to make a study of reorganization of the city government. The manager plan is under consideration.

Mansfield, Ohio, voted 6,647 to 4,451, on November 8 in favor of a commission to frame a charter. Politicians of both parties fought the proposal and put up an opposition slate of fifteen candidates for the charter commission. However, all candidates of the Citizens Committee were elected by an overwhelming margin; they are pledged to write a council-manager charter. According to state law they must submit the charter to the citizens within a year.

Marquette, Michigan, in an advisory vote on October 11 showed that it wishes to retain the manager plan but also to consider revision of the charter. At present an ordinance provides for a manager.

A citizens' committee to resist a movement to abolish council-manager government in **Madison, Wisconsin,** was organized in October.

Nine managers of **Wisconsin** cities met in Madison on October 20 and formed a state association. Henry Traxler, Janesville manager, is temporary president.

The village council of **North St. Paul, Minnesota,** has voted to submit optional Plan B (council-manager) to the voters at the December 6 election. **Wells** will also vote on Plan B on that day.

The **Sidney, Nebraska,** *Telegraph* urges editorially that a movement be instituted to obtain the council-manager plan for Sidney.

A charter commission in **Port Arthur, Texas,** has voted eight to seven to present a new charter embodying the council-manager plan. The city already has a manager.

The board of directors of the **Tulsa,**

Oklahoma, Chamber of Commerce has unanimously approved a report of the chamber's governmental affairs department recommending a council-manager form of government. Several thousand copies of the report are being printed for distribution. A council of nine or more members is proposed which shall select one of its members as mayor. In addition to appointing the manager it would also appoint various advisory boards and even administrative boards as considered necessary. Although the manager would have authority to appoint department heads and other municipal employees, the mayor would appoint various officials subject to approval by the council.

Durant, Oklahoma, voted 1,710 to 1,668 on September 27 to abandon the manager plan adopted in 1948.

Ogden, Utah, has voted four and a half to one for charter revision.

Mayor Bourque of **Ottawa, Ontario,** the capital of Canada, recommends appointment of a city manager in an work of all departments—but in an advisory capacity, not encroaching on the prerogatives or responsibilities of department heads, according to the Ottawa *Journal.* Thus he would not actually be a city manager.

Boston Adopts Strong Mayor Plan

Besides defeating Mayor James Michael Curley, Boston on November 8 voted to adopt Plan A, one of the optional forms provided for Boston by the 1948 legislature. This plan calls for a mayor with wide powers and a council of nine elected at large, Mayor Curley and his organization having blocked Plan E, which would have provided proportional representation for election of the council. The evils of minority control of the mayor's office will be largely cured by provision for a run-off election.

Detroit Rejects Four-Year Term for Officials

On November 8 the voters of Detroit, Michigan, turned down a proposal to give the mayor, city clerk and treasurer four-year terms. The proposal lost by about 1,000 votes.

A proposition to make the city-operated Detroit Street Railway free from city taxes of about $1,000,000 a year was also rejected.

A proposed increase in the salaries of city councilmen from $5,000 to $10,000 a year was defeated more than three to one.

Ohio 'Office-Type' Ballot Receives Majority

The so-called office-type or Massachusetts ballot, eliminating straight party voting, proposed in Ohio by constitutional initiative, received a majority of 251,129. Its adoption is uncertain, however, inasmuch as it did not receive a majority of all votes cast at the election. The attorney general has declined to render an opinion but has instituted a court test.

Proponents of the amendment, many of whom assert it would aid in the reelection of Senator Robert A. Taft in 1950, claim that under the constitution a majority of all votes at the election is not necessary although indicated as required by the wording of the amendment.

Another proposed amendment to the Ohio constitution, to allow more than one probate judge in each county, was defeated. An amendment to permit the sale of yellow oleomargarine in grocery stores was reported adopted.

Poll Tax Repeal Loses in Virginia and Texas

Virginia voters on November 8 overwhelmingly defeated a proposed constitutional amendment to repeal the poll tax. The defeat is not generally construed as basic desire for the poll tax but was largely because of provisions in the amendment giving the legislature power to establish voting qualifications as it might deem fit and to impose state taxes up to three dollars on each adult and to allow counties to levy a one-dollar capitation tax — neither, however, as a requirement for voting. The present poll tax is $1.50 per year and must be paid up for three years to permit voting.

The Virginia Council of Churches, League of Women Voters, AFL, CIO and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were among organizations objecting to the provisions of the amendment.

The Texas proposal would have repealed the $1.75 poll tax but would have validated a legislative act providing for a 50-cent registration fee to be assessed at the discretion of each county. It was defeated but not by a wide margin.

Tennessee Rejects Limited Constitutional Convention

Tennessee voters decided by a narrow margin on November 8 against the calling of a limited convention to revise the 79-year-old state constitution which has withstood eleven prior attempts at revision. The convention was to be held in May 1950, to consider nine specific proposals[1] and to submit any favored amendments to a referendum. The proposal lost by 3,129 votes.

California Raises Legislators' Salaries, Saves Daylight

California adopted a proposition on November 8 to limit the regular and budget sessions of the state legislature, to raise members' salaries from $100 to $300 a month and increase expense allowances. The vote was approximately 1,275,000 to 950,000.

Long-standing California opposition to daylight saving time was overcome at the election by initiative and daylight will thereby be "saved" next summer.

San Francisco voted for purchase of the California Street Cable Railway, to be added to the municipal transportation system.

New York Approves Eight Amendments

Repeal of absolute veterans preference in civil service in New York State, and substitution of a point preference system, were accomplished on November 8 by popular approval of the so-called Mitchell amendment. This gives disabled veterans ten points on original examinations and five points on promotional tests. Heretofore a disabled veteran who merely made a passing mark went to the head of the list. Non-disabled veterans will receive five and two and a half points respectively. The credits can be used only once. The amendment was vigorously fought by certain veterans organizations but carried about three to two. It is to take effect in 1951.

Seven other amendments won by wide margins: providing for the lieutenant-governor-elect to become governor if the governor-elect dies, permitting payment of bonuses to New York veterans now living outside the state, making the court of claims a constitutional court, preventing a public official from holding office for five years if he refuses to waive immunity, removing certain housing indebtedness of villages from the debt limit, exempting $150,000,000 of New York City debt for hospitals from the debt limit, and providing a debt limit based on a percentage of full value for certain counties.

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[1] See the REVIEW, September 1949, page 403.

Three propositions, to aid public housing by liberalizing state debt, loans and subsidies, were approved, chiefly by overwhelming vote in New York City.

Wisconsin Legislators Plan for 1951 Session

Eleven interim committees of the Wisconsin legislature, including 80 legislators in their membership, are making preparations for the next regular session in 1951. They deal with agriculture, conservation, the state department, administration, education, the judiciary, labor and industry, public welfare, taxation, state budget and highways. Major investigations will involve taxation, state governmental organization and highway financing and classification. The taxation and highway committees each include three private citizen members as well as eight legislators.

Illinois State Police Placed under Merit System

The 1949 Illinois legislature passed a bill sponsored by Governor Stevenson which removed the 500-man state police force from political control and placed it under a merit board. According to the Civil Service Assembly, this is the first time since the police organization was created in 1922 that it has been free from politics.

The new law calls for an equal number of Democrats and Republicans on the force, after which a bipartisan state police merit board takes charge. The three-man board, appointed by the governor with senate approval, will establish physical, mental and character standards to govern all new appointments. Promotions will be strictly on a merit basis. Once appointed, a patrolman cannot be demoted or removed except for cause and with board approval after a hearing.

Another 1949 bill affecting the Illinois state police makes it a misdemeanor to attempt to solicit political campaign funds from a state police officer.

Urban Redevelopment Laws in 27 States

With the addition of urban redevelopment laws in New Jersey, Ohio and Oregon in recent months, the states providing for some form of redevelopment now number 27 plus the District of Columbia and Hawaii Territory, according to the Urban Land Institute, which says that thirteen of these have legislation providing for broad-gauge urban redevelopment.

The New Jersey act is described in *Urban Land* for October as follows:

"The act (chapter 306, laws of 1949) provides for the establishment of a redevelopment agency as an instrumentality of the local government. Blighted area is broadly defined including residential, non-residential, vacant and stagnant areas. Provision is made for the redevelopment of land for its most appropriate use under the redevelopment plan. Recommendations of the planning commission are required in establishing projects and approving the plan, which must conform to the master plan of the municipality. The agency is given power to conduct hearings, issue bonds, acquire land, clear and prepare the site, and dispose of property, but may not construct or operate buildings other than to manage, operate and maintain existing structures pending their removal. The agency is also charged with arranging for the relocation of residents, industry or commerce displaced from a redevelopment area."

Reciprocal Non-support Laws in Eleven States

Ten states have adopted legislation in 1949 to compel support of dependent wives and children by husbands absconding to other states, according to the Council of State Governments. They are Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Oklahoma and Wisconsin.

New York, which in 1948 was the first state to pass a reciprocal non-support law, amended its bill slightly this year. The New York law has been selected as a model for other states to follow and will be included in the council's 1950-51 program of suggested state legislation. Since the non-support laws are reciprocal, they are valid among jurisdictions which have the same or similar laws.

New York's act authorized its courts to take testimony in proceedings to compel support of dependents when the person legally responsible for support lives in a state having a similar law. The proper court in the state where the husband is located is empowered to fix a definite amount for support to be forwarded to the family.

Tennessee Makes Start on Legislative Reference Bureau

The 1949 Tennessee legislature established a Legislative Reference Bureau primarily as a bill-drafting service. It consists of an assistant attorney general designated by the attorney general and two staff members of the Tennessee State Planning Commission who are to be named by the chairman of that commission. The bureau has no staff or funds of its own, however. It is directed to assemble data relevant to state and local government; to catalogue codes, statutes, court reports and other governmental materials now in the state library and other repositories; to analyze the available data, furnish information to legislators on the state of the law in Tennessee and assist the legislators in drafting legislation.

The bureau, especially in the absence of funds, is seeking cooperative relationships with institutions such as the University of Tennessee's Bureau of Public Administration, Vanderbilt University Law School and the State Library.

THE PEOPLE CAN, MUST DO IT

(Continued from page 555)

and selfishness creates a dangerous enemy to good government and to representative government.

But there is no reason why these shortcomings cannot be corrected. One of the tests of good government is: Can it meet the changing needs of its people? Our government can. State constitutions can be amended, state laws can be changed, and judicial decisions will follow the law. But we cannot sit back and expect some wise man to make these changes for us. Ours is a government of, by and for the people. That means the people must understand their government, make it, amend it and execute it.

This is as great a challenge as I know—not to make profits, not to gain power, not for any selfish reason but to help create and preserve for our fellow men the blessings of freedom in a world where black clouds of tyranny now obscure the sunlight of liberty over many nations which but a short time ago thought they, too, were free.

Freedom can never be defeated, it can only lose by default.

Cuyahoga County Favors Home Rule

Voters Choose Commission to Draft New Basic Law

THE November 8 election of a home rule charter commission for Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Ohio, by an overwhelming vote of 155,985 to 98,091, was a distinct achievement for good government, reports *Greater Cleveland,* published by the Cleveland Citizens League. The campaign was initiated, guided and carried to a successful conclusion by that organization.

The league was responsible for having the question, "Shall a county charter commission be chosen?", placed on the ballot by the county commissioners, and it endorsed a nonpartisan, broadly representative slate of fifteen candidates for membership on the commission. Of the fifteen candidates elected, seven were backed by the league, seven by the Democratic organization, and the fifteenth was supported by both. The league considered this to be a remarkable success, since its nominees were primarily private citizens selected without regard to their political connections or vote-getting ability.

Much credit for the victory is given by the Citizens League to the strong editorial support of the three daily newspapers of Cleveland and other papers and the efforts of the Federation of Women's Clubs, the League of Women Voters, Chamber of Commerce, Women's City Club and many other civic organizations. All labor groups strongly endorsed the proposition as did many business groups.

The two most discouraging obstacles during the campaign were: (1) public indifference resulting in part from past failures—commissions were voted down in 1936 and 1941, and (2) the indeterminate stand of the Democratic organization, which ran an opposition slate, including some of the strongest vote-getting names in the county, without declaring either for or against the issue.

Hamilton County Townships Adopt Zoning Law

A zoning proposal applying only to unincorporated areas, submitted by the commissioners of Hamilton County, Ohio, has been adopted upon referendum by some townships but rejected by others. The law will apply only to the communities that approved it — Anderson, Columbia, Springfield, Sycamore and Symmes Townships. It divides each township into eight zones, four for residences and one each for retail business, light industries, heavy industries and resort areas.

The proposal was supported by many civic organizations including the Hamilton County Good Government League, Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, Cincinnati Citizens' Development Committee, Federated Civic Clubs, and numerous local groups. Opposition by certain real estate groups presumably was responsible for its failure in some townships.

Buchanan County, Missouri, Rejects Manager Charter

Organized city and county politicians, it is reported, were responsible for the defeat of a proposed council-manager charter submitted to the voters of Buchanan County (St. Joseph), Missouri, on November 8.

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Consolidated Government under Attack in Baton Rouge

Opponents of the consolidated governments of the parish of East Baton Rouge and the city of Baton Rouge[1] have attacked the consolidation in an attempt to effect more complete consolidation but simultaneously, in several respects, to restore the former governmental structure. They have filed a petition under procedures prescribed in the new charter and, if valid, a referendum will be held on the proposals on January 19, 1950.

Although the group is self-identified as a "citizens' committee," the leadership is composed of many present and former political officeholders. Its plan would abolish the merit system, central purchasing, the planning commission and other "unnecessary boards, bureaus, commissions and duplication of government." It is proposing a structure resembling the municipal commission form of government which reached the height of its popularity over a quarter century ago.

Tennessee County Secures Expert Assessment Service

Madison County, in cooperation with the city of Jackson, Tennessee, has retained the firm of J. L. Jacobs Company to assist in reevaluating some 20,000 pieces of local property. The firm's representatives have begun a public information campaign to acquaint local residents with the program and to enlist their support.

A recent report of the Tennessee Taxpayers Association indicates that the ratio of assessment to fair cash value in Tennessee counties varies from 13 to 50 per cent. Inequalities for individual properties are often greater than the county averages.

Index maps for identification and control of all lands, tax maps showing the location and size of every parcel of property, land unit value maps, a property index system, property record cards, property ownership indexes, and rental and sales data records are being developed. All data will be turned over to the county tax assessor who will continue to do the actual task of assessing property for tax purposes.

Maryland Counties Join Retirement System

Seven counties of the 23 are now members of the employees retirement system of the state of Maryland. Under the laws governing the system, any political subdivision of the state may become a member of the system upon approval of its legislative body. Costs to the local government range from 5 to 6 per cent of the payroll, and the employee's contribution amounts to 4 to 7 per cent depending on factors in each individual case. Fourteen other units of local government also are members of the system.

California Studies City-County Cooperation

The League of California Cities is conducting two specific studies in two metropolitan areas of the state for the purpose of improving city-county cooperation in the performance of certain functions.

The Los Angeles County study is attempting to secure more uniformity in the confusing and contradictory traffic ordinances that apply throughout the metropolitan area. An East Bay study, embracing Alameda and Contra Costa Counties, is a comprehensive examination of county functions and services and their effect on the twenty member cities in the two counties.

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[1] See the REVIEW, September 1947, page 468.

The chief aim of the traffic study is to draw to the attention of the 25 cities in Los Angeles County the current state of their traffic laws. There are many gaps to be filled and many inconsistencies with the state vehicle code. A few cities already have revised their traffic codes.

The East Bay study emphasized that rapid urban development in the unincorporated areas of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties resulted in great demands for services from county government. City taxpayers, who finance much of the cost, do not benefit from the services the counties provide only outside cities. The study focussed attention on county services outside cities to ascertain the extent to which city taxes are paying for them. County revenues were analyzed to determine the relative contributions of the cities and the unincorporated areas. Municipal-type county services were studied to learn whom they directly benefit. It will then be ascertained whether unincorporated areas contribute to the cost of county services in proportion to the benefits they receive.

Pennsylvania Enacts Numerous County Laws

According to the *Monthly Bulletin* of the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, the 1949 session of the state legislature considered over five hundred bills relating to county government. These bills constituted approximately one quarter of all bills introduced.

Of the 526 bills, only 173 were passed by the legislature and 160 approved by the governor. They concerned almost every phase of county government, but none changed significantly the administration or codified or revised the law. A group of obsolete laws was repealed. In addition to general government, the laws covered taxation and finance, tax sales and liens, law enforcement, courts, elections and registration, highways and public works, veterans' affairs, housing, welfare, public records, duties of county officers, fees and salaries and retirement.

County Expands Recreation on Reduced Budget

Authorities responsible for park and recreational facilities of King County (Seattle), Washington, have demonstrated how they virtually have trebled their service during the past three years—and on a reduced budget.

Camping and playground programs, swimming, arts and crafts, and athletic activities have attracted 644,000 persons to the parks in the past twelve months as contrasted with 238,000, the number reported in 1947. The increased use at decreased cost was the result primarily of encouraging school districts and community groups to plan their own programs in conjunction with the park facilities.

Duties of New York Justices Increase

A survey in New York State reveals a constant increase in the number of cases tried by justices of peace from 1945 to 1948, coupled with a decrease in the number of justice courts.

New York towns and villages have authority, in the aggregate, to appoint over 4,700 justices. In 1945 there were 2,928 justices of whom 1,779 actually performed judicial functions. In 1948 the number had been reduced to 2,896, but those performing judicial functions had been increased to 1,988. The volume of cases tried by justice courts had increased from 109,528 to 269,904 or nearly two and one half times. The trend toward a greater proportion of lawyers in the office also was noted by the survey.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. in the 1949 Elections

Somerville Adopts It, Toledo Votes It Out

MASSACHUSETTS had a lively interest in the subject of proportional representation at the November 8 elections. Six cities elected their city councils and school boards by the Hare system — Cambridge, Lowell, Worcester, Medford, Quincy and Revere, the four latter using it for the first time.

Striking features of these elections were the relatively large votes cast and the large number of candidates in those cities using P. R. for the first time.

In Cambridge, where Plan E—council-manager plan with proportional representation for election of council and school committee—has been in effect since 1940, 71 per cent of the registered voters went to the polls to choose among 46 candidates for council and sixteen for the school board. Lowell, where the system has been used since 1942, cast 73 per cent of its registered vote with 49 councilmanic and 31 school committee candidates.

In Worcester a 74 per cent vote was cast for 152 councilmanic candidates —the record in P. R. annals—and 36 school committee aspirants. The Revere vote was approximately 70 per cent of registration with 58 candidates for council seats and eighteen for school committee. Quincy cast a vote estimated at 68.5 per cent of registration for 59 and 15 candidates respectively; Medford, 67 per cent, with 84 and eighteen candidates. In the four cities using P. R. for the first time the invalid vote was under 3 per cent.

Completion of the count for council in Worcester showed five of the nine elected had the endorsement of the Citizens Plan E Association. The Cambridge Civic Association saw five of its councilmanic candidates elected and in Quincy also the Civic Association endorsed a majority of those elected—four out of seven. Early returns from Lowell indicate that the Democratic party will have a majority on the council for the first time since the advent of Plan E.

Somerville, Massachusetts, voted seven to one to adopt Plan E, despite action by the Massachusetts legislature prohibiting P. R. except where already in use. The city pins its hopes on a "boner" in the law,[1] and the matter will doubtless be determined by the courts. Commenting on the overwhelmingly favorable vote—33,587 to 4,823—Wallace E. Sinclair, chairman of the Plan E for Somerville Committee, said: "Now the people have spoken. Their tremendous vote in favor of Plan E amounts to a mandate to the general court [legislature] to clarify the issue raised by the bill intended to kill proportional representation."

Gloucester votes on Plan E December 6. In Chelsea, where a petition to place Plan E on the ballot had been filed and accepted, the city's attorney ruled that because of the law passed by the legislature the question could not be voted upon. The last-minute plea for a referendum, made by Dr. Bernard Brass, chairman of the Plan E Committee, who pointed out that

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[1] See the REVIEW, October 1949, page 461.

Somerville and Gloucester would submit the same question to a vote, was turned down by the board of aldermen because the ballots were being printed and absentee ballots had already been placed in the mails.

P. R. in Ohio

Toledo, one of three Ohio cities using proportional representation, voted 56,754 to 30,375 to supplant it with election at large by majority vote. The new law provides a run-off primary. This is the fifth time the system has been assailed in that city.

P. R. councilmanic elections were held in Cincinnati, Toledo and Hamilton. In Cincinnati the City Charter Committee, which has played the part of a municipal party since 1924 when the city's council-manager charter was adopted, won a majority of five of the nine councilmen. The charter ticket was led by Mayor Albert D. Cash. In Hamilton the Forward Hamilton group elected four of the city's seven councilmen. Describing the result, the Hamilton *Journal and Daily News* comments that "Never in the history of the Hamilton city charter and the proportional representation method of voting in Hamilton have voters who favored a certain group of candidates been as steadfast in KEEPING THEIR VOTES WITHIN THAT GROUP."

Detailed reports on many of these elections will be made in forthcoming issues of the *Review*.

P. R. Breeds Alphonse-Gaston Act

Plan E cities and the so-called proportional representation method of balloting have developed a character strange to political campaigning — a politician who has nothing but good to say of his opponents. . . . Briefly this theory is—speak no evil and the other candidates will respond in kind. It isn't love of opponents that does this, it is the desire for all-important second choice support.

Plan E requires the voter to mark his ballot according to choices. The candidate a voter likes best is marked "1"; second choice, "2"; and so forth. Every candidate campaigns for as many "1" votes as possible, but he also realizes that while not necessarily the first choice of a particular voter, he may rate a second or even a third choice in the popularity poll, and those second and third choice votes are vital for election.

"You just can't hit the other guy, he might be in a position to give you a second choice," admitted one of the candidates running for the city council in Worcester. Thus the Alphonse-Gaston campaign tone under Plan E.

C. E. OWENS

Boston *Globe*, November 6

New York Elects Democratic Council by District System

November 8 marked the first election of a city council in New York City since its repeal of proportional representation two years ago. The result under the method substituted for P. R.—election of one councilman from each senatorial district—was essentially as predicted in this department:[1] the Democratic party obtained 24 of the 25 seats on the council although all its candidates polled only 52.6 per cent of the vote cast for council.

The Republican vote for council was 21.6 per cent of the total. The Liberal party, which was allied with the Republicans in the mayoralty contest, cast 13.7 per cent and the American Labor party, which was allied with no other party except the Communist, polled 11.9 per cent. The Communist party, offering a candidate in but one district, polled barely a thousand votes. Its lone candidate, Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, obtained 20,772 votes on the American Labor ticket but was decisively defeated by his opponent, Earl Brown, who obtained 38,779 votes on the Democratic, 15,313 on the Republican and 8,938 on the Liberal ticket. Since Davis' strength was concentrated in this part of the city, it seems practically certain that he could not have been reelected this fall even if P. R.—with its borough-wide election quota of 75,000—had stayed in effect. The election of Davis and another Communist at a time when the United States and Russia were on terms of cordial cooperation was the principal reason for P. R.'s repeal after the situation changed.

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[1] See the REVIEW, December 1947, pages 648-649.

The Democratic party made a clean sweep of the council election in four out of the five boroughs of the city, shutting out all representation of the substantial Republican minority in Queens and the considerable Republican, Liberal and American Labor minorities in Brooklyn and the Bronx.

In Manhattan the Republican party, with the help of the Liberal party (which turned out to have been decisive), secured the reelection of Councilman Stanley Isaacs.

Minority leader Genevieve B. Earle, independent Republican, who had rendered distinguished service on the council ever since P. R. was first used, found herself in the same Brooklyn district as majority leader Joseph T. Sharkey, a district with a strong Democratic majority, and declined to run for reelection. Under the district system one or the other of these outstanding members of the council had to be sacrificed.

If P. R. had remained in force, on the basis of the 1949 vote the Democrats would probably have obtained nineteen seats, the Republicans seven, the Liberals three and the American Labor party three.

The vote for parties other than the four tabulated below was only a few thousand out of two and a half million in the whole city.

VOTE FOR CITY COUNCIL CANDIDATES NEW YORK CITY ELECTION 1949

	Democratic	*Republican*	*Liberal*	*American Labor*
Manhattan	275,495	128,964	66,160	100,395
Bronx	329,493	85,969	99,954	85,175
Brooklyn	423,271	149,058	139,005	84,086
Queens	255,563	157,289	34,398	26,729
Richmond	31,687	18,954	3,217	2,105
	1,315,509	540,234	342,734	298,490

DISTRIBUTION OF COUNCIL SEATS IF P. R. HAD BEEN IN FORCE IN 1949

	Democratic	*Republican*	*Liberal*	*American Labor*
Manhattan	4	2	0	1
Bronx	5	1	1	1
Brooklyn	5	2	2	1
Queens	4	2	0	0
Richmond	1	0	0	0
	19	7	3	3

Voters Pass on Financial Measures

Bonus Loses in New Jersey but Wins in Pennsylvania

If voters generally caused few political upsets in the elections of November 8, 1949, they appear also to have acted pretty much as expected in passing on state and local measures of fiscal importance.

Old age pensions, which starred in the three west coast states at the 1948 elections, played a repeat performance this year only in California. There a constitutional amendment was proposed which, while retaining old age and blind pensions on the basic $75 and $85 monthly schedules enacted last year, would return control of the pension system to legislative and administrative control.

The 1948 measure wrote the system into the state constitution in detail, and even named the first state director to supervise the program.[1] This year's proposition restores appointment of the welfare director to the governor and contains numerous provisions which have the effect generally of placing the system within legislative control. Nearly complete returns indicate the amendment was adopted.

Close to two billion dollars worth of state and local bond issues were submitted to the voters, with early indications that most had been given approval. Largest of the issues was Pennsylvania's $500,000,000 authorization for a soldiers' bonus. The largest bonus bond authorization yet approved, it carried no provision for raising funds to repay the principal and interest. It was opposed by the American Veterans Committee and others, arguments including the forecast that a state sales tax would be necessary.

Second largest authorization was in New York, where an additional $300,000,000 of state housing and slum clearance bonds were approved. New York State voters also approved two other propositions increasing state subsidies for housing.

In California voters approved $250,000,000 state bonds for aiding local school districts in the construction of school facilities. The proceeds will go on an equalization basis to poorer districts or districts which have already exhausted their own borrowing power but because of great population increases still require additional buildings.

New Jersey Proposals

In New Jersey three bond propositions totaling $230,000,000 were submitted. The voters turned down the two larger proposals—$105,000,000 for military bonuses and $100,000,000 for housing and slum clearance. They approved a $25,000,000 bond issue for urgently needed state institutional buildings, however. The bonus bond measure carried its own financing proposal—imposition of a tax on gross business receipts. It was supported by the American Legion and other veteran organizations but opposed by the American Veterans Committee, a newly formed New Jersey Veterans group, the New Jersey Taxpayers' Association, and other business groups.

At the local level, the largest fiscal measure was an indirect authorization affecting New York municipalities and New York City especially. A statewide proposition was approved amending the constitution to provide a considerably more liberal basis for the deduction of "self-supporting" debt in computing the legal borrowing margin. One of its immediate effects will be to increase the borrowing margin of New York City to permit issuance of $150,000,000 city bonds for hospital construction.

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[1] See "Can We Afford the Initiative?" by Alfred F. Smith, the Review, October 1949, page 437.

City Proposals Small

City voters did not pass on any signally large bond proposals. Largest approval reported was $14,000,000 by voters of San Francisco, which comprised $10,000,000 airport bonds and $4,000,000 water bonds. Los Angeles County approved $5,000,000 hospital bonds. Other approvals in the over $1,000,000 bracket included $4,000,000 for water improvements by the Marin County Municipal Water District, California; $3,700,000 by Elyria School District, Ohio; $3,375,000 by Hartford, Connecticut, for schools and institutional buildings; $2,985,000 by Cleveland Heights School District, Ohio; $2,700,000 for schools and other purposes by Clarksville, Tennessee; $2,500,000 by Ashtabula School District, Ohio; $2,100,000 by Bethlehem School District, Pennsylvania; and authorizations, each of $2,000,000, by Berks County, Pennsylvania, for a county home and by San Diego, California, for a library.

Larger city issues defeated included $4,730,000 for a sewage treatment plant submitted to voters of San Jose, California; $3,600,000 submitted by the Massillon School District, Ohio; $3,454,000 for a Saginaw, Michigan, sewage disposal plant; and $2,100,000 for bridge construction submitted by Muskingum County, Ohio.

Tax Forgiveness Limited in Many States

Omission of real property from assessment rolls is no grounds for tax forgiveness in most states. A review of laws concerning failure to list property on assessment rolls, by the National Association of Assessing Officers, revealed that in only seven states is the period for which taxes may be assessed limited to the year of the discovery of the omission. States allowing only current year collections are Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, Nevada, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania and Vermont.

Ten states—Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Indiana, Missouri, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Utah and Washington—allow taxes to be collected for all years that the property was omitted from the rolls. Texas allows taxes to be levied for all years since 1870.

States with Limit

Thirty states place a limit on the number of years that omitted property can be retroactively taxed. These limits range from fifteen years in Mississippi to one year in New Jersey and New York. Five years is the most common period of definite limitation, being in effect in twelve states—Alabama, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, North Carolina, New Mexico, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

Taxing of omitted property is limited to the last transfer of ownership in four states. Taxes are cancelled in Michigan by any transfer of ownership; in California and Kansas by transfer other than through death or gift, and in Illinois by transfer "for value." In Ohio, Wyoming and Nebraska both a time limitation and a provision for transfer of ownership limits the period for which back taxes may be collected.

Syracuse Ends City Sales Tax

A city sales tax of 1 per cent imposed in 1948 by the city of Syracuse, New York, will end February 28, 1950, according to press reports. The tax was originally at the rate of 2 per cent, but was halved in March 1949.

Syracuse was one of three upstate local governments to make use of the New York legislation authorizing a variety of new local taxes, including local sales and use taxes. The other two were Erie County, where a 1 per cent tax became effective July 1, 1947, and Poughkeepsie, where a 2 per cent tax became effective March 1, 1949. New York City has a sales and use tax dating from the depression of the 1930s.

Constitutional Amendments Win in Kentucky

On Tuesday, November 8, the people of Kentucky adopted two amendments to their 1891 constitution—the so-called school equalization amendment and the salary limitation amendment.

The school equalization amendment won handsomely by a vote of 230,189 to 126,635. It changes the percentage of the state appropriation for common school purposes, which must be divided among school districts on a per capita school census basis, from 90 to 75 per cent.

The salary limitation amendment vote was 179,477 to 161,326, a majority of 18,151. This amendment raises the $5,000 annual salary limitation to $12,000 for officials with statewide jurisdiction and mayors of first class cities (Louisville), to $8,400 for circuit judges and to $7,200 for all other officials. The governor's salary has not been affected by the limitation.

J. E. Reeves

University of Kentucky

WHO GETS THE BILLION GRAFT?

(Continued from page 550)

a postwar slump. While the end of the boss is being predicted daily, articles are appearing in popular magazines comparable to those of the old muckraker days but now telling about the rise of new, and in some respects more sinister, bosses than those who from time to time die, are defeated or retire.

Half a dozen books have appeared since the war devoted in whole or in part to the malodorous politics of American state and local government. In one of these, *Our Fair City,* Robert S. Allen summarized the views of nearly a score of newspaper men who wrote of the politics of the cities with which they are familiar. It is, he said, "The same old story of boodling bosses and business men, of horrendous slums, of dirt and filth, disease and vice, of gross and shameless waste, of mismanagement and misrule, of crass disregard of public health and human dignity."

Perhaps New York needs a new Seabury investigation, California a new Hiram Johnson. Certainly the voters of America need to sharpen their civic conscience and match their concern for world order with a campaign against the termites that are weakening the foundations of their own democracy.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Citizen Planning Groups Increase

Organizations Active in Many Metropolitan Areas

MORE and more the lay citizen is becoming interested in the field of planning, particularly in metropolitan areas, where the many units of local government make for confusion and lack of coordination.

Formation of a Greater Philadelphia-South Jersey Council, representing nine counties of the Philadelphia metropolitan area, was sponsored by the Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning, the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce and other cooperating agencies. The conference launching the council was addressed by the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, both of whom stressed the importance of port development as an essential part of the economic development of the area.

A panel on community planning was keynoted by Walter M. Phillips, former president of the citizens' council, who spoke on "Who Plans What." He stressed the need for use of the home rule principle in regional planning but also pointed out that communities in the metropolitan area needed comprehensive planning for the whole.

Planning Progress in Philadelphia, annual report of the Citizens' Council on City Planning for 1948-1949, is the first such report the council has issued. It highlights the major developments of the past year but emphasizes need for a "continuous process of information and citizen planning activity."

A newcomer in the field of citizen planning is the Poughkeepsie Area Development Association, established October 1948. It is a citizen-sponsored and privately financed planning and research organization covering the city and six surrounding towns. Early this year it began publication of a semi-monthly newsletter, *Plans and Action.* Main emphasis, according to Executive Director Hayden B. Johnson, is directed toward preparation and distribution of factual reports. Already three have been released—on schools, the city,[1] and now *Housing—the Poughkeepsie Area* (28 pages, one dollar).

One of the Poughkeepsie association's bulletins, "What About Charter Revision?" discusses two proposals for charter revision on the November 8 ballot, one providing the council-manager plan, adopted by a wide margin, the other, salary increases for police department employees.

Let's Face Facts About the Passaic Bergen Area has been issued by another newcomer in the field of citizen planning, the Passaic-Bergen Community Planning Association. Pointing out the problems of the area the pamphlet describes the work of the organization and makes a plea to "keep the ball rolling."

The fourth regional conference of the Regional Plan Association was held November 15 in New York City. "A one-day conference for officials and citizens of the New Jersey-New York-Connecticut Metropolitan Region," it discussed industrial development, zoning for apartments, parking solutions and urban developments as pertinent to the 550 municipalities of the region.

The Citizens Council Development Committee of Cincinnati, "to further the progress of the Cincinnati Area," urges a sound bond program for 1950. "This year," says its October *Bulletin,* "a background for the scheduling of capital improvements was provided by (a) council's adoption of an improved capital improvement procedure, (b) preparation of a five-year improvement program by the city manager, and (c) preparation of a two-year referendum bond program by council's finance committee. . . . Cincinnati will be in better position to carry out the master plan than at any previous time."

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[1] See the REVIEW, September, page 422; October, page 474.

Discussions on housing and pollution have had the attention of two fall membership meetings of the Toledo Regional Planning Association. Both were panel discussions led by experts. A film "Clear Waters," was presented at the meeting on pollution.

San Francisco Bay Area

Activities of the San Francisco Bay Area Council are discussed in its bulletin, *Trends Within the Golden Gate. Formula for the Future* "tells the story and promise of America's astounding new metropolis on San Francisco Bay." Other publications include a pamphlet on 1948 progress and the 1949 program—*Cooperation Makes It Greater* and *Editorially Yours: What the Newspapers Are Saying About Bay Area Cooperation.*

A town planning institute was conducted at the University of Minnesota's Center for Continuation Study, on November 18 and 19, to stimulate participation in community planning.

The American Planning and Civic Association's Committee on Citizens Organizations for Planning has issued its *1949 Report* (mimeographed) listing some 50 organizations with information on their activities. Its price is $1.

Planning and Civic Comment, quarterly of the American Planning and Civic Association, has introduced a new department, "Citizen Action for Community Planning," which reports on the activities of citizen planning agencies. The following items are from that source:

Formation of its United Housing Council has been announced by the Allegheny Conference on Community Development (Pittsburgh). Its purpose is to "promote the construction of housing units for the medium and lower income groups, to maintain a record of the housing inventory and vacancy ratio, to concern itself with housing laws and building codes and all other matters necessary to insure an adequate supply of safe, sanitary housing."

The Citizens Development Committee of Cincinnati has four committees to assist in carrying out its 1949 program: education, housing and urban redevelopment, legislation and off-street parking. They will work with similar committees of the City Planning Commission.

A twelve-months survey of the school system by the emergency school committee of the Kansas City (Missouri) Citizens Regional Planning Council makes recommendations all the way from revenue and budget to administration and curriculum. Approximately 300 citizens, working on ten subcommittees, aided. The council's survey and research committee prepared a model smoke abatement ordinance which the city council has now passed. The group is promoting its passage in two adjoining cities.

There are nine county and fifty city planning commissions in the San Francisco Bay Area, reports the Bay Area Council, with no coordinating regional commission. The council is therefore acting as a clearing house for planning ideas on area development, carrying on its program through a Bay Area Planning Technicians Committee.

The Louisville Area Development

Association, the Louisville Board of Trade, Convention and Publicity League and Retail Merchants Association have agreed to consolidate as the Louisville Chamber of Commerce, with Kenneth P. Vinsel, executive director of the development association, as chief executive.

The Allegheny County Conference on Community Development and the Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) have cooperated on a survey of the county's library facilities in the hope that the facilities of Pittsburgh may be shared in more adequate measure by outlying sections with little or no service.

The Southern California Planning Congress has been holding monthly dinner meetings at various cities discussing such subjects as clean waters, zones of influence beyond city limits, and taxes and planning.

Neighborhood Planning

The Citizens Union of New York City has sent to Mayor O'Dwyer and members of the City Planning Commission a proposal for making a start on neighborhood planning. The essence of the idea, says the Union's *News,* "is to take every proposed city construction project and get the city agencies concerned to work together on providing proper facilities nearby. Thus there could in future be no schoolless, libraryless, almost garageless projects like Stuyvesant Town"—a semi-public housing project.

The Jackson Heights (New York City) Community Federation, organized in 1947, has published *Jackson Heights Looks to Its Future* (sixteen pages), describing the origin and background of the organization, what it has done and what it hopes to accomplish. Stress is laid on planning for the community.

The *News Letter* of the Fort Wayne Civic Association reports another neighborhood organization, the Belmont Community Association. Belmont lies on the south edge of Fort Wayne, Indiana, and has a population of 800 people.

The Citizens' Association of Chicago launched a nonpartisan, city-wide organization of neighborhood civic groups, to be known as the Citizens' Community Conference, at its 75th anniversary dinner in October. The organization will act as a clearing house for exchange of ideas and experience on neighborhood problems and furnish information on citywide proposals.

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Civic News in Brief

Citizens of Southbury and New London, Connecticut, assisted by the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, have completed surveys of their local governments. The Southbury report, *A Guide to Good Town Government,* is described as "a sociological document of broad significance" which "probes the mechanics of good town government at first hand." *New London, A Review of Its Economic Potentialities,* 54-page typed document, "casts up an economic balance sheet for New London."

The Political News Studies Group is making periodic reports on the "political news coverage of the three Cincinnati dailies, *Enquirer, Post* and *Times-Star.*" Purpose is to show each of the papers how their coverage of the 1949 councilmanic campaign compares with the others, how adequate total coverage is, and to what extent it is spotty and incomplete. The group reports that "after six weeks of tabulations, the conclusion is inescapable that at least two of the three Cincinnati dailies are not providing adequate or balanced coverage of either the issues or candidates of this councilmanic campaign."

The Civic Federation of Chicago has issued its *56th Annual Report* for the year ending September 30, 1949. It describes important legislative action secured this year, its services to members, including the publishing of 45 bulletins and reports, and short comments on such matters as 1949 budget hearings, park-city merger, etc. Aldermanic attendance at city council and committee meetings is reported by the association in its *Citizens' Bulletin.* Compiled by Assistant Executive Secretary Lillian Egerton, "the record is kept as one phase of the association's program to increase public understanding of the important role assigned to aldermen as trustees of the city's $300,000,000 municipal corporation."

The mayor and council of High Point, North Carolina, this summer invited the local citizenry to share in the deliberations of their governing body.

League-al News and Views, organ of the Shreveport League of Women Voters, discusses "Significant Features of Proposed City Charter," pointing out that in the new document the present commission form is retained but streamlined in various aspects.

The board of directors of the Seattle Municipal League has approved more than twenty "projects" for the current year, reports the *Seattle Municipal News,* including a new charter for King County, 1950 report on candidates and issues, recommendations on the Port of Seattle, airport consolidation, balanced city, county and school budgets, sound county planning program, teaching of citizenship, full schedule of talks by the league's Town Criers on election issues, and development of a series of radio broadcasts on local government. The league boasts that 750 of its 4,000 members are working on seventeen standing committees, a hundred more than last year.

The Toledo Municipal League reports in its *Municipal News* that despite its name the organization "does not restrict its work to the legal confines of the city." It is interested in problems within the county—"considers the metropolitan community as its research ground." The league has aided in bringing together officials of the various units of government to discuss their problems and its staff is making tentative plans for an institute on government management to discuss health, water, sewage treatment, pollution, roads, safety, finance, law and public administration training.

The 50th anniversary of the founding of the Massachusetts Civic League by Joseph Lee was celebrated on October 26 at the Harvard Club of Boston. Speakers included Philip H. Willkie, son of the late Wendell Willkie and a member of the Indiana legislature, and John F. Kennedy, young Massachusetts congressman. The league recently sent a questionnaire to all clerks of Massachusetts cities and towns regarding their form of government. Out of the total of 351, 258 replied. The survey showed increasing interest in the use of the manager plan. Its results appear in *The Lens* for September.

The Philadelphia Committee of Seventy's *Civic Affairs* for September takes the form of a memo to the Philadelphia Charter Commission on "Suggestions Relating to Drafting the Home Rule Charter." The committee suggests postponement of hearings until after elections in November and the fixing of the tax rate in December, then discusses "important basic issues."

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Strictly Personal

Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois addressed a round table meeting of the Chicago City Club on "How to Trim Government Costs." The club has reelected William E. Rodriguez as president for another year.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Budgets

Budget Document Obscures Costs of City Services. A 'Performance Budget' Would Give Clearer Picture—Popular Summary Also Needed. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* October 25, 1949. 3 pp.

Fifty Million Dollars: Wayne County Expenditures for 1949-50. Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bureau Notes,* November 11, 1949. 2 pp.

The 1950 City Budget. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc. *Research Brevities,* October 26, 1949. 1 p.

State of Maryland Budget Finances. A One Picture Story. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., *Your Tax Dollar,* October 8, 1949. 1 p. chart.

Building Codes

Hidden Building Codes of the State of Washington. (Regulations governing construction hidden in rules of state agencies or acts of the legislature.) Seattle, University of Washington, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* September 26, 1949. 6 pp.

County Government

Montgomery County, Maryland. A Study of the Economy, Governmental Organization and Finances of the County with an Analysis of the Probable Effects of the County's Improvement Program. Also a Study of the Utility Services Rendered by and the Operations and Finances of the Washington Suburban District. New York 5, Wainwright, Ramsey & Lancaster, 1949. 116 pp. maps.

Debt

Borrowing as a Method of Public Finance. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* September 21, 1949. 3 pp.

A Debt Manual for Texas Cities. By Lynn F. Anderson. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1949. 56 pp. $1.

$69,150,000 in New Debt Has Its Drawbacks. Some facts about the latest city loan authorizations—with some critical comments. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* September 27, 1949. 3 pp.

Directories

A Directory of Mississippi Municipalities. Meridian, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 80 pp.

Education

Fiscal and Administrative Control of City School Systems. By Frederick C. McLaughlin. New York, Public Education Association, 1949. 107 pp. 25 cents.

State Education Aids. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* September 1949. 5 pp.

"Total" Teachers' Salaries. Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, October 12, 1949. 2 pp.

Elections and Voting

Elections in Rural New York. By C. A. Bratton and E. A. Lutz. Ithaca, Cornell University, New York State College of Agriculture, 1949. 31 pp. tables, illus.

Federal Reorganization

State Committee on Hoover Reports. Santa Fe, New Mexico Taxpayers' Association, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* October 1949. 14 pp.

Industrial Foundations

An Analysis of Industrial Founda-

tions. Tulsa, Oklahoma, Chamber of Commerce, January 1949. 62 pp. $3.

Land Use

Buyer, Beware! Is Your Property on a Public Street? Seattle, University of Washington, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* October 3, 1949. 4 pp.

Surveys, Subdivision and Platting, and Boundaries. Washington State Laws and Judicial Decisions. By Joshua H. Vogel, Ernest Howard Campbell and Wilbur K. Wilson. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1949. 134 pp. maps. $1.50.

Legislative Councils

Progress Report. September Council Meeting. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, September 1949. 10 pp.

Licensing

A Survey of Licensing in New Mexico. By Frederick C. Irion. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Department of Government, Division of Research, 1949. 49 pp.

Professional Licensing Boards in Kansas. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* October 15, 1949. 4 pp.

Metropolitan Areas

The Structure of the Metropolitan Community. A Study of Dominance and Subdominance. By Don J. Bogue. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1949. 210 pp. charts, tables. $2.

Municipal Government

Realigning the Departments: Some Basic Factors. Centralization of Responsibility Is Attainable Only under Strong-Mayor or Manager Plan. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 8, 1949. 5 pp.

Charter Changes Can Aid Popular Control. Complexity of City's Governmental Structure Helps Frustrate the Citizen. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* October 11, 1949. 6 pp.

Planning

A Practical Approach to City Planning. Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* September 30, 1949. 5 pp.

Methods of Financing a Capital Improvement Program. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* September 7, 1949. 3 pp.

Reasons for City Planning. Lackawanna, New York, Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* May 1949. 6 pp.

Recent Trends in State Planning and Development. By Dorothy C. Tompkins. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 24 pp. 75 cents.

Shopping Centers: An Analysis. Washington, Urban Land Institute, 1949. 48 pp. Illus. Charts. $5.

Urban Redevelopment Laws and Action. By John C. Bollens and John F. McCarty. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 34 pp. $1.

Prisons

Utah State Prison. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, October 1949. 4 pp.

Public Welfare

A Study of the Support of State-Wide and National Social Welfare Agencies by Massachusetts Communities (third edition). ("This study proposes an orderly state plan for handling the multiplicity of appeals which today confuse the contributing public.") Boston, Massachusetts Community Organization Service, December 1947. 25 pp. 50 cents.

Places of Refuge. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1949. 5 pp.

Policy Questions as to Public Welfare Expenditures. Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, October 5, 1949. 2 pp.

Trends in Utah Public Welfare. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1949. 4 pp.

Purchasing

Management of Small Purchases. Washington, D. C., Bureau of Federal Supply, General Services Administration, *Service of Supply,* October-December, 1949. 15 pp.

Outline of a Training Course for Officers and Employees of the Federal Supply Service. Volume 1: **Regular Purchasing.** By Joseph M. Stoll and Robert LeFevre. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1949. xvi, 196 pp. 45 cents.

Purchasing in Nevada. A Synopsis of a Plan to Save Nevada Taxpayers $115,000. Reno, Nevada Taxpayers Association, *Nevada Tax Review,* October 1949. 11 pp.

Recreation

False Economy in Civic Services. ("Very frequently, budgets are held down by sacrificing sound operation of existing services and adequate maintenance of present physical assets such as streets, parks and public buildings."). Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* June 24, 1949. 4 pp.

Public Recreation in South Carolina Municipalities. By Christian L. Larsen and Robert H. Stoudemire. Columbia, University of South Carolina, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 25 pp.

Refuse Collection

Refuse Collection and Disposal in 156 California Cities. (Hogs eat most of the garbage.) By Winston R. Updegraff and Richard Bartle. Los Angeles, *Western City,* August 1949. 12 pp. Illus.

Retirement Systems

Statewide Retirement System for Municipal Employees in Cities of Washington State. (Analysis, tables, text of law, sample ordinance.) By Donald C. Sampson. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with Association of Washington Cities, 1949. 23 pp.

Salaries

Municipal Salaries in Massachusetts 1948. (In tables by city and town.) Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, 1949. 32 pp.

Salaries and Wages of Municipal Employees in Texas. By W. Terrell Blodgett. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Municipal Research, in cooperation with the League of Texas Municipalities, August 1949. 120 pp. Tables.

Salaries of Large City Mayors Range from $12,000 to $25,000. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* October 13, 1949. 3 pp.

Should the Cost of Living Salary Adjustment Plan Be Continued "As Is", Modified, or Abandoned? Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, October 20, 1949. 3 pp.

Service Charges

Metered Water Charges in Major U. S. Cities. The Philadelphia Consumer's Bill Compared with Those Paid in Other Communities. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* September 13, 1949. 5 pp.

Sanitary Service Charges in Tennessee 1948-49. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1949. 83 pp. Tables. $1.

Social Security

Analysis of Proposition No. 2. Facts About Aged and Blind Aid. (If Proposition No. 2 is adopted, aid to the aged and blind again will be administered by the counties under rules established by the legislature and a state board of social welfare nominated by the governor and approved by the senate). Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* September 1949. 2 pp.

San Francisco Pays for Increased Pensions. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, November 1, 1949. 2 pp.

Books in Review

Cincinnati, Then and Now. By Iola O. Hessler. Cincinnati, League of Women Voters, 1949. 163 pp.

Once again the League of Women Voters performs the important task of rounding out the equipment of local schools with an admirable text of history and government to fill the gap inevitably left by standard text books which must be designed for use in cities anywhere. Such texts have to get vague when describing local government and deal in generalities and alternatives. This Cincinnati text relates the history of Cincinnati in good narrative with ample consideration of the succession of industry and changing conditions which constitute its economic history.

Finally, it describes past and current city government features—Cincinnati's proportional representation elections, city planning, housing and other major problems—with careful completeness, making appropriate reading not only for school children but for their parents.

If the schools steadily make full use of the text so that all children of Cincinnati will go through it in their turns, it will constitute a massive contribution to civic education in that city.

R. S. C.

The Forty-eight State School Systems. A study of the Organization, Administration and Financing of Public Elementary and Secondary Education. Francis S. Chase, director of research; Edgar L. Morphet, associate director. Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1949. x, 245 pp. $4.

A valuable compilation of facts from all the diverse state school systems with 21 comparative tables, covering structure, procedures, finances and trends. The conclusions bewail inadequate salaries at the top and inadequate research and statistics as guides for policy in most states. A fine new companion for the *Municipal Year Book!*

American Men in Government. A Biographical Dictionary and Directory of Federal Officials. Edited by Jerome M. Rosow. Washington 8, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1949. xxiii, 472 pp. $7.50.

Condensed biographies, in *Who's Who* style, of 1,570 key officials in the national government. The occupants of 3,000 departmental posts are also listed.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Budget

The Control of the Public Budget. By Vincent J. Browne. Washington 8, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1949. 174 pp. $2.75 paper; $3.25 cloth.

Civil Liberties

In the Shadow of Fear. American Liberties 1948-49, Annual Report. New York 10, American Civil Liberties Union, 1949. 88 pp.

Crime

Second Progress Reports of the Special Crime Study Commissions. (Includes reports of Special Commissions on Organized Crime, Juvenile Justice, Adult Corrections and Release Procedures, Social and Economic Causes of Crime and Delinquency, and Criminal Law and Procedure.) Sacramento, California State Board of Corrections, 1949. 128, 23, 23, 23, and 83 pp. respectively.

Economic Policies

Toward Building a Better America. (An International Committee Report.) By Frank Altschul. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1949. 19 pp. 35 cents.

Report of the ECA — Commerce Commission. To Investigate Possibilities of Increasing Western Europe's Dollar Earnings. Washington, D. C., Economic Cooperation Administration, 1949. viii, 227 pp.

Education

Critical Issues and Trends in American Education. Edited by E. Duncan Grizzell and Lee O. Garber. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* September 1949. vii, 231 pp. $2.

Federal Reorganization

Progress on Hoover Commission Recommendations. Report of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1949. 388 pp.

Government Calendar

Kansas Governmental Calendar. Statutory Dates for Counties, Cities, Schools, Townships and Other Governmental Units as Prescribed for Their Officers, Boards and Commissions. July 1, 1949, to June 30, 1950. Topeka, League of Kansas Municipalities, 1949. 26 pp. $2.50.

Housing

Housing — Public Housing, Slum Clearance, Quasi-public Housing, F.H.A. Housing, January 1946—July 1949. Report to Mayor William O'Dwyer. New York City, Housing Authority, 1949. 92 pp. illus.

The Local Community Job under the Housing Act of 1949. Bulletin for Leaders of Local Community Groups. Background, What the Act Does, How the Programs Operate, How Community Groups May Cooperate. Washington 25, D. C., Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1949. 26 pp.

Postwar Residential Construction in the New York Metropolitan District. New York, Bowery Savings Bank, 1949. 19 pp.

Labor

The Fair Labor Standards Act as Amended. Analysis and Section-by-Section Commentary. By Editorial Staff. Washington 7, D. C., Bureau of National Affairs, 1949. 38 pp. 30 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders; minimum order $2).

Labor Relations

Labor Relations in the New York Rapid Transit Systems 1904-1944. By James J. McGinley, S.J. New York, Columbia University, King's Crown Press, 1949. xxiii, 635 pp. $6.50.

Planning

American Planning and Civic Annual. A record of recent civic advance in the fields of planning, parks, housing, neighborhood improvement and conservation of natural resources, including addresses delivered at the Citizens Conference on Planning, held at Oklahoma City, March 27-30, 1949, and a report presented at the 28th annual meeting of the National Conference on State Parks, held at Sebring, Florida, December 13-17, 1948. Edited by Harlean James. Washington, D. C., American Planning and Civic Association, 1949. xii, 180 pp. $3.

Annual Report Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission. Detroit, the Commission, 1949. 19 pp. illus.

Longview. The Remarkable Beginnings of a Modern Western City. By John M. McClelland, Jr. Portland, Oregon, Binfords & Mort, 1949. x, 158 pp. $3.

Neighborhoods, Recreation and Schools. A Master Plan Study. Kansas City, Missouri, City Plan Commission, 1948. viii, 81 pp. maps. $2.

Six Year Capital Improvement Program 1950-1955. Seventh Annual Report. Cleveland, City Planning Commission, 1949. 97 pp.

Public Administration

Bibliography on Public Administration — Annotated. By Catheryn Seckler-Hudson. Washington, D. C., American University Press, 1949. vii, 55 pp. $2.

Human Relations in Public Administration—An Exploratory Report on Research Possibilities. Chicago 37, Public Administration Clearing House, 1949. 23 pp.

Public Health

How Shall We pay for Health Care? By Oscar R. Ewing and George F. Lull. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1949. 32 pp. 20 cents.

Public Ownership

The TVA Idea. By Dean Russell. Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, Foundation for Economic Development, 1949. 108 pp. 75 cents.

Recreation

Personnel Standards in Recreation Leadership. What They Are. How to Apply Them. New York 10, National Recreation Association, 1949. 47 pp. 50 cents.

Shopping Centers

Market Analysis of Shopping Centers. By Homer Hoyt. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1949. 7 pp. $2. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

Smoke Abatement

Report of the Investigation into the Control of Smog. By Assembly Interim Committee on Governmental Efficiency and Economy. Sacramento, California Legislature, Assembly, 1949. 21 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Report of the Motor Vehicle License Division. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Division of Research and Statistics, 1949. 47 pp.

Sources of State Tax Revenue in 1949. Washington 25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, Governments Division, 1949. 30 pp.

Summary of City Government Finances in 1948. Washington 25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, Governments Division, 1949. 12 pp.

Total Tax Collections in 1948. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* October 1949. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Town Meeting

The Connecticut Town Meeting. A Handbook for Moderators and Other Town Meeting Officials. By Max R. White. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, 1949. 25 cents.

LABOR'S STAKE IN CIVIC AFFAIRS

(Continued from page 545)

part of the community and that our lives are just as rich or poor as the life of the community. We use the library, our kids go to school, we ride the street cars—yes, we even go to the concerts of our symphony orchestras.

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City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1948)	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1948)	.05
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Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948)	.75
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1941)	1.50
Model Election Administration System, 42 pages (1930)	.75
Model Liquor Control Law, 34 pages (1934)	.75
Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, 16 pages (1935)	.35
Model Registration System, by Joseph P. Harris, 73 pages (1939)	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 23 pages (1946)	.50
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948)	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946)	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1948)	.15
Citizen Organization for Political Activity: The Cincinnati Plan, 36 pages (1949)	.50
City Growing Pains, 116 pages (1941)	.50
Guide for Charter Commissions, 34 pages (1947)	.50
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1949)	.50
Modernizing State Constitutions, 21 pages (1948)	.25
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1939)	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940)	.25
Reorganization of State Governments in the United States, by A. E. Buck, 299 pages (1938)	1.00
Short Ballot, by Richard S. Childs, 30 pages (1930)	.15

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